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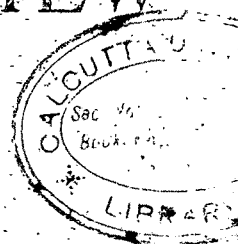
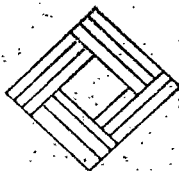
LAILA AND MAJNUN

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THE STORY OF "THE THREE RINGS"

GERMANY'S GREATEST ETHICAL AND RELIGIOUS POEM

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

TO few dramatic writers has it ever been given to produce so powerful a religious and moral impression upon their country and age as that created by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, in Germany, a century and a third ago, by the publication of his drama, *Nathan the Wise*. By general consent the poem is one of the greatest that Germany has given to the world, being surpassed only, perhaps, by Goethe's *Faust* and three or four of Schiller's finest dramas; while as a distinctly human work—a work produced with the aim of conveying, in the most perfect form, a lofty religious and ethical lesson—it has no rival in German literature.

Nathan the Wise was written in the year 1779. The lesson it teaches is that of universal religious toleration, or, perhaps more accurately, universal religious sympathy and appreciation. Its thought is, that in all the great historic religions of the world there is good; no form of religion may or can have a monopoly of truth or virtue; religion is deeper than any creed or sect, or name, or historic form; below religions is religion; the soul of Christianity, Muhammadanism, Judaism and every other religion is one, and when we reach it we

find it to be personal integrity, kindness towards one's fellows and reverence towards God. Therefore, every form of religion, as Judaism, Islamism or Christianity is to be treated respectfully, and everywhere men are to be judged by their lives and not by their professions or religious names.

Lessing's poem could not have on its title-page a more appropriate motto than the words of Jesus; "They shall come from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South and sit down in the Kingdom of God," or the words of St. Peter, "In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him;" or those of the ancient Hebrew prophet, "What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Before entering upon a consideration of the poem, it will be well to give a little attention to the author, and the circumstances attending its production.

Lessing has been well called the father of modern German literature. Before him Germany had produced one great writer, *viz.*, Luther. But that was four hundred years ago, and two hundred and fifty years before Lessing's day. Moreover, Luther's writings had all been

in one particular direction, that of religion, and the literary activity that had sprung up around him had been almost exclusively theological.

The two and a half centuries that intervened between Luther and Lessing were for the most part a barren plain, so far as the literary productiveness of Germany was concerned. At the middle of the century in which Lessing appeared, Germany had nothing outside the domain of theology and religion that could compare at all with the literature of France, England, Italy, or even Spain. That she is now the peer of any of these nations in authorship, and the superior of all except England, is due to her achievements since 1750. The Augustan age of German literature began with the middle of the eighteenth century. Indeed it is a date later than the middle that John Morley has in mind when he says, in his life of Voltaire, that to go from the England of George II to the Prussia of Frederick the Great, was to go "from the full light of the eighteenth century back to the dimness of the fifteenth." Voltaire in his day thought German literature so insignificant that he did not deem it worth his while to learn the German language.

But from this insignificance Germany leaped up, almost ere anyone was aware, to the second if not the first place in the world of letters. Within a single forty years, from 1724 to 1762, Germany gave birth to those seven giants in the realm of literature—Klopstock, Lessing, Wieland, Herder, Goethe, Schiller and Richter. How few other lands have ever produced such a progeny of genius within four short decades! Ere these men passed off the stage Germany had a great literature.

Of these seven immortals, Lessing was born second in order of time. But as a writer he appears in the arena first, and in more sense than one he is the pioneer and leader of the new age. It was his influence more than any other's, not even excepting Goethe's, that gave character and shape to the epoch.

His birth year was 1729. His father was a Lutheran clergyman, and seeing early the marked ability of his son, determined to educate him for the same calling. But the boy's education had not proceeded far before

he began to manifest a decided disinclination for theological studies, and a very great interest in literature, especially the drama. Sent to the University, he was soon absorbed in the plays of Greece and Rome. Moreover, he became deeply interested in the practical rendition of plays,—went to the theatre, formed an acquaintance with the principal actors and rendered them some service by reason of which he was permitted to go behind the scenes and see the rehearsals. His father, hearing of all this, was greatly troubled, and called his son home. Having found it hopeless to attempt to make a clergyman of him, it was thought he might be educated for the profession of physician. Accordingly, he was induced for a time to study medicine; but with little more heart than he had pursued divinity. Literary studies and the drama were ever uppermost in his thoughts and affection. Very early, indeed before reaching manhood, he had tried his genius in the composition of several plays, one of which was put upon the stage, and attained some success.

At last, Lessing's own bent of mind having proved too strong for his father, all thought of medicine was given up, as theology had been, and the young man launched boldly upon the severe, uncertain and wretchedly poor-paid career of authorship. For thirty years he lived by his brain, pen-poor, but brave and uncomplaining. He wrote letters and articles on a great variety of subjects for literary periodicals, and did much translating from other languages into German, thus by degree winning for himself wide literary recognition. He wrote books that became classics; but neither his books nor his other writings brought him much in the way of pecuniary compensation.

At one time he was director for a little while of a new theatre in Hamburg, but the venture did not prove a success. Once he engaged in the publishing business; but that failed and left him deeply in debt. For several years he was secretary for a general in the Prussian army. He lived for longer or shorter periods in Wittenburg, Leipzig and Berlin. In Berlin his friends endeavoured to secure for him the position of Royal

Librarian ; but he was not in favour with Frederick, and the place was given to another who had not a tittle of Lessing's fitness for it. The professorship of literature at the University of Königsberg was offered him ; but although otherwise desiring the place, he would not take it, because one of the duties required was that of pronouncing once a year a eulogium upon the king. He was the very soul of truthfulness, integrity and honour, and would never sell his freedom, his independence or his conscience, even in the slightest degree, for any emolument or advantage.

During the last five years of his life he was the librarian of the Duke of Brunswick, at Wolfenbüttel ; but his salary was small, and never all paid. Late in life he married, having postponed the event long because of his poverty. He enjoyed a single year of beautiful and almost supremely happy wedded life ; then his wife, dearly loved, and by her superior qualities of mind and heart wholly worthy of him, died, and left him sorely stricken—to follow her all too soon to the grave,—his decease occurring in his fifty-second year.

His loss was severely felt by the best minds of Germany. Gleim wrote of him :

"Him have we lost, who was our greatest pride ;
Him who abroad had won our nation fame.
God said, 'Let there be light,' and Leibnitz came.
God said, 'Let darkness be,' and Lessing died."

Engel wrote :

"Had Britannia, not Germania, given him birth,
His dust might share with Kings the sacred earth,
And a proud people, grateful for his fame,
Would rear a lasting tribute to his name."

I have said that Lessing began writing plays when he was hardly more than a boy. The first he wrote as a man, in the full strength of his matured powers, was when he was thirty-six years of age. It was his *Minna Von Barnhelm*, a comedy, which sprang at once into great popularity on the German stage, and has steadily held its own now for nearly a century and a half. Notwithstanding all that has been written since, it still remains the greatest German comedy.

The next year Lessing gave the world another work in an entirely different line, which has become quite as much a classic as his *Minna Von Barnhelm*. It was his

Laocöon—a book of art criticism, designed more especially to draw the lines of distinction between the "formative arts," as Lessing calls them—that is, painting and sculpture, and poetry. Lessing's fame outside of his own country rests more, perhaps, upon this work than upon any other of his writings. It is generally conceded to be unsurpassed in any language in the subtlety, discrimination and insight with which it deals with the subject under consideration. Its influence upon the young Goethe, a student at Leipzig, when it made its appearance, was profound.

I have said that Lessing was for a time at Hamburg connected with a new theatre there. Though the theatre failed, the result of Lessing's connection with it was a valuable series of papers upon the drama. These papers are known as the *Hamburg Dramaturgy*—a work which hardly falls below the *Laocöon* in importance.

Of course I cannot stop in this connection to mention all of Lessing's writings. But three others of enduring value should be noticed. These are his play *Emilia Galotti* in which he rises to as lofty a height of excellence in tragedy as he had done in comedy in *Minna Von Barnhelm* ; his *Education of the Human Race*, a mere fragment, but full of germs of much of the best thinking in the direction of the philosophy of history and religion which the century following his death produced ; and, finally, the great religious dramatic poem about which we are especially concerned in the present connection, *Nathan the Wise*, which was finished in the early part of 1779, just two years before his death. Moses Mendelssohn, his dear friend, said of him :

"He wrote *Nathan the Wise* and died, He could not rise higher, without passing into a region where our sense-dimmed eyes could not follow him,—and indeed this he did. Even now we stand here, like the sons of the prophet, looking up to the place in the sky where he departed from our sight."

The circumstances attending the composition of this poem throw much light upon its meaning. It has already been said that Lessing spent his last years at Wolfenbüttel as librarian of the large and valuable library of the Duke of Brunswick, located at that place. About that time the manuscript of an

able work written by the learned radical thinker, Reimarus, then recently deceased, was put into Lessing's hands. Lessing was so much impressed with the manuscript, that, although not agreeing wholly with the views which it advocated, he determined to give portions of it to the public. Accordingly, he began the publication of detached chapters of the work as something discovered in the Wolfenbützel library, from the pen of an unknown author. These parts of the work of Reimarus published by Lessing are known in history as the *Wolfenbützel Fragments*, and are very famous because they stirred up perhaps the greatest theological controversy which had been known in Germany since Luther. These fragments aimed to show that the Bible is not a supernatural or miraculous revelation from God, that it contains errors and contradictions, that the account of the resurrection of Jesus is unhistoric and incredible, and, worst of all, that Jesus and his Apostles did not scruple to use deceit and misrepresentation to establish their authority and begin the Christian movement.

Lessing himself, in publishing these papers, accompanied them with brief notes and comments in the form of strictures and expressions of dissent from many of the points urged, and suggestions of possible answers to some of Reimarus' arguments. But, notwithstanding that, the storm that rose burst in its main fury upon Lessing's head. Why did he print the fragments? And then his own comments, how did they help matters? Were they not often nearly or quite as heretical as the fragments themselves? The orthodox clergy of Germany became thoroughly aroused. Answers by the score were written and published. The lash was laid without mercy not only upon the unknown author of the fragments but upon Lessing. Perhaps the ablest of these repliers was one Pastor Goeze of Hamburg. Him Lessing answered, defending his own action in publishing the fragments and defending also the somewhat rationalistic views of the Bible and Christianity which he had expressed in his notes. Goeze replied. Lessing replied again. The other combatants retired or fell into the background; but between these two the battle raged with great fury for many months; for Goeze was a man of great learning, force of will, and ability as a controversialist, although no match for Lessing. The controversy took a somewhat wide range, covering most of the ground in dispute between orthodox Christianity and rationalism, regarding the authority of the Bible, the origin of the Christian movement and the formation of the Christian canon. Goeze had never before been beaten in a controversy; but he never before had had such an opponent,—either so learned or so brilliant and powerful in debate. At last the victory declared most decidedly for Lessing, and poor Goeze retired from the field humiliated enough.

It was here and now, on the close of this controversy, that Lessing wrote his *Nathan the Wise*—wrote it as his last word in that contention. When he told his friends what he was doing, and that the theologians would win more over this than over anything he had before written, it was supposed that the production would be a fiery onslaught, or a scorching satire, or a burlesque upon his clerical foes. But never was a mistake greater. To everyone's surprise the poem did not mention or even directly refer to Goeze, or any others of those who had assaulted Lessing, or to their theological views. It simply drew a picture, beautiful and masterly, of the kind of religion that Lessing believed in and had been contending for through all the controversy,—a religion of the spirit, as distinguished from a religion of the letter; a religion of virtue and charity and good deeds, as distinguished from a religion of subtle theologies and hard creeds; a religion which extends the hand of fraternity and fellowship to all sincere seekers for truth and all good men, whether they are in name Christians or rationalists or Jews or Muhammadans or Parsis; a religion that is deeper than any name or form of worship; that religion which is the soul and life of all the historic religions of the world,—amidst their changes unchangeable, amidst their transitoriness perennial and eternal. Such a winding up of the controversy was not only masterly, it was unanswerable.

Lessing in his drama introduces upon the stage character after character and makes them to move and act and talk and live before us—character after character delineated to the life, so that we cannot but feel that they are real persons—who do the noblest deeds without believing at all in the supernatural origin of Christianity; who are beautiful, lovely, noble characters, full of charity and mercy and piety, without ever having been baptized or converted or having received the sacraments; who exemplify in their lives the best spirit of Christianity and yet have been reared in other religions and bear the name Jew or Muhammadan or Parsi. Moreover as a contrast to all this—a shadow to make the light brighter—Lessing introduces, not conspicuously, but prominently enough to effect, a Christian prelate, who is most strict in his orthodoxy, and most punctilious in all his observances of the externality of religion, and most zealous for the propagation of Christianity, who is nevertheless hard-hearted, cruel, bigotted, unworthy to unloose the shoe latches of the Jewish Nathan, or the Muhammadan Saladin.

It is not strange that Lessing's friends, when they had read his drama, were delighted with it—not only with its beauty and strength as a literary work, but quite as much with the spirit that it breathed—the noble plea it contained for religious toleration, and the splendid vindication that it afforded, without the introduction of a

single controversial word into its pages, of the principles of liberality and charity for which Lessing had so earnestly contended. Written by a man calumniated as few men have ever been, *Nathan the Wise* contains no trace of resentment. Conceived in the very heat of controversy, it is singularly calm and serene; the child of fierce polemics, there is not even the smell of the fire of polemics upon its garments.

The scenes of the drama are all located in Palestine, indeed in Jerusalem. The time is the latter part of the 12th century, during an armistice of the fourth crusade. The celebrated Sultan, Saladin, is in possession of the Holy City. Both Richard Coeur de Lion of England, and Philip Augustus of France, are represented as present in Palestine. There are no hostilities going on, however, because of the armistice.

The chief characters of the drama are Nathan, called the Wise, a wealthy and honoured Jew of Jerusalem; his supposed daughter Recha, a young woman of rare attractiveness, who has been brought up by Nathan and most carefully trained in wisdom and virtue; Daja, Recha's old nurse, a Christian woman; Saladin, the powerful, generous, chivalric Sultan; his sister Sittah—in mental characteristics much like her brother; the Templar, a brave, high-spirited, impulsive but noble young man who had been captured by the Saracen army in some engagement, but whose life had been spared by Saladin; the Patriarch of Jerusalem, as Lessing describes him, "a red, fat, jolly prelate," but bigotted and cruel; and finally a monk, lay-brother as he is called, the servant and tool of the patriarch, and yet possessed of generous and noble traits.

The interest of the drama centres in Nathan, who is the most prominent character, the finest (indeed a finer can hardly be discovered in literature), and the character in whom the religious lesson of the poem finds its truest realization.

Eighteen years before the story opens, Nathan (the Jew) had had his wife and seven children cruelly murdered by the crusading Christians. Of course it was a terrible blow to him. For a time he was stunned, and felt that all he had to live for was gone; the world for him was black as night. Three days after the dreadful event, however, a Christian child, the infant daughter of a Knight, his friend, Wolf von Filnech, was brought to him and placed in his care. The baby's mother had died, and the father must go away to take part in the defence of Gaza. What should Nathan do? Could he, a Jew, whose wife and sons had just been murdered by Christians open his heart to a Christian child? To ask the question was to answer it. Too noble to cherish feelings of revenge, he said, "For the seven gone, God has given me this one. I will be to her a father." And he was. Everything that a father could do for a child he did for the little Recha,

until now at the end of the eighteen years, she is a beautiful, noble woman, who with love and pride calls him father, and knows no other father but him.

When the drama begins he has been for some months away from Jerusalem, on a mercantile journey to Damascus and Babylon, and is just returning home with a train of camels laden with jewels, precious stones, silks and costly merchandise. On approaching the city he is met with the news that during his absence his house has taken fire, and has come near being levelled with the ground. This, however, seems a small matter to him if only its inmates are safe. But on reaching the house he finds that his loved Recha only barely escaped with her life, and that the escape was the result of the heroic act of a Christian Templar who, happening near, rushed in amid the smoke and flame, and when it was thought all was lost brought her forth wrapped in his mantle, laid her in safety on the ground, and disappeared. Now, the girl, as the result of the fearful fright, lies ill, half unconscious, half delirious. When her father comes to her bedside, she tells him how eagerly she has waited for him; how barely she escaped the fire, and that it was an angel in the form of a Templar that saved her. The father's presence and wise words comfort and calm her mind.

Soon he sets out in search of the Templar to thank him for saving his child. After some difficulty he finds the object of his search; but the Templar treats the matter with indifference. At last, however, he is prevailed upon to go to Nathan's house that Recha may see him and make acknowledgment of her gratitude. As a result he falls deeply in love with her, and soon after he asks Nathan to give him Recha for his wife.

Nathan is pleased with the Templar's appearance, and would willingly grant his request, only for the fact that certain things have occurred which kindle the curious suspicion in his mind that the Templar may in some unknown way be related to Recha. Accordingly, he feels himself compelled to put off the wooer without giving assent to his plea, and without being able to give any seemingly sufficient explanation. At this the impetuous Templar not unnaturally becomes angry.

Daja, Recha's nurse, now feeling deeply interested, partly from personal and partly from religious motives, in the scheme of marrying Recha to the Templar, divulges to him the secret that Recha is not Nathan's daughter, but a Christian child whom Nathan in some way obtained in infancy, and brought up as his own. Possessed of this secret, and inflamed with resentment towards Nathan, the Templar goes to the crafty and conscienceless Christian Patriarch, who he knows hates all Jews, to see if means cannot be found out through him of compelling this Jew, Nathan, to give up Recha.

Meanwhile what of Nathan's suspicion regarding the Templar's kinship? I have already said, that Recha was the daughter of Nathan's old-time friend, Wolf von Filnech. Von Filnech had been killed soon after committing his child to Nathan's care. But Nathan remembered well his looks; and now he had found himself struck with a strange resemblance between Von Filnech and this young Templar. What if this Templar were a relative of Von Filnech? What if he were his son? In that case he would be a relative, may be a brother, of Recha. No! there was only one course open. Investigations must be carried further, before the hand of Recha could be given to the Templar.

But who is this Templar? It is a curious thing that a Templar, a Christian knight, should be here in Jerusalem, at large, in the enemy's country. How does it happen? Inquiry reveals that he is one of a number of Templars captured in some engagement between the Christians and the Saracens. The others were put to death, and he was to have perished with the rest; but, as the work of execution was going on, the eyes of the Sultan, Saladin, fell on him. The Sultan was impressed by something in his look, and ordered that he be spared. And so, he was set at liberty. What was it that the Sultan had seen in his look? A strange resemblance to a brother who many years ago had gone from home and never returned, and had ever since been mourned as dead.

Well, to make a long story short, Nathan traces up his suspicion, until, by the aid of the monk, or lay brother of whom I have spoken; who in his younger days was a groom of Von Filnech, and with the aid also of a book which the lay brother had taken from his master's pocket when he fell at Gaza, it is discovered that Nathan's suspicion is true—the Templar is none other than the son of Von Filnech,—a son who had been born to him in Germany, and left there to be educated when the father came to Palestine to fight in the crusade against the Saracens.

Nor was this all. What of that resemblance which the Sultan thought he saw between the Templar and his (Saladin's) long lost brother? That also turns out to be well-founded. The book reveals the fact, before unknown and unsuspected, that Saladin's lost brother had turned Christian, gone to Germany, married a German woman, and being compelled after a brief stay in that rigorous climate to seek again the milder air of the East, had come to Palestine, fought here on the Christian side, and, in a word, was no other than the knight Wolf von Filnech, whom Nathan had known and loved. While in Germany a son had been born to him, whom he had left there with relatives, as I have said. And now that son, grown to manhood, had become a Templar, had made his way to the Holy Land, had fought with Saladin's army, had

been captured, had chanced to be seen by Saladin just on the eve of his expected execution, and Saladin had spared him because somehow he so strongly reminded him of the lost brother—who proves to have been none other than his, the Templar's father.

Thus the drama ends with the discovery, not only that the Templar and Recha are brother and sister, but that, to the overwhelming joy of the Sultan, and of all others concerned, both Recha and the Templar are close relatives of Saladin and Sittah—none other indeed than children of their dear, long-lost brother Accad.

Here ends the story. Could the great lesson of religious toleration and charity, which Lessing had in mind in writing his poem, be more powerfully taught than by the fact that the Jewish girl, the Christian Knight Templar, and the Muhammadan Sultan are all discovered to be of one blood?

But there is something more, and something of great importance, which we have not yet seen. Impressively as the lesson of toleration and sympathy between religions and between races is taught in the plot, there is a portion of the drama, not yet mentioned, which teaches it if possible more impressively still. I refer to that part of the third act known as the "Episode of the Rings." Indeed, we learn from Lessing himself that the story of the rings (found by him originally, in an undeveloped form, in the Decamerone of Boccaccio) was what first suggested to his mind the writing of the drama, and that all the rest of the poem was composed, so to speak, as a framework or setting for this story and the great truth which it embodies.

Let me then close my paper with the ring episode, and as fully as possible in the language employed in the poem.

It may be necessary to explain that this ring story is introduced by Lessing into the drama as a means of bringing Nathan and Saladin together. Saladin is represented as being out of money. His wars cost heavily. His seven years' tribute from Egypt, overdue, is delayed. His treasury is empty. What is to be done? His sister Sittah thinks of Nathan, the rich Jew, and urges her brother to send for him and compel him to lend the sum of money needed. And as a sort of excuse for sending for him she suggests that Saladin inquire of him which of the three religions then represented in Palestine, the Jewish, Christian or Muhammadan, is the best. Thus perhaps he may be got into a trap, which may in some way make it easier to extort money from him. Saladin is more frank and ingenuous in his nature than Sittah, and does not like subtleties or indirect means. Nevertheless Nathan is sent for, and, after a little parleying, the Sultan comes to the point—not indeed of asking for money, but of asking about the religions. The conversation proceeds as follows:

SALADIN

Since so great your wisdom,
I pray you tell me what belief, what law,
Has most commended itself to you.

NATHAN

Sultan, I am a Jew.

SALADIN

And I a Mussulman.
Between us is the Christian. Now, but one
Of all these religions can be true.
A man like you stands not where accident
Of birth has cast him. If he so remain,
It is from judgment, reasons, choice of best.
Impart your judgment; let me hear
The reasons I've no time to seek myself.
Communicate, in confidence of course,
The choice you have arrived at thro' those reasons
That I may make it mine.—You are surprised—
You weigh me with your glance! May be that

Sultan

Had ne'er such whim before; which yet I deem
Not unbecoming in a Sultan. Speak—
Your answer! * * *

NATHAN

Permit me to relate a story to you.

SALADIN

Why not? I have ever been fond of stories.
Well-told.

NATHAN

The telling well I do not promise.

SALADIN

Again so proudly modest! Come, your story!

NATHAN

In gray antiquity there lived a man
In Eastern lands, who had received a ring
Of priceless worth from a beloved hand.
Its stone, an opal, flashed a hundred colours,
And had the secret power of giving favour,
In sight of God and Man, to him who wore it
With a believing heart. What wonder then
This Eastern man would never put the ring
From off his finger, and should so provide
That to his house it be preserved for ever?
Such was the case. Unto the best beloved
Among his sons he left the ring, enjoining
That he in turn bequeath it to the son
Who should be dearest; and the dearest ever,
In virtue of the ring, without regard
To birth, be of the house the prince and head.
You understand me, Sultan?

SALADIN

Yes, go on!

NATHAN

From son to son the ring descending, came
To one, the sire of three; of whom all three
Were equally obedient; of whom all three
He therefore must with equal love regard.
And from time to time now this, now that,
And now the third,—as each alone was by,
The others not dividing his fond heart,—
Appeared to him the worthiest of the ring;
Which then, with loving weakness, he would promise
To each in turn. Thus it continued long.
But he must die; and then the loving father
Was sore perplexed. It grieved him thus to wound

Two faithful sons who trusted in his word;
But what to do?

In secrecy he calls

An artist to him, and commands of him
Two other rings, the pattern of his own;
And bids him neither cost nor pains to spare
To make them like, precisely like, to that.
The artist's skill succeeds. He brings the rings,
And e'en the father cannot tell his own.
Relieved and joyful, summons he his sons,
Each by himself; to each one by himself
He gives his blessing, and his ring—and dies.
You listen, Sultan?

SALADIN

(who somewhat perplexed has turned away)

Yes, I hear, I hear.

But bring your story to an end.

NATHAN

'Tis ended;

For what remains would tell itself. The father
Was scarcely dead, when each son brings forth
his ring,

And claims the headship. Questioning ensues,
Strife, and appeal to law; but all in vain.

The genuine ring was not to be distinguished;
(After a pause, in which he awaits the Sultan's
answer)

As undistinguishable as with us
The true religion.

SALADIN

That your answer to me?

NATHAN

But my apology for not presuming
Between the rings to judge, which with design
The father ordered undistinguishable.

SALADIN

The rings? You trifle with me. The religions.
I named to you are plain to be distinguished
E'en in the dress, e'en in the food and drink.

NATHAN

In all except the ground on which they rest.
Are they not founded all on history,
Traditional or written? History
Can be accepted only on trust.
Whom, now, are we the least inclined to doubt?
Not our own people—our own blood—not those
Who from our childhood up have proved their love;
Ne'er disappointed, save when disappointment
Was wholesome to us? Shall my ancestors
Receive less faith from me, than yours from you?
Reverse it: Can I ask you to belie
Your fathers, and transfer your faith to mine?
Or yet, again, holds not the same with Christians?

SALADIN

By heaven the man is right! I've naught to answer.

NATHAN

Return we to our rings. As I have said,
The sons appealed to law, and each took oath
Before the judge that from his father's hand
He had the ring,—as was indeed the truth;
And had received his promise long before,
One day the ring, with all its privileges,
Should be his own,—as was not less the truth.
The father could not have been false to him,
Each one maintained; and rather than allow
Upon the memory of so dear a father
Such a strain to rest, he must against his brothers,

PROSPECTS OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

I

THE bill to grant Philippine independence by 1940 introduced by Representative Hon. Butler Hare of South Carolina was passed by an overwhelming majority—306 to 47. This bill was passed in spite of stubborn opposition of the administrative authorities of the U. S. A. It is well known that the U. S. Secretary of War, Hon. Patrick Hurby, who went to the Philippines a few months ago to study the conditions, is opposed to granting independence to the Philippines. The U. S. Secretary of State, Hon. Henry W. Stimson, in a statement has declared that granting independence to the Philippines will hurt American prestige in the Orient, it will weaken the United States economically and politically and the Philippines, without American aid, will be a victim to the aggression of some other Power. It is generally understood that if a bill favouring Philippine independence is passed by the House of Representative and the Senate, then President Hoover will veto it. Therefore it is certain that there is no immediate prospect of the passage of the proposed bill. However, this must be noted that the movement for Philippine independence has gained added momentum.

There are several motives behind the movement for granting Philippine independence as advocated by American Senators and Congressmen. First, some think that the Philippines are a kind of liability for the United States. In case of a conflict between Japan and the U. S. A, it is certain that Japan may occupy the islands. Therefore, from a naval point of view, it is a liability for the U. S. A. unless she can fortify the islands and establish powerful naval bases and maintain a much stronger fleet there than now. Secondly, because the Philippines are U. S. possessions and therefore products from these islands (sugar, tobacco, etc.) can enter the U. S. A. free of any duty, with the development of agriculture and industry in the Philippines, several products of these islands are competing with American products in American markets. American manufacturers are demanding that Philippine products should be subjected to the U. S. tariff. But as long as these islands remain as U. S. possessions, there can be no tariff against their products. Therefore a section of American business men are in favour of Philippine independence to protect American industries from competition. Thirdly, the American Federation of Labour and others, who are opposed to Oriental immigration in the U. S. A.

favour Philippine independence, to check unrestricted immigration from these island possessions of the U. S. A. Lastly, there are idealists in America who believe that America must keep her faith with the Filipinos and give them their freedom. They believe also that by such action there will be a feeling of goodwill among the Filipinos and other oriental peoples towards America. By granting independence to the Philippines America will eliminate one of the causes of possible misunderstanding between Japan and the U. S. A.

It is interesting to note that when the Hare Bill for Philippine independence passed the House of Representatives, some responsible Japanese statesmen in Tokyo, not only expressed satisfaction but suggested that Japan will gladly become a party to an international agreement guaranteeing the independence of the Philippines. This attitude on the part of Japan is not due to her altruism and special love for the Filipinos; but it is due to the fact that the end of American occupation of the Philippines will make Japan's position in the Pacific much stronger than what it is today.

Majority of British statesmen are opposed to America's granting any concession, (not to speak of independence), to the Filipinos, in the field of self-government. These British statesmen think, as Lord Chelmsford was once reported to have said to an American Governor of the Philippines that, any concession granted to the Filipinos will indirectly undermine British rule in India, Burma, Ceylon and in the Malay Peninsula. Therefore British statesmen, through their influence with pro-British Americans, are using pressure against America's granting independence to the Philippines. France is not in favour of Filipinos Independence, because it may hurt her in Indo-China. However, the French attitude on this question will depend upon the possible developments in Franco-British and Franco-American relations. If the Anglo-American bloc takes an unfriendly stand against France's larger policies in Europe, France may not favour Britain's attitude regarding Philippine independence.

American internal politics will undoubtedly play a very large part in the question of Philippine independence; and at the same time American attitude will be determined by developments in world politics. What is happening in the Philippines may serve as an object-lesson for Indian statesmen.

II

The following is the text of the "Hare Bill" which was passed by the U. S. House of Representatives on April 4, 1932, and is now pending before the U. S. Senate:

AN ACT

To enable the people of the Philippine Islands to adopt a constitution and form a government for the Philippine Islands, to provide for the independence of the same, and for other purposes,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

CONVENTION TO FRAME CONSTITUTION FOR
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

SECTION 1. The Philippine Legislature is hereby authorized to provide for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention to meet at such time and place as the Philippine Legislature may fix, to formulate and draft a constitution for the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, subject to the conditions and qualifications prescribed in this Act, which shall exercise jurisdiction over all the territory ceded to the United States by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on the 10th day of December, 1898, the boundaries of which are set forth in Article III of said treaty, together with those islands embraced in the treaty between Spain and the United States concluded at Washington on the 7th day of November 1900. The Philippine Legislature shall provide for the necessary expenses of such convention.

CHARACTER OF CONSTITUTION—MANDATORY
PROVISIONS

SEC. 2. The constitution formulated and drafted shall be republican in form, shall contain a bill of rights, and shall, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, contain provisions to the effect that, pending the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippine Islands—

(a) All citizens of the Philippine Islands shall owe allegiance to the United States.

(b) Every officer of the government of the Philippine Islands shall, before entering upon the discharge of his duties, take and subscribe an oath of office, declaring, among other things, that he recognizes and accepts the supreme authority of and will maintain true faith and allegiance to the United States.

(c) Absolute toleration of religious sentiment shall be secured and no inhabitant or religious organization shall ever be molested in person or property on account of religious belief or mode of worship.

(d) Property owned by the United States, cemeteries, churches, and parsonages or convents appurtenant thereto, and all lands, buildings, and improvements used exclusively for religious, charitable, or educational purposes shall be exempt from taxation.

(e) Trade relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States shall be upon the basis prescribed in section 6.

(f) The public debt of the Philippine Islands and its subordinate branches shall not exceed limits now or hereafter fixed by the Congress of the United States; and no loans shall be contracted in foreign

countries without the approval of the President of the United States.

(g) The debts, liabilities, and obligations of the present Philippine government, its provinces, municipalities, and instrumentalities, valid and subsisting at the time of the adoption of the constitution, shall be assumed and paid by the new government.

(h) Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of an adequate system of public schools primarily conducted in the English language.

(i) No part of the public revenue shall be used for the support of any sectarian or denominational school, college, university, church, or charitable institution.

(j) Acts affecting the currency or coinage laws shall not become law until approved by the President of the United States.

(k) Foreign affairs shall be under the direct supervision and control of the United States.

(l) All acts passed by the legislature of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be reported to the Congress of the United States.

(m) The Philippine Islands recognizes the right of the United States to expropriate property for public uses, to maintain military and other reservations and armed forces in the Philippines and, upon order of the President, to call into the service of such armed forces all military forces organized by the Philippine government.

(n) Appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States shall be as now provided by existing law and shall also include all cases involving the constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

(o) The United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and for the maintenance of the government as provided in their constitution and for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty and for the discharge of government obligations under and in accordance with the provisions of their constitution.

(p) The authority of the United States High Commissioner to the government of the Philippine Islands, as provided in this Act, shall be recognized.

(q) Citizens and corporations of the United States shall enjoy in the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands all the civil rights of the citizens and corporations respectively thereof.

SUBMISSION OF CONSTITUTION TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SEC. 3. Upon the drafting and approval of the constitution by the constitutional convention in the Philippine Islands such constitution shall be submitted to the President of the United States, who shall determine whether or not it conforms with the provisions of this Act. If he finds that the proposed constitution conforms substantially with the provisions of this Act he shall so certify to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands who shall so advise the constitutional convention assembled, but if he finds that the proposed constitution does not conform with the provisions of this Act he shall so advise the Governor General, stating wherein in his judgment the constitution does not conform and submitting provisions which will in his judgment make the constitution so conform. The Governor General shall in turn submit such message to the constitutional convention for further action by them pursuant to the same procedure hereinbefore defined, until the President and the constitutional convention are in agreement.

SUBMISSION OF CONSTITUTION TO FILIPINO PEOPLE

Sec. 4. After the President of the United States has certified that the constitution conforms with the provisions of this Act it shall be submitted to the people of the Philippine Islands for their ratification or rejection at an election to be held within four months after the date of such certification, on a date to be fixed by the Philippine Legislature, at which election the qualified voters of the Philippine Islands shall have an opportunity to vote directly for or against the proposed constitution and ordinances appended thereto. Such election shall be held in such manner as may be prescribed by the Philippine Legislature, to which the return of the election shall be made. The Philippine Legislature shall by law provide for the canvassing of the return and, if a majority of the votes cast on that question shall be for the constitution, shall certify the result to the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, together with a statement of the votes cast thereon, and a copy of said constitution, and ordinances. The Governor General shall, in that event, within thirty days after receipt of the certification from the Philippine Legislature, issue a proclamation for the election of officers of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands provided for in the constitution. The election shall take place not earlier than three months nor later than six months after the proclamation by the Governor General ordering such election. When the election of the officers provided for under the constitution has been held and the results determined, the Governor General of the Philippine Islands shall certify the result of the election to the President of the United States, who shall thereupon issue a proclamation announcing the results of the election, and upon the issuance of such proclamation by the President the existing Philippine government shall terminate and the new government shall enter upon its rights, privileges, powers, and duties, as provided under the constitution. The present government of the Philippine Islands shall provide for the orderly transfer of the functions of government.

If a majority of the votes cast are against the constitution, the existing government of the Philippine Islands shall continue without regard to the provisions of this Act.

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY AND RIGHTS TO PHILIPPINE COMMONWEALTH

Sec. 5. All the property and rights which may have been acquired in the Philippine Islands by the United States under the treaties mentioned in the first section of this Act, except such land or other property as is now actually occupied and used by the United States for military and other reservations of the Government of the United States, and except such land or other property or rights or interests therein as may have been sold or otherwise disposed of in accordance with law, are hereby granted to the new government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands when constituted.

TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES PENDING COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE

Sec. 6. After the date of the inauguration of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands trade relations between the United States

and the new government shall be as now provided by law, subject to the following exceptions:

(1) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all refined sugars in excess of fifty thousand long tons, and on unrefined sugars in excess of eight hundred thousand long tons, coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(2) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all coconut oil coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year in excess of two hundred thousand long tons, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(3) There shall be levied, collected, and paid on all yarn, twines, cords, cordage, rope, and cables, tarred or untarred, wholly or in chief value of manila (abaca) or other hard fibres, coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands in any calendar year in excess of a collective total of three million pounds of all such articles hereinbefore enumerated, the same rates of duty which are required by the laws of the United States to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from foreign countries.

(4) In the event that in any year the limit in the case of any article which may be exported to the United States free of duty shall be reached by the Philippine Islands, the amount or quantity of such articles produced in the Philippine Islands thereafter that may be so exported to the United States shall be allocated, under export permits issued by the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, to the producers or manufacturers of such articles proportionately on the basis of their exportation to the United States in the preceding year; except that in the case of unrefined sugar the amount thereof to be exported annually to the United States free of duty shall be allocated to the sugar producing mills of the islands proportionately on the basis of their production in the preceding year, and the amount of sugar which may be exported from each mill shall be allocated between the mill and the planters on the basis of the proportion of sugar received by the planters and the mill from the planters' cane, as provided in their milling contract. The government of the Philippine Islands is authorized to adopt the necessary laws and regulations for putting into effect the allocation hereinbefore provided.

When used in this section in a geographical sense, the term "United States" includes all territories and possessions of the United States, except the Philippine Islands, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the island of Guam.

Sec. 7. Until the final and complete withdrawal of American sovereignty over the Philippine Islands—

(1) Every duly adopted amendment to the constitution of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be submitted to the President of the United States for approval. If the President approves the amendment, or if the President fails to disapprove such amendment within six months from the time of its submission, the amendment shall take effect as a part of such constitution.

(2) The President of the United States shall have authority to suspend the taking effect of or the operation of any law, contract, or executive order of

the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, which in his judgment will result in a failure of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands to fulfil its contract, or to meet its bonded indebtedness and interest thereon or to provide for its sinking funds, or which seems likely to impair the reserves for the protection of the currency of the Philippine Islands, or which in his judgment will violate international obligations of the United States.

(3) The chief executive of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall make an annual report to the President and Congress of the United States of the proceedings and operations of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and shall make such other reports as the President or Congress may request.

(4) The President shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, a United States High Commissioner to the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands who shall hold office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is appointed and qualified. He shall be known as the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands. He shall be the representative of the President of the United States in the Philippine Islands and shall be recognized as such by the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands by the commanding officers of the military forces of the United States, and by all civil officials of the United States in the Philippine Islands. He shall have access to all records of the government or any subdivision thereof, and shall be furnished by the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands with such information as he shall request.

If the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands fails to pay any of his bonded or other indebtedness or the interest thereon when due or to fulfil any of its contracts, the United States High Commissioner shall immediately report the facts to the President, who may thereupon direct the High Commissioner to take over the customs offices and administration of the same, administer the same and apply such part of the revenue received therefrom as may be necessary for the payment of such overdue indebtedness or for the fulfilment of such contracts. The United States High Commissioner shall annually, and at such other times as the President may require, render an official report to the President and Congress of the United States. He shall perform such additional duties and functions as may be lawfully delegated to him from time to time by the President.

The United States High Commissioner shall receive the same compensation as is now received by the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, and shall have such staff and assistants as the President may deem advisable and as may be appropriated for by Congress. He may occupy the official residence and offices now occupied by the Governor General. The salaries and expenses of the High Commissioner and his staff and assistants shall be paid by the United States.

The first United States High Commissioner appointed under this Act shall take office upon the inauguration of the new government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

(5) The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall provide for the selection

of a Resident Commissioner to the United States, and shall fix his term of office. He shall be the representative of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands and shall be entitled to official recognition as such by all departments upon presentation to the President of credentials signed by the chief executive of said islands. He shall have a seat in the House of Representatives of the United States, with the right of debate, but without the right of voting. His salary and expenses shall be fixed and paid by the government of the Philippine Islands. Until a Resident Commissioner is selected and qualified under this section, existing law governing the appointment of Resident Commissioners from the Philippine Islands shall continue in effect.

SEC. 8. (a) For the purposes of the Immigration Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1924 (except section 13 (c), this section, and other laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, or expulsion of aliens, persons who are citizens of the Philippine Islands, and who are not citizens of the United States, shall be considered as if they were aliens. For such purposes the Philippine Islands shall be considered as if it were a separate country and shall have for each fiscal year a quota of fifty. This subdivision shall not apply to a person coming or seeking to come to the Territory of Hawaii who does not apply for and secure an immigration or passport visa.

(b) Citizens of the Philippine Islands who are not citizens of the United States shall not be admitted to the continental United States from the Territory of Hawaii (whether entering such Territory before or after the effective date of this section) unless they belong to a class declared to be non-immigrants by section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1924 or to a class declared to be non-quota immigrants under the provisions of section 4 of such Act other than subdivision (c) thereof, or unless they were admitted to such Territory under an immigration visa. The Secretary of Labor shall by regulations provide a method for such exclusion and for the admission of such excepted classes.

(c) Any Foreign Service officer may be assigned to duty in the Philippine Islands under a commission as a consular officer, such period as may be necessary and under such regulations as the Secretary of State may prescribe, during which assignment such officer shall be considered as stationed in a foreign country; but his powers and duties shall be confined to the performance of such of the official acts and notarial and other services which such officer might properly perform in respect of the administration of the immigration laws if assigned to a foreign country as a consular officer, as may be authorized by the Secretary of State.

(d) For the purposes of sections 18 and 20 of the Immigration Act of 1917, as amended, the Philippine Islands shall be considered a foreign country.

(e) The provisions of this section are in addition to the provisions of the immigration laws now in force, and shall be enforced as a part of such laws, and all the penal or other provisions of such laws, not inapplicable, shall apply to and be enforced in connection with the provisions of this section. An alien, although admissible under the provisions of this section, shall not be admitted to the United States if he is excluded by any provision of the immigration laws other than this section, and an alien, although admissible under the provisions of the immigration laws other than this section, shall not be admitted to the

United States if he is excluded by any provision of this section.

(f) Terms defined in the Immigration Act of 1924 shall, when used in this section, have the meaning assigned to such terms in that Act.

(g) This section shall take effect sixty days after the enactment of this Act.

RECOGNITION OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE AND WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN SOVEREIGNTY

SEC. 9. (1) On the 4th day of July immediately following the expiration of a period of eight years from the date of the inauguration of the new government under the constitution provided for in this Act, the President of the United States shall withdraw and surrender all right of possession, supervision, jurisdiction, control, or sovereignty then existing and exercised by the United States in and over the territory and people of the Philippine Islands, including all military and other reservations of the Government of the United States in the Philippines and, on behalf of the United States, shall recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate and self-governing nation and acknowledged the authority and control over the same of the government instituted by the people thereof, under the constitution then in force: *Provided*, That the constitution of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands has been previously amended to include the following provisions:

(2) That the property rights of the United States and the Philippine Islands shall be promptly adjusted and settled, and that all existing property rights of citizens or corporations of the United States shall be acknowledged, respected, and safeguarded to the same extent as property rights of citizens of the Philippine Islands.

(3) That the government of the Philippine Islands will cede or grant to the United States land necessary for commercial base, coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States not later than two years after his proclamation recognizing the independence of the Philippine Islands.

(4) That the officials elected and serving under the constitution adopted pursuant to the provisions of this Act shall be constitutional officers of the free and independent government of the Philippine Islands and qualified to function in all respects as if elected directly under such government, and shall serve their full terms of office as prescribed in the constitution.

(5) That the debts and liabilities of the Philippine Islands, its Provinces, cities, municipalities, and instrumentalities, which shall be valid and subsisting at the time of the final and complete withdrawal of the sovereignty of the United States, shall be assumed by the free and independent government of the Philippine Islands; and that where bonds have been issued under authority of an Act of Congress of the United States by the Philippine Islands, or any Province, city, or municipality therein, the Philippine Government will make adequate provision for the necessary funds for the payment of interest and principal, and such obligations shall be a first lien on the taxes collected in the Philippine Islands.

(6) That the government of the Philippine Islands, on becoming independent of the United States, will assume all continuing obligations assumed by the United States under the treaty of peace with Spain ceding said Philippine Islands to the United States.

(7) That by way of further assurance the government of the Philippine Islands will embody the foregoing provisions (except paragraph (3)) in a treaty with the United States.

NOTIFICATION TO FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

SEC. 10. Upon the proclamation and recognition of the independence of the Philippine Islands, the President shall notify the governments with which the United States is in diplomatic correspondence thereof and invite said governments to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands.

TARIFF DUTIES AFTER INDEPENDENCE

SEC. 11. After the Philippine Islands have become a free and independent nation there shall be levied, collected, and paid upon all articles coming into the United States from the Philippine Islands the rates of duty which are required to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles imported from other foreign countries: *Provided*, That at least six months prior to the withdrawal of American sovereignty as hereinbefore provided, there shall be held a conference of representatives of the Government of the United States and the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, such representatives to be appointed by the President of the United States and the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, respectively, for the purpose of formulating recommendations as to future trade relations between the Government of the United States and the independent government of the Philippine Islands, the time, place, and manner of holding such conference to be determined by the President of the United States; but nothing in this proviso shall be construed to modify or affect in any way provision of this Act relating to the procedure leading up to Philippine independence or the date upon which the Philippine Islands shall become independent.

CERTAIN STATUTES CONTINUED IN FORCE

SEC. 12. Except as in this Act otherwise provided, the laws now or hereafter in force shall continue in force in the Philippine Islands until altered, amended, or repealed by the Legislature of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands or by the Congress of the United States, and all references in such laws to the Philippines or Philippine Islands shall be construed to mean the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands. The government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands shall be deemed successor to the present government of the Philippine Islands and of all the rights and obligations thereof. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, all laws or parts of laws relating to the present government of the Philippine Islands and its administration are hereby repealed as of the date of the inauguration of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands.

SEC. 13. If any provision of this Act is declared unconstitutional or the applicability thereof to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the applicability of such provisions to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Passed the House of Representatives, April 4, 1932.

Attest:

SOUTH TRIMBLE,

Clerk.

THE TREATMENT OF GREAT MEN

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

ONE of the commonest sayings used by the admirers of Mahatma Gandhi, specially in India, is that he is the greatest man in the world at the present time. In what sense is he great? His greatness has not saved him from being kicked about by Boers and Britishers in the Transvaal, or being sent repeatedly to prison and herded with criminals of the lowest and worst type. Is a man great who may be arrested by any policeman and sent to prison by any magistrate? When a man is imprisoned without trial can he be called great? There is greatness and greatness. Men are given the title of Great on account of their conquests or large possessions, or their high qualities as rulers. Thus Alexander and Napoleon were called the Great, Asoka and Akbar and Charlemagne were designated the Great. Even Catherine of Russia, a powerful monarch but a profligate woman, was called the great and so was Peter, brutal in his passions and despotic as a ruler. This is the form of greatness with which the world is usually familiar, but this is not the greatness claimed for Mahatma Gandhi. He is not possessed of the sort of greatness that can secure him immunity from humiliation and ill-treatment.

When a meeting was being arranged between Mahatma Gandhi and a certain Viceroy of India the latter declared that his address was not unknown, that is, every one has heard of Viceregal Lodge, Simla. That was also a sort of greatness, if pomposity can pass for greatness. But this personage is no longer Viceroy nor is he to be found at this address and consequently his greatness has passed from him. This is the case when greatness belongs to the office and not to the man. The glamour of wealth or a high position is often confounded with greatness and most people are content to accept the shadow for the substance.

Real greatness belongs to different types, the manifestation of the heroic in man in different forms, and this is to be found in a small number of representative men who attain a distinction denied to average humanity. Greatness is found on a graduated scale and the higher the form of greatness the slower the recognition that comes to it. Men to whom the distinction of Great is given as a title are sometimes no benefactors of humanity. What does the world owe to Alexander the Great and Napoleon the Great? They sacrificed thousands of human lives to their insatiable ambition of conquest and brought sorrow and lamentation to thousands of peaceful homes. They have left no enduring monument of good work behind, nothing to promote the happiness of the peoples over whom they ruled.

Other men who are now recognized as among the greatest of men received no appreciation or reward in their lifetime. Homer was nothing more than a wandering singer who probably lived on the charity of other people. Shakespeare was an obscure play actor who frequented the ante-rooms of titled patrons. These latter are now forgotten while the poet's birth-place has become a place of pilgrimage. The very greatest men are the sages and the teachers of humanity and sometimes their reward was punishment and death. The two names which stand foremost among the famous men of ancient Greece are Homer and Socrates. Homer walked the streets as an itinerant singer, while Socrates, one of the wisest of men of all time, was judicially condemned to death at an advanced age. Of all the thinkers of ancient and modern Europe his name stands the highest and his fame is growing with the passing centuries. He was a man of impeccable virtue, of blameless purity of life, yet he was tried on charges of impiety and immorality, and put to death by his own

countrymen. He was accused of denying the gods and corrupting the youth of Athens by his doctrines and instruction, which are carefully studied with profit to this day. If in his defence it had been urged that he was the greatest man in the world it would have availed him nothing.

If Socrates was an old man Jesus Christ was quite a young man when he was cruelly put to death as a criminal. Socrates was given a cup of hemlock, which induces drowsiness and coma, and the victim feels no pain and is unconscious at the time of death. Crucifixion is a horrible form of death, preceded by hours of fearful agony and torture and the victim retains consciousness to the end. Jesus was tortured in the body and the spirit for all the time he remained suspended on the cross, he was reviled and mocked by the passers-by, the priests, the crowd that waited and even the thieves who were crucified with him. Did these men know that the carpenter's son crucified between two criminals was one of the greatest among men, nay, that millions would worship him as God incarnate? What could be more beautiful than the life of Jesus Christ, what could be sublimer than his teachings? His words ministered to the spirit, his gift of healing relieved human suffering. He had preached during the three short years of ministry permitted him love that knew no bounds, pity that included the leper and the woman caught in sin and forgiveness that went out to the uttermost. Still there was no man to say a word for him when he was being tried for his life. If any one had told Pilate that this unknown individual, a man of humble origin and destitute of means, Jesus of Nazareth, was the greatest man in the world the Roman governor would have laughed him to scorn. A Jew greater than a Roman? As for the greatest man was not Cæsar on his throne for all the world to see? This particular Cæsar was Tiberius, a hell-fiend, but even he received divine honours in his lifetime.

Gautama Buddha was probably the one great teacher of humanity to whom a large measure of recognition came during his lifetime. Many were converted to his doctrines and he had a large number of followers.

But those that opposed him and denounced him as a heretic far outnumbered those that accepted his teachings and the time came when the religion he founded was driven out of India though it was widely accepted in eastern Asia. Even in India what is called Hinduism today is deeply impregnated with the teaching of Buddha. Among the ancient Aryans of India no man was persecuted for his opinions or religious convictions and that was the reason why no one thought of ill-treating or punishing Buddha for his anti-Vedic doctrines. Nevertheless, the full recognition of the greatness and moral grandeur of Buddha was of slow growth and it was only when his personality and the beauty and purity of his doctrines were fully recognized East and West that the world recognized in him one of its greatest men.

The immense majority of mankind has only a superficial intelligence and is easily dazzled by a great feat or a brilliant performance. This is why great warriors, whose deeds are obvious, are considered great men. Intellectual and creative greatness is appreciated more slowly and spiritual greatness slowest of all. When certain beliefs have found acceptance for a long time any departure from them is considered intolerable. If the founder of a new religion challenges these beliefs, no matter how great he may be, he is liable to persecution and even to be put to death. A heresy is not necessarily confined to a religious belief. Galileo was considered guilty of heresy and thrown into prison for asserting that the earth was moving and not standing still. He was only released when he recanted, though his real conviction was unchanged. In all ages and almost among all nations the greatest men have been denounced and persecuted. Time alone has finally and firmly established their greatness.

All human institutions have a tendency to move along a fixed groove and any innovation is looked upon with suspicion and alarm. A new doctrine or a new truth is always regarded askance as a menace to the existing order of things. The very greatest of men do not keep step with other men of their generation; they do not accept without question beliefs or customs that have been

unhesitatingly followed for many generations. They find a society comfortably ensconced behind old beliefs and old institutions hardened with time and they shock it by their new-fangled doctrines or the new truths they claim to have found. Every form of authority, whether it is a hierarchy, an oligarchy or the rule of one man insists on submissiveness for the smooth working of its regime. It will not tolerate any challenge or hesitation in obedience. The world is accustomed to mediocrities and men who do not deviate from the beaten path. Men who want to strike out a path of their own are not wanted.

Therefore, it is no use expecting that any consideration will be shown to any man because he happens to be great. Everything depends upon the form of greatness. If it is such as is not likely to cause any anxiety to the authorities he is let alone; if society is not disturbed he may be safe from social persecution. But really great men who have a new message or proclaim a new truth, or who lead the human race along a new road invariably come into conflict with men in power or established interests and they have to pay the penalty. The greatness of such men is not generally recognized in their lifetime; if it is it affords them no protection from suffering or punishment. In expecting or demanding considerate treatment for Mahatma Gandhi because he is undoubtedly the greatest man in the world we confuse real greatness with accidental and artificial greatness. The greatness of the spirit or the soul is no protective armour against persecution or punishment. The only greatness that confers safety is the greatness of office or the glamour of position. It is only the man in power who can do no wrong. Greatness in itself, the greatness which owes nothing to accident or environment, has no privilege and is no safeguard against oppression or ill-treatment. History is full of instances of the persecution of great men innocent of any real offence, but supposed to have offended against some prevailing belief or some law in existence at the time. Laws vary according to times and the notions of the lawmakers, but infallibility is claimed for every law in force at a particular time. Laws that would be now repu-

diated as monstrous and inhuman were regarded as perfect and just when they were being enforced and any one who questioned the wisdom or righteousness of such laws could obtain no hearing. There is scarcely any crime that has not been perpetrated at some time or other in the name of the law, and wicked laws are passed even by civilized nations to this day.

Men who are really great, to whom the world owes more than to any crowned king or victorious conqueror, have stood up for the right and the truth without fear of consequence and have suffered for their temerity. Subsequently, with the passing of time, their greatness has been recognized and millions have paid homage to their memory and followed their teachings. It must be remembered that the human race is characterized by littleness in all ages and civilization makes no difference in the standard of human nature. The twentieth century is nowise different from the unnumbered centuries before a particular era. Civilization is not a thing of yesterday, nor is it dependent upon any particular phase of religion. Christian civilization is in no way superior to older civilizations and in any case the tenets of the Christian religion are not the marked features of modern civilization. There is no trace of Christian morality or Christian faith in the serious or lighter aspects of modern European civilization. The civilization of ancient Egypt is still the wonder of the world. China had a civilization older than that of ancient Greece and Rome, and the civilization of ancient India produced an inexhaustible store of wisdom which still attracts the reverent admiration of the world. The civilization of Greece and Rome is still the dominant force in European civilization and the same intolerance that characterized the older civilization disfigures the civilization of the twentieth century. So was it in earlier centuries in the Christian era. Socrates was put to death by the Greeks in Athens, Jesus Christ was crucified in Jerusalem by the Jews and Romans, and Latimer was burnt at the stake in England by Christians. No question then arose as regards the injustice of the law and why should the laws that sent Mahatma Gandhi to prison in the Transvaal and in India be deemed fallible?

Instead of being a shield and buckler greatness is frequently a challenge to the law, which is sometimes another name for physical force. It is only after the lapse of some time that a man condemned by the law is called a

martyr, when posterity finds out his greatness, and men who are called martyrs in life are spared no suffering when they come within the clutches of the law.

CABINET REDUCTION

BY HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE following communiqué has been issued by the Bombay Government :

"In view of the difficult financial position of the Presidency, His Excellency the Governor decided that it was desirable to reduce the number of Members and Ministers of his Council from four and three to two and two respectively. All the present Honourable Members and Ministers promised to co-operate with His Excellency in bringing in this change whenever it was found necessary.

"Accordingly, His Majesty the King Emperor approved of the acceptance of the resignation tendered by Sir Govind Balwant Pradhan, the present Finance Member and Mr. G. A. Thomas, the present Home Member, with effect from July 15th.

"To effect the desired reduction in the number of Ministers, the Governor is accepting the resignation of Maulvi Sir Rafiuddin Ahmad with effect from the above date."

It is certainly refreshing to find a provincial Governor admitting that the financial position of the presidency is so difficult as to necessitate the use of the pruning knife at the top. It also proves that there was redundancy in the Cabinet where four men can efficiently discharge the duties divided between as many as seven. And it is to be hoped that other provinces will not be slow to follow the example of Bombay in reducing the number of members and ministers in the Cabinet.

The members of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee (1922) expressed the following opinion :

"The present Government which consists of four Members of Council and three Ministers, has been widely described as unnecessarily large. It has been pointed out that in pre-reform days the Government consisted of the Governor and three Members of Council, and that admitting the increase of work resulting from the new constitution, and from an enlarged and more

active legislature, the increase of the Members of Government by four appears to be without justification."

But justifiable or not the Government of Bengal persisted in maintaining as many as seven members in the Cabinet even when experience went to show that the work could be duly performed by four. They evaded the recommendation of the Committee by saying :

"The decision as to the number of Members of Council is vested by law in the Secretary of State; the decision as to the number of Ministers rests with His Excellency the Governor personally."

The people were in the dark as to the reasons which had made the Secretary of State decide upon appointing as many as four members of Council and influenced the Governor personally to indulge in the luxury of three ministers.

While the Retrenchment Committee referred to Government by the Governor and three Members of Council we can—by going back a little—find that before Bengal was converted into a Presidency with a Governor, Bengal together with Bihar and Orissa used to be the charge of one Lieutenant-Governor working with one Secretary, the Lieutenant-Governor finding time to undertake a tour of inspection every year.

True, in the Report of the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and House of Commons appointed to consider the Government of India Bill, we find—"the Committee are of opinion that in no province will there be need for less than two ministers, while in some provinces more will be required"—but the members of that Com-

mittee nowhere made any recommendation about the number of members of Council in addition to the ministers. On the other hand they say :

"The Committee are of opinion that the normal strength of an Executive Council, especially in the smaller provinces, need not exceed two members. They have not, however, reduced the existing statutory maximum of four; but if in any case the Council included two members with service qualifications, neither of whom is by birth an Indian, they think that it should also include two unofficial Indian members."

Thus the appointment of one member with service qualification who is not an Indian by birth would make it consistent to appoint only one unofficial Indian member.

The maximum number of members and ministers is nowhere necessary.

In Bengal the game of minister-bating has been played several times, and experience demonstrated that the work of the Cabinet members could be satisfactorily done by the four members of Council administering the Reserved and Transferred Departments. As the result of this experience the Government ought to have fixed the strength of the Cabinet at four, resulting in a large saving to the presidency where useful work is being neglected for want of adequate funds. We remember how a Governor of Bengal once openly avowed that wherever he went people asked for money for useful work, but funds he had not. Spread of education, improvement of health, establishment of industries, supply of drinking-water in rural areas, proper drainage, the resuscitation of obstructed waterways—all these were neglected and, strange as it may appear, the Government never thought of effecting a saving by reducing the strength of the Cabinet, entailing also the reduction of departmental staff.

Now that dire necessity has made a provincial Government reduce the strength of the Cabinet we hope that the example will be followed permanently by all Provinces.

But a reduction in the strength of the Cabinet alone will not carry us very far. The exorbitant pay of the Members of Council and Ministers should be cut down considerably. The pay of the Members of Council was originally fixed in terms of the pay of the most highly paid Civil Service in the world—the Indian Civil Service. And the pay of

these service men cannot, unfortunately, be reduced without special measures. But bad as that is what is worse is the fixing of the pay of the Ministers according to the standard of pay of the Members of Council.

Regarding the pay of Ministers the Government of India Act provides as follows :

"There may be paid to any Minister * * in any Province the same salary as is payable to a member of the Executive Council in that province, unless a smaller salary is provided by vote of the Legislative Council of the Province" (sec. 52).

Thus the Act not only does not enjoin the payment to a Minister the same salary that is payable to a member of the Executive Council but, what is more empowers the Legislative Council of the Province to fix a smaller salary.

On this question the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee is explicit :

"They advise that the status of the Ministers should be similar to that of the members of the Executive Council, but that their salaries should be fixed by the Legislative Council. Later on in this Report it will be suggested that Indian members of the Council of India in London should be paid a higher scale of remuneration than those members of the Council domiciled in the United Kingdom. The same principle might suggest to the Legislative Council that it was reasonable for the Ministers of the provincial governments domiciled in India to be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members."

Thus the members of the Committee held the opinion that the remuneration paid to the ministers should be lower than that of the members of Council. At the first Bengal Legislative Council under the reforms an attempt was made to reduce the salary of the ministers. But the ministers themselves considered this undesirable and promised to pay a thousand rupees each a month towards charitable works. How they did it is not known to the public. Then the Council was dominated by Swarajists who only delighted in ministry-breaking with a view to "create a situation." And now the Council is silent over this change. The members of the Bengal Legislative Council would be failing in their duty to their electors if they do not reduce the salary of the ministers to a reasonable sum consistent with the financial position of the province and the claims and qualifications of the ministers themselves.

The principle referred to by the Joint Committee that officials domiciled in India should be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members should also be made applicable to the case of the Members of the Executive Council.

The late Mr. Montagu once said that the poverty, ignorance and helplessness of India were unimaginable in Europe and the best of constitutions would not be able to cure these ills if the desire to make money in Government service cannot be wholly eradicated. In Europe and America and even in self-governing countries in Asia the view-point is wholly different. People who want to get rich take to trade, commerce or industry and those who want to serve their country enter Government service. In India foreign domination has created posts with fat salaries and the time has come when the conditions should be radically changed.

When John Bright became a Cabinet Minister he said :

"There is a charming story contained in a single verse of the Old Testament which has often struck me as one of great beauty. Many of you will recollect that the prophet journeying to and fro was very hospitably entertained by what is termed in the Bible as a Shunammite woman. In return for the hospitality he wished to make her some amends, and he called her to him and asked her what there was he should do for her. 'Shall I speak for thee to the King' he said 'or to the Captain of the host?' Now it has appeared to me that the Shunammite woman returned a great answer. She replied, in declining the prophet's offer,—'I dwell among mine own people.' I wish to dwell among my own people. Happily the time may have come—I trust it has come—when in this country an honest man may enter the service of the Crown—and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to dissociate himself from his own people".

When will Indians accepting the posts of members of Council and ministers take pride in thinking that they dwell among their own people and decline to dissociate themselves from their own people ?

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY*

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

DURING the sixteen years of its existence the Indian Women's University has made satisfactory progress in all directions. In 1916 it had only one school with 125 students on its rolls; in 1931 there were 15 schools recognized by the University, having on their rolls 1,950 students. In 1916-17 the Women's University had only four collegiate students. Its sixteenth annual report shows that the number of students receiving higher education in colleges run on lines laid down by it, at Poona, Bombay, Baroda Ahmedabad, is 107. In 1916 only four students passed its Entrance Examination; last year 107 passed that examination. It was in 1919 that the University first held its Graduate in Arts Examination, turning out only one graduate. The sixteenth annual report shows that fourteen have graduated in Arts in the latest examination. Three ladies have so far obtained the Degree of

Proficient in Arts, which is a post-Graduate degree.

Even among the male section of the population of India education has not made much progress. Even the merely literate, not to speak of those who are properly educated, form a small fraction of the entire population. The superstitious prejudice against the education of girls and women is still to be found, not only among the mass of the people, but even among many of those who consider themselves educated. For these reasons the elementary education of girls and women has been making only slow progress in India. The progress of higher education among them is slower still. Under these circumstances, it would be unreasonable to expect the Indian Women's University alone to make any phenomenal progress. As its rate of progress has not been slower but rather faster than the general rate of progress of female education in the country, I consider the steady advance it has been making to be quite satisfactory. In arriving at such a conclusion I have taken into consideration many facts connected with it.

* Major portion of the address delivered at the Convocation of the Shreemati Nathibai Damodhar Thackersey, Indian Women's University in Bombay on June 18, 1932.

It is in many respects a new experiment. The use of the vernacular as the vehicle of instruction even in Indian schools in general has still to find general acceptance. It is still farther from adoption as the medium of instruction in collegiate and university education. Therefore, the adoption of the vernacular as the medium of teaching in the Indian Women's University right from the bottom to the top has been an obstacle in the way of its popularity. In spite of the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake being a commendable ideal, large numbers of students in all countries go in for education mainly in order that they may have a career; and they are justified in doing so. For life is a good thing and one must have a livelihood in order that one may be useful. For various reasons India is at present so peculiarly circumstanced that careers open to our youth are few and most of these are available only to those who have passed through the gates of the officially recognized schools, colleges, or universities. Though Indian society is so constituted that it is not usual for our women to seek careers, yet economic independence is as good for women as it is for men, and to earn a living is a hard necessity for some of our women. But the avenues of employment open to educated women are open, generally speaking, mostly to those who had studied at officially recognized institutions and passed the officially recognized qualifying tests. Hence the fact of the Indian Women's University not having yet been officially recognized goes against its being largely resorted to by our girls and women for education.

It should also be borne in mind that the Indian Women's University is unconnected with any religious propaganda of a popular character, or with any propaganda which feeds national pride or vanity, or with any political movement which might have given it an impetus.

When all these facts are taken into consideration, the wonder is not that it has not made greater progress but that its progress has been so great as it is.

It is a pleasure to note that the results so far achieved by this university have not been secured by lavish expenditure. On the contrary, the utmost economy compatible with efficiency has been exercised. The average cost of education per pupil per annum in the schools conducted by the Indian Women's University is about 40 per cent lower than the cost per pupil in the Government and Aided Girls' Schools in the Bombay Presidency. Yet the I. W. U. schools are not less efficient than the others. This has been possible because of the self-sacrifice of their teachers, born of their high idealism and their love of the cause.

It cannot be said that there is only one excellent system of education and that that system has been discovered and adopted in any country. Experiments in education have to be made and

are being made in many countries of the world—particularly in those which are free and enlightened. It is by such experimentation that the various means and methods of imparting education successfully can be discovered. In India trying experiments in education is beset with difficulties, because owing to her peculiar modern conditions only a few careers are open to her educated youth and these are open chiefly to those who have been educated in officially recognized institutions. Hence it is difficult to get students and money for institutions not run on officially approved lines. Nevertheless, if there is to be in our country both spread and improvement of education, experiments must be made. The Indian Women's University is, therefore, to be valued if only as a promising experiment in the right direction, though it is worthy of appreciation for various other reasons as well.

Whatever might have been the case in ancient India, in modern India female education has been woefully neglected by both the people and the Government. Yet without it India cannot make any real and substantial progress in any direction. With the mind and soul of half the population atrophied, if not also partly deformed, to talk of national progress would be a mockery. And apart from the question of the collective progress of the people of India, whether it be given the name of national progress or any other name, there is the question of the individual right of every human being, male and female, to all the means of self-development, self-expression and self-creation with a view to nearing perfection as the days and months and years pass. To keep girls and women in ignorance would be an unjust and as grievous a wrong as it would be to keep boys and men in ignorance. The case, then, for female education is unassailable. We must have schools, colleges and universities where our womanhood can receive education.

Many people inveigh against institutions which, in their opinion, impart "Western" education to our girls. I am not enamoured of anything which is peculiarly occidental and, therefore, unsuited to our country. But knowledge is neither of the East nor of the West, just as air and sunlight are neither oriental nor occidental. Our girls and women have as much right to knowledge as anybody else. As for the training of character, which is a major part of education, our children of both sexes should certainly be brought up to value the best traditions and ideals of India and to make them a part of their spiritual constitution as it were. But we should not be narrow in our mental outlook. We should have a hospitable mind and spirit. No country has a monopoly of the highest idealism in all fields of human thought and endeavour. Men and women in all countries and ages are heirs to all that is or has been

good in all other countries and ages. And hence, if we are lacking in anything, while the foundation of our character must be truly laid in what is Indian, we must not hesitate to assimilate and make Indian whatever is good in the wide wide world.

In the profession and practice of the cult of Swadeshim we cannot all lay any claim to distinction, but we can all humbly claim to be sincere lovers of what is Swadeshi in things of the mind and spirit as well as in externals. I am only anxious that people should not inveigh against Westernization in female education, only or mainly to put obstacles in the way of the education of our girls and women. The sincerity of such outcries can be proved only by these persons devising and supporting some specially oriental and Indian system of education which would effectively elevate the intellectual and spiritual status of India's womanhood.

If it were true that boys and girls require the same kind of education in exactly the same subjects and that girls do not require to know any additional subjects and do not require any separate kind of training, co-education in all subjects would be an ideal thing. But most Indians are not in favour of co-education—though personally I think it is economical and mutually advantageous for boys and girls to be taught those subjects together which both require to know. And it is also a fact that the education of girls to be thoroughly suited to them should be made different in some respects from the education of boys. Moreover, even if boys' institutions were suitable for girls as well in all respects, the present number of boys' institutions would not suffice for girls as well; new institutions would have to be founded and maintained. And if the present boys' institutions and the additional institutions to be founded were all made co-educational, I am afraid the boys would preponderate in number and their interest and needs would be consulted more than those of the girls. For all these reasons, whilst I think that girls should be accommodated in boys' institutions in all those places where separate institutions for girls alone cannot be founded and conducted, I think it is necessary to start and maintain additional educational institutions for girls wherever possible. This applies to educational institutions of all grades. For by parity of reasoning, if it be necessary to have girls' primary schools, it is necessary to have women's universities also. The question of expense is a different matter. Where sufficient money cannot be had for the purpose, we must of course do without separate higher grade institutions for girls.

In placing their views before the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19 the students of Bethune College, the only Government College for women affiliated to the Calcutta University, asserted that "It is not desirable that there should

be a separate university for women," on the following grounds :

"(i) If there were one, the field of competition would be, for us women, limited to that amongst ourselves only.

"(ii) If the standard were lower than among men, we women could not stand properly by the side of our brothers.

"(iii) We women do not want to lag behind."

In other words, the Bethune College students did not want to be or to be considered by others to be intellectually and culturally inferior to men students. As a separate university for women may in certain circumstances be necessary, care should be taken to prevent the growth of the inferiority complex among women students. One way to do this is to see that the standard of studies and examinations for women is not inferior to that for men. I am glad to say that, in my opinion, the cultural value of the courses of study for the different examinations of the Indian Women's University is not less than that of the corresponding ones in men's universities.

I must not be taken to mean that a separate university for women can secure to men and women students all the advantages of co-education in a common institution for both; for I believe in the mutual education of the sexes as well as in their independent needs and disciplines. What I claim for a separate university for women is that it has its own advantages which at least counterbalance the disadvantages. Meeting-grounds and opportunities of co-operation can be so arranged, even where there are separate universities for men and women, as to make the mutual education of the sexes possible.

I have not yet referred to a preliminary objection to the higher education of women. It is that it makes them unfit or less fit for motherhood. I am not entirely unaware of theories to that effect and have also come across some American statistics in support of the objection. Statistics are certainly good things in their way. But being an old journalist, I know that statistics can be manipulated to support what one wants to support. Living medical and physiological authority is not all on the side of the objection. And an ounce of fact is often better than a ton of theory. I know of highly educated and intellectual women in and outside Bengal who are mothers of many children and good mothers and good housewives, too. It has been also objected that the strain of burdensome courses of study and of examinations injures the physique of girls and women. But the pressure of studies can be so distributed as not to result in over-strain, and arrangements can be made particularly in the case of small institutions—by which the day-to-day class work of examinees can be taken into consideration for determining their merit, so that examinations alone may not be the sole

test. Add to these, plenty of nourishing food, fresh air and exercise, and injury to the physique of students can be prevented.

Even under the present state of women's education in the world and in India, men and women have some common fields of public work, national and international; and with the spread of higher female education these may become gradually more extensive and greater in number. But even in the future, if human society is to exist as it will and must, one main sphere of work of women will continue to be the family and the home. So their education should fit them for the home. This does not mean that their activity should be confined to the home. They can and should do other work, too, *e.g.*, motherly work for the children of the country and the world, corresponding to the motherly care of their own children. For equipping them for such work for the home and society they should study some special subjects and receive special training in others. I need not specify all these. Most of them are included in the courses of study of the Indian Women's University. I would only beg leave to put in a word for us men-folk, too. I venture to think that it would be advantageous for men also to have music and painting included in their courses of study, and that they would profit by a study of even domestic science, as they, too, have to keep house. I may here mention incidentally that architecture may very well be taught to women in order that when they have their own homes they may be able to plan them for health, comfort and beauty, and in order also that some of them may adopt architecture as a profession. For, those who have most to do with homes ought certainly to have a hand in laying down what kind of structures they ought to be located in.

What I have already said must have made it clear that it is not my opinion that women's activity should be confined to the home alone. They have a national and international sphere of public work also. But when I say this I do not in the least imply that women's work in the home is less important than public work. If anything, it is more important. The moulding influence and work of the mothers of the race have been less advertised than the influence and work of the male sex. But what is most loudly advertised is not necessarily the most valuable. What our mothers do consciously and unconsciously is all the more potent and precious for not being advertised. And education of the right kind is calculated to make their influence and work more potent and precious still and win for them the respect of their children for their intellect and culture, as well as affection for their motherly love and care.

It is easy to understand that, for fitting women for their work in life, they require special training in some directions and some special

subjects of study. But what is not generally understood is that, at least in the teaching and study of some subjects, the approach, the interpretation, the emphasis, etc., and the application, may with advantage be different in the cases of men and women. Economics, civics, history may be mentioned as some of these subjects. Professor Sir Patrick Geddes goes so far as to say that

"Every study is thus bisexual in its perspective; and that universities do not see this is only another example of their present senescence."

He observes by way of illustration:

"A man's view of economics is of 'the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth'; and a docile parrot-woman learns this, more precisely, and 'does well in the examination'. But a thinking woman begins with its consumption and comes to family budgets, etc., beyond mere money wages."

A separate university for women like the Indian Women's University may very well try to see and show to its students at least some subjects of study, common to men and women, in their womanly perspective.

While on this topic of special training and special subjects of study for women, I am reminded of what Rabindranath Tagore told Mary Van Eeghen-Boisrevain when he was staying in her home in Holland. She writes in *The Golden Book of Tagore*:

"We had been talking about the education of woman and of her place in life. The poet said: 'Teach girls to realize that their greatest influence is the personal contact with their surroundings in the making of a home or in educating youth. Therefore they should be trained to give out freely and pleasantly what they were taught. The atmosphere of culture and light which is so created, is the centre of beautiful home life. Great trouble should be taken to teach girls to express themselves in beautiful and simple language, to give out their knowledge and experience, and their wisdom, their thoughts, their dreams, their visions. The legends of the world are made eternal through woman's gift of story-telling. While man can express himself truly and well in work and deeds, woman does so best of all through personal contact with her surroundings. It is easier for children to learn through stories than through books. And so a cultured and beautiful home influence can be theirs through the gift of story-telling. The women who take care of the children of the world must be story-tellers, and so set free the children's own phantasy.'"

These observations of the Poet give a partly correct idea of his view of women's education. By way of supplementing these observations I may mention that it is his intention to make his university, which is co-educational, specially suited to women, that he wants, to make their education more scientific and that all departments, including the research department, are open to both men and women.

As teaching and medicine are two of the professions most usually followed by educated Indian women, an Indian women's university

should see that its courses fit its students for these avocations or lead up to studies in other institutions which fit them for the same. For this purpose it is necessary that this university should be recognized by the Government and by the officially recognized universities.

I should now consider the question of our vernaculars as the media of instruction. It is undoubtedly an incongruity that I should have to advocate the use of our vernaculars as media of instruction through the medium of a foreign language like English. But our political subordination to England is responsible for this sort of inconsistency, which will come to an end when we have an Indian language as our *lingua franca*, for which development this university has been preparing its students by teaching them Hindi. I could have delivered this address either in Bengali or in Hindi. But in neither case perhaps would it have been understood by as many of my hearers as this English version.

It requires no argument to prove that a student's mother-tongue is the best medium through which he may be taught; the thing is self-evident. As most Indian girls and women who receive education do not intend to apply for jobs in Government or mercantile offices, which require a knowledge of English, there is less objection to the use of the vernaculars in girls' institutions than in boys' institutions. While saying this, I do not imply that knowledge of English is unnecessary or useless for Indian girls. The Indian Women's University recognizes its importance by teaching it as a second language. For educated Indians of both sexes it serves as the *lingua franca*, it has promoted national unity, it serves as the medium of our intercourse in commerce and politics with other peoples and for exchange of knowledge and views with them, and it enables us to remain in touch with modern currents of thought and idealism and serves to keep us up-to-date in all departments of knowledge.

Apart from our vernaculars being the best media of instruction, it is also evident that for the purpose of securing general literacy and the possession on the part of the people of at least an elementary knowledge of the three R's and some science and history and geography, the vernaculars alone can be the media. It is at least a century and a half since any part of India came under British dominance, and yet according to the census of 1921 only two and a half million Indians out of 319 millions were then literate in English. If it took a century and a half to make two and a half million Indians literate in English, it would perhaps take 210 centuries or 21,000 years more to make the present entire Indian population of 350 millions literate in English! Of course, at the present rate of progress of literacy in one's vernacular, universal literacy in the vernaculars also would take an unconscionably long time.

But this rate can be greatly accelerated more easily and at much less expense than in the case of literacy in English.

The objection to the use of the vernaculars as media of instruction is not so strongly urged in the case of the lower classes of schools as in the case of their higher classes and of colleges and universities. It is urged that there are no good vernacular text-books for use in high schools and colleges and universities, and no comprehensive technical terminology in the vernaculars. But text-books can be and are being prepared, and technical terms are being coined as necessity arises. And until we have a sufficient number of vernacular text-books and technical terms, our teachers and professors, who have sufficient knowledge of English, can in the meantime consult English books and prepare their lecture-notes therefrom. Such up-to-date lectures in the vernaculars are more useful, necessary and important than the use of text-books. It should also be borne in mind that it was not very long ago that English, German, French and other European languages were in the same condition as our vernaculars as regards text-books and technical terminology. It is largely because they came to be used more and more for the purpose of high education that those languages have become rich in scientific, historical, philosophical and other literature of information. If we are determined and energetic, our vernacular literatures also will be gradually rich in these respects.

It may be contended that as there are plenty of English text-books, why waste so much labour and money in preparing vernacular ones? Besides, some of our vernaculars are spoken by comparatively small numbers of people, and it would not be economically and otherwise proper to take the trouble to write and publish text-books in them.

My reply is that in Europe there are many peoples whose numbers are small; yet, instead of using text-books written in the English, French, German or other largely-spoken languages, they prepare their own text-books in their own languages and use their own vernaculars as media of instruction even in their universities. Of the leading vernaculars of India Gujarati is spoken by the smallest number of people, namely, about ninety-six lakhs according to the census of 1921. Now, in Europe Denmark has a population of 35 lakhs, Greece 70 lakhs, Hungary 80 lakhs, Holland 76 lakhs, Norway 28 lakhs, Portugal 64 lakhs, Sweden 61 lakhs, etc.; and they all use their own vernaculars and vernacular text-books in their educational institutions of all grades, from elementary schools to universities. Of course, they may sometimes use German, French, English or Italian books for some abstruse or highly technical branch of learning, just as Englishmen sometimes use German and French books of the same kind.

Even if we do not use our vernaculars in our

colleges and universities for all purposes, our vernacular literatures may be rich in poetry and works of fiction. But they can be made rich as regards the sciences, philosophy, history, etc., and for conveying knowledge of all other kinds, if the vernaculars be used as the media of instruction in colleges and universities. It is not impracticable to do so. Some of our most distinguished professors of science and mathematics have successfully used Bengali to teach their subjects even in B.A. Honours classes, the only foreign words used being some technical terms.

If the vernaculars be used as the media of instruction, knowledge of all kinds will more easily filter down to even the illiterate masses than if English alone were used.

Owing to education in and through English, a gulf has been created between the educated classes and the masses. This has been detrimental to political and social solidarity. Efforts are being made to bridge this gulf between educated and un-educated men. In the case of women, it would be better to prevent the evil assuming considerable proportions than allowing it to grow and then trying to remedy it. Let all our thoughts and ideas, all our idealism have a vernacular garb. Then even the least educated will be able to recognize them as Swadeshi and assimilate them.

I have no quarrel with those who think that if we are to use English at all for any purpose, we should use it correctly. That should certainly be our aim. But too much time and energy should not be devoted to speaking and writing English as well as Englishmen do. It would do for most of us if we possessed a working knowledge of English. This is quite possible if English be taught in our schools and colleges as a second language. The British Government in India have sometimes employed German, French, Dutch and Norwegian professors, archaeologists and other experts. They have been able to do their work through the medium of English, though they learnt that language in their countries only as a second language. We are not worse linguists than Europeans. If in our schools, colleges and universities English be taught as a second language according to the same excellent scientific methods as are in use on the continent of Europe for teaching modern foreign European languages, we can certainly acquire as good a knowledge of English as a second language as some Germans, French, etc., possess.

If the vernaculars be used as the media of instruction, it takes less time to acquire the same amount of knowledge than if English be used, and the knowledge acquired through the vernaculars is better "realized" and assimilated. I hope I shall not be considered wanting in modesty if I refer to the days of boyhood of some of my class-fellows and myself to illustrate how knowledge is more quickly acquired through the vernaculars. I passed my final vernacular examination

when I was not eleven. Some of my contemporaries also did so. Before I was eleven I had to know as much of geometry, arithmetic, geography, physical geography, Indian history, etc., as matriculation class students of our English high schools. Besides these subjects my class-fellows and myself had to acquire in the vernacular school some knowledge of Bengali literature and grammar, physics or chemistry, botany, hygiene, and the history in brief of Egypt, Phoenicia, Assyria, Babylonia, Greece and Rome. None of us were infant prodigies. The result of this speedy acquisition of knowledge through the vernacular was that we were able to prepare ourselves for the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University in four years instead of the usual eight or nine years. And we were able also to acquire a passable knowledge of English.

Some educated persons appear to think that, if by the adoption of the vernaculars as media of instruction in our colleges and universities and by other means, several vernaculars became enriched on parallel lines, we should lose the advantage of the present *lingua franca*, English, and also be indirectly preventing the development of one of our vernaculars into a *lingua franca*. I have already shown that English would continue to be studied and used, whenever and wherever necessary. As for an Indian *lingua franca*, there would be nothing to prevent the most developed and most largely-used vernacular being adopted as our *lingua franca*.

The existence of several well-developed vernaculars need not be apprehended as a bar to nationhood or a unified state, as some seem to do. Many vernaculars are used in Switzerland, Russia, U. S. A., South Africa, etc., without those countries ceasing to be unified states. Moreover, we are here concerned with the discussion of an educational and not a political problem. Nevertheless, I have just thrown out a hint as to how the political objection may be met.

One other point remains to be considered. The Indian Women's University has already students in its recognized institutions whose vernaculars are Marathi, Gujrati, Sindhi and Telugu, and I know that at least two Bengali girls have passed its Entrance examination as private candidates. How will the university manage to teach and examine through so many vernaculars? This is not an inseparable difficulty. Institutions will teach through the prevailing language of the area, and the university will set question in as many languages as may be necessary. Even for its M. A. Examination the Calcutta University recognizes several Indian vernaculars and for its Matriculation very many more. If in course of time the Indian Women's University becomes very large, human ingenuity will not fail to give it the form of a Federation of Indian Women's Universities.

I have now almost reached the end of my tedious address. Let me conclude with a few words addressed directly to the graduates of this university—I say directly, because whatever I have hitherto said was undoubtedly meant for them as well as for others.

It is my earnest desire that you will never forget the Sanskrit saying, 'सा विद्या या विमुक्तये', (*Sa vidya ya vimuktaye*) "That is right knowledge which makes for freedom"—which should in our times mean spiritual, intellectual, social, political and economic freedom.

It is one of the greatest blessings of life to have sat at the feet of self-sacrificing and enthusiastic teachers for instruction, guidance and inspiration. It has been your good fortune to have had such persons of high idealism for your teachers. Much is expected from those to whom much has been given. So the world will expect that you will ever be worthy of your University and your teachers in your life and thought and idealism. I have noticed with pleasure that many graduates of this university have been already doing useful work as teachers and in other capacities. All over the world, better homes make for a better society and better nations, and thus is human improvement effected. It is for you more than us men to improve our homes and our social conditions.

Long before the break of day, children perceive and welcome the light with their cries of delight. It is the privilege of youth to see the light first, to dream dreams, to discern a ray of hope in the midst of circumstances which to older persons may spell blank despair. May it be

given to you to discover and to follow with courage and hope the path which may lead this weary world of ours out of its jarring ambitions, jealousies and discords. There are already signs visible that, where men have mostly striven for power, women will labour for the service of humanity and for world-wide peace and purity. Hence it is that we find women's organizations doing notable work in furtherance of the causes of social purity and eradication of commercialized vice, of prohibition, of international cultural co-operation and fellowship, and of real disarmament.

Women are not to blame for the fact that hitherto, with rare exceptions, it is men who have planted the flag of knowledge in the realms of the unknown; for women have not had adequate opportunity. I may be permitted to hope that, through the instrumentality of India's educated women, notable contributions will be made to the arts and sciences.

Individually and collectively, human beings can grow better through the idealism of both men and women. I hope and trust you will enrich our common idealism. Equalization of the ethical standard of men and women has to be brought about by levelling up and not levelling down. It is hoped that that will be the *tapasya*, the task mainly of our women. They are also to purify and spiritualize our politics.

India has worshipped the Supreme Spirit both as Mother and Father, and as Father-Mother or Mother-Father—*Ardhanarishvara*. I revere that great conception. May both India's women and men be worthy of it!

ART*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Friends :

I thank you for this invitation from the literary club of Teheran. It is natural that I the Poet from India should find my place in your midst. Let me hope that you do not expect a regular speech from me, formal and decorous, that you agree with me that it is as absurd to make a poet deliver speeches as to use a flute for a fishing rod or a fencing stick. I am reminded of a similar occasion in China, when the literary people of Peking, invited me to a picturesque

garden on the hill and after lunch was over asked me to tell them about my ideas on art and literature. I spoke simply sitting in their midst, I was not condemned to be banished to a high platform aloof from my listeners. My place is with you, and not above you, so that I wish today also I could sit with you on the same level in this beautiful garden, and tell you what is in my heart.

It is not at all easy to define fundamental facts of existence such as is art. It is as indefinable as life itself. We only know that the spirit of life that manifests itself in a rose gives a definitely concrete form and character to an impulse which is indefinite and abstract. It has no other ulterior pur-

* Poet's Address at the reception given to him by the Literary Societies of Teheran on Monday, May 9th, 1932 at 5 P. M. This address has been sent specially to *The Modern Review* and has not been published anywhere previously.

pose than to fashion a unique form from elements that are amorphous like those of carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen and others having no resemblance whatever to their final result. But this form of a rose is not important in itself, the form which is a limited fact that can be measured and analysed. It is a mysterious dynamic quality imported to it that helps to make the rose transcend all its immediate facts. In this it is not only a thing but it is a thing which has its significance of beauty inexplicable and measureless. A value has been given to it and not merely a substance. This value, this ineffable quality of delightfulness is maintained by a perpetual rhythm which creates a synchronous rhythm in our own consciousness.

The meaning of art is like that of life itself. Its inner impulse offers its ultimate explanation only in its outer manifestations. That they have come into being like a rose, like a star and have compelled our recognition of them as an inevitable expression of reality is enough. Like life art has its expressions that are dynamic, they constantly give an impetus to our minds and create ripples of various patterns in them which we call emotions. These are artistic emotions, being pure and having no consequence in life beyond their activities in our imagination. Art like life revels in a rhythmic play of appearances for its own sake.

Before I had come to you, possibly some of you had heard of me, read my writings and admired them. In fact, you had already been acquainted with that aspect of mine which was most significant. Yet when you heard that I was coming to your country an expectation must have been aroused in you which gave you an eagerness of delight. But what is the reason? It must be this that a *knowledge* about myself was not enough but an *image* of me was needed for your complete satisfaction. By that nothing could be added in your mind to all the important factors about myself; only the several ideas about a poet of my name that you already had possessed are going to be focussed in a centre and formed into a definite image of reality. This image is not absolutely similar in all your minds and its emotional reactions are also varied according

to your temperaments. But its unique definiteness gives satisfaction to your faculty of imagination which seeks to realize its visions in completeness. After the sight of me the picture that is impressed in your mind is an inner work of art, it is a mental image that has a living character.

But of what use is this image of a poet to you? If I were an engineer or a politician you could fix in your memory my figure with an association of some immediate usefulness such as building of bridges or carrying on diplomatic missions. But the image of a poet can have no appeal of utility in your mind.

In fact, all true images that are vivid give us a disinterested satisfaction even if their biographical associations have no importance. The sense of reality which is pure because detached from facts that either compel our recognition for urgent purposes of life or are overlooked because of their apparent insignificance, is delightful. In our storehouse of imagination we have such innumerable images of all that have been significant to us for their own sake, that have added wealth to our consciousness, making our life richer for us, even when they are mingled with the memory of sorrows and sufferings. In fact, these are the materials out of which our life is truly built up—the life of ideal reality. The images which have found their permanence in our minds through the selective process of life, in other words which are most real for us give us our individuality of character. Human art is also busy creating images of ideal reality; our history reveals its character by producing these images and making its choice from them for its treasure of undying worth.

This world is a world of images. The clouds, the skies, the mountains and rivers are part of a common being to which we belong. The trees stand silently around giving us the delight of an intimate companionship, we enjoy the pageantry of leaves and flowers and fruit, the colours and forms in which they abound. We enjoy them because they are not vague, they are real and delightful to us. Because they have some quality of harmony which we call beauty, which makes their reality impressively

inevitable and immediate to our minds. We take joy in the springtime blossoming of new life not for any virtue which we know as usefulness but simply because through a fulness of reality it rouses response of reality within us. It delights us by the sheer fact of its existence which is co-extensive with ours.

I had some knowledge of Persia even before my coming. I had read something of your history and geography, and formed some idea of your people and your country. My imagination was aroused through your great poets whose call had come to me even though I had no direct access to them. I used to dream of a Persia where *bulbuls* made love to the roses, where in dreamland gardens poets sat round their wine cups, and invoked visions of ineffable meaning. But now that I have come to your country my dream has been formed into a concrete image finding its permanent place in the inner chamber of my experience. It is a definite gain added to the store of all my things of beauty that are joy for ever. I have visited Saadi's tomb; I have sat beside the resting-place of Hafiz and intimately felt his touch in the glimmering green of your woodlands, in blossoming roses. The morning sun coming through the iron lattice work wrote its shadow scripts over his tomb; it was the same sun that lighted up the face of his beloved centuries ago. It fell upon my forehead with the memory of an eternal love episode in which we all seemed to have taken part. The past age of Persia lent the old world perfume of its own sunny hours of spring to the morning of that day and the silent voice of your ancient poet filled the silence in the heart of the poet of Modern India. Altogether it was an image which waited for its perfection in my mind since the far off days when I was a boy and listened from my father to the cadenced music of your great poet.

Every individual has something of a poet within his heart seeking fulfilment through experiences which give a sense of ultimate reality. Man is glad because the sky is blue, because water flows and flowers blossom; not because they are useful and profitable like cheque books and motor cars, but because

they are what they are. Our gift of imagination is satisfied through them, they are real to us though we cannot explain them.

God as poet inspires us—the poet within our hearts. In his sunrises and sunsets, green grass and living water he speaks to us as a comrade seeking our response in joy. And I am sure he is glad as a mortal poet is when we enjoy his creations. His great work is to delight our heart, not to convince us of the usefulness of things.

I have always felt that when I do useful work for my fellow-beings God praises me, but when I sing to them I win his love. The world of utility we must recognize, its laws we must understand. If we fail to do so we shall be punished. But the world of beauty waits and waits;—and even if we pass them heedlessly by the roses will smile, and be beautiful, and wait silently for our auspicious recognition. We are not punished if we callously ignore the ceaseless service of love which is in this universe. Therefore when we enter the heart of existence through love, the master poet is happy. He has given us freedom to be apathetic, to accept his creations or to reject them. When the great moment arrives, when our sensitive mind is moved by the fulness of reality, the music which flows from his infinite love reaches us, and our deepest purpose of being is fulfilled.

And then we also come out with our gifts of love, with our creations of beauty which we offer to him for his delight. When I saw your great ruins, Persepolis, your great architecture in Isfahan, your paintings and frescoes I felt that this was the homage of humanity to the Great Poet; the answer of man to God's call of love.

Poets and artists seem to bring their greatest gifts, and ask—"Art thou satisfied, my Master? Thou hast made us partners in thy joy, pouring thy gifts of love upon us; now we have come to offer thee our best from the depths of our own love for thee."

And the answer comes from Him to us—from our Master who is also our Friend:

"I have used my power for millions of years in fixing the foundation of this world, burned it in fire, hammered it with earthquakes. After ages of toil came the first flower, the

birds sang, life appeared on earth—then was my dream fulfilled. And yet I waited. My joy sought the confirmation of your delight, the answering creations of your love.”

His world of beauty surrounds us, our life is his gift of love. The play of love begins—*kila* as we call it in India—now is to be the union of our human civilization of beauty with God’s own world of creation, and be blessed.

My friends, let us not bring discord into this beautiful world, something which is perverse and disharmonious with creation. Roses and nightingales, sunshine and green foliage, they are tuning up the harp of creation—let us join with them. Let us not be greedy, ugly and destructive, ruled by passions which belie our nature. It has gone on too long, this desecration of our sacred world, which bears the touch of God’s own hand. Do you not see how man is creating suffering, tightening the bonds of slavery on weaker nations, exploiting hospitality and kindness for cruel diplomacy? Do these harmonize with starlight, and wide fields, the call of eternity which comes from far horizons? Our deeds are an insult and untold injury to the world fashioned by our Master, and we have to bow our heads in shame for what man has done to man.

God wishes man to manifest his greatness. Science has entered nature’s storehouse and is successfully utilizing the wealth of its resources. For that we have to be proud. But what have we done to the world of beauty? Have we been equally successful in exploring its inner significance and making accessible to all its endless wealth of delight, fertilizing the toil-hardened desert of destitution? No, on the contrary—the more we add to our machines, and our mechanisms of utility, the more we are being alienated from the eternal world of truth and beauty. We lose our heads over our mechanical achievement, we miss our right to be happy. We have learnt to tyrannize and destroy. We have failed to win our freedom by surrendering to love.

This, my friends, is all I have to say to you, I who belong to the brotherhood of a useless tribe called poets. You must use your wisdom in mastering mechanical power, there you have a great field of work. But let me remind you of your responsibility in the human world of love. I claim no right to advise you, to speak from a higher platform, but I claim a corner in your hidden heart where I can talk to you as a friend. If I am fortunate you will receive me there and recognize me as one who seeks to fulfil God’s own dream of love.

THE KRITA, GUPTA, SAKA AND OTHER ERAS

BY DHIRENDRANATH MUKHOPADHYAYA

PART II

Now let us come to the question of the Krita era as found in many Indian inscriptions. This era was also known as the Malava era as described in the Mandasor inscriptions. From the internal evidence of the inscriptions it is clear that this Krita era should be about four hundred years earlier than the Gupta era. As Fleet incorrectly assumed the Gupta era to be identical with the Balabhi era of 319 A. D. and seeing that the Vikrama era was started 376 years before this in 58 B. C., it was taken for granted that the Krita era is identical with the Vikrama era. But that the Malava era existed long before 58 B. C. was shown by General Cunningham. Here I quote the remarks of Dr. Fleet regarding

the very early epoch of the Malava era, about the third century B. C. as considered by General Cunningham. “At the same time as regards the second possible result of about B. C. 214, we must not overlook the existence of certain coins, found in large numbers at Nagar, in the north of Malwa and originally brought to notice by Mr. Carlleyle, which have on them the legend, ‘*Malawanam jayah*’ ‘the victory of the Malavas’ in characters ranging in General Cunningham’s opinion, from perhaps B. C. 250 to A. D. 250.” (“The epoch of the Gupta era”—*Ind. Antiquary*, Vol. XV. p. 191.) General Cunningham considered the Malava era to start from the time of Asoka. It will now be seen that the Malava era was

started from the time of Udayana or the first Asoka. From Alberuni's statements we learn that there was an earlier Sree Harsha era, the starting point of which was exactly 400 years before the Vikrama era *i. e.*, in 458 B. C. Now let us come to the identity of this King Sree Harsha in whose name the era was started. We know Ajatasatru ascended the throne eight years before Buddha's death, which I have already found to have taken place in 501 B. C. Therefore, Ajatasatru ascended the throne in 509 B. C. Now, according to the Puranas Ajatasatru and his son Darsaka or Harshaka ruled for 51 years *i. e.*, up to 458 B. C. when Udaya ascended the throne of Pataliputra. Now, this King Udaya had variant names in the Puranas—Udayana, Udayaswa, etc. From the Puranas we learn that King Udaya built the city of Pataliputra in the fourth year of his reign. “स वैदूरवरु राजा पृथिव्याम् कुसुमाह्वयम् । गङ्गायादक्षिणे कुजे चतुर्वेन्द्वे करिष्यति ॥”

From Bhasa's *Swapna Vasavadatta* we learn that Udayana was King of the Vatsa country with its capital at Kausambi. Udayana married Vasavadatta, the daughter of the Pradyota King of Avanti, a very powerful king in those days. Udayana also married Padmavati, sister to king Darsaka of Magadha. Udayana thus became the paramount sovereign of India as his *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters) proves. Consequently Udayana was lord of Malava also. The intimate connection of Udayana with Avanti or Malava is evident from Kalidasa's *Meghadutam* : प्राप्ययावन्तीम् उदयन कथा कोविदो ग्रामवृद्धान्” Udayana, along with

the Malavas, transferred the capital to Pataliputra. Now King Darsaka was the last descendant of Bimbisara's line. The Ceylonese Chronicles represent (Saisu) Naga Dasaka as the last descendant of Bimbisara's line. The Ceylonese tradition is confirmed by the following passage in Hiuen Tsang's Si-yu-ki: ‘To the south-west of the old *sangharāma* about 100 *li* is the *sangharāma* of Ti-lo-shi-kia (Darsaka)... It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara raja.’ The building of the city of Pataliputra by Udaya on the bank of the Ganges is also stated in the Jaina Parisishta Parvan. Hiuen-Tsang also states : ‘In the hundredth year after the Nirvana of Tathagata, there was a king called Asoka (O-shu-kia) who was the great grandson of Bimbisara raja. He changed the capital from Rajagriha to Patali and built an outside rampart to surround the city.’ The name of this king will be seen to be Asvaka or Udayaswa which is another name of Udayana. Udayana received the dominions of his brother-in-law Harshaka who had no sons. Harshaka was the grandson of Bimbisara. Udayana, coming after Harshaka, was mistaken for the great grandson of Bimbisara. The Buddhist and Jaina statements that Udaya was the son of Ajatasatru is somewhat incorrect. Udaya was the son-in-law of Ajatasatru. The

Buddhist “Jataka” similarly describes Sita as the daughter (evidently in place of daughter-in-law) of King Dasaratha. It seems now clear that Harshaka started building Pataliputra but died before he could finish it. His dominions passed on to Udayaswa who in memory of his brother-in-law Harshaka started the Sree Harsha era from the date of his accession as king of Magadha in the new capital Pataliputra in 458 B. C. which was the fourth year of his reign as king of the Vatsa country. Now, Udaya ruled for 33 years in Pataliputra *i. e.* from 458 to 425 B. C. As Buddha's Nirvana occurred in 546 B. C., therefore king Asoka ruling India 100 years after Buddha's Nirvana is found to be (Udaya)aswa. The Mahavamsa states that the end of the 11th year of Kala Asoka's reign (447 B. C.) was the 100th year of Buddha's Nirvana thus showing clearly that Kala Asoka and Udayaswa are one and the same person. Udayana is described in Bhasa's *Swapna Vasavadatta* as a descendant of the Pandus. It seems Udayana's ancestors came directly from the Pandya country of the south, which term (Pandya) Katyayana derives from Pandu. It seems that as the river Kritamala flowed through the Pandya capital Madura (South Mathura), to commemorate the name of their mother river, the era established by a descendant of the Pandus also bore the name “Krita.” The Sri Harsha, Krita or Malava era then started from the building of Pataliputra and the accession of Udaya in that new capital as the paramount sovereign in India and on this occasion he, perhaps, granted the republican form of Government in Malava—the country of his father-in-law. Hence the significance of *Malava Ganasthiti* (the establishment of the republic in Malava). This was considered by the Malavas as the ushering in of the Krita or the Golden Age, hence the significance of the term *Krita*. We have the instance of the beginning of the Varroian epoch (B. C. 753) starting from the building of Rome. The Krita or Malava era being identical with the Sri Harsha era, the interval between this and the Gupta or Vikrama era is one of 400 years and not 376 years. This difference of twenty-four years will solve numerous difficulties nicely.

The Mandasor inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman records the building of a temple of the sun in Dasapura (Mandasor) in the Malava year 493 and its restoration in Malava year 529 when Kumaragupta was reigning over the whole earth and Bandhuvarman, son of Viswavarman, was governor of Dasapura. Now, the first date is Malava year 493=Gupta or Vikrama year 93 (=A. D. 35) when Chandragupta II was reigning. We have the Sanchi inscription of Chandragupta II for the Gupta year 93. Bandhuvarman's father Viswavarman was his governor as evidenced by the Gangdhar inscription of Viswavarman of the Malava year 480 (=V. S. 80.)

Now the second date, Malava year 529 (= G. E. 129) was the time of the restoration of the temple, when Kumaragupta was reigning and Bandhuvvarman was his governor. We have the Mankuwar inscription of the Gupta year 129 during Kumara's reign. Now, with Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era the Malava year 529 is equal to G. E. or 153, which comes in after Skandagupta's dates (G. E. 136-148). Hence Kumaragupta of the Malava year 529 was assumed to be Kumaragupta II, which is a grave blunder. The Bhitari seal describes Kumara II as the son of Narasimhagupta Baladitya who we know along with Yasodharman Vishnuvardhan defeated Mihirakula in Malava year 589 (= G. E. 189 = A. D. 131). With Fleet's epoch Malava year 589 is equal to G. E. 213. With Fleet's epoch Kumaragupta mentioned in Bandhuvvarman's inscription of Krita or Malava year 529 is assumed to be Kumaragupta II which is plainly seen to be absurd. The fragmentary Kosam (Kausambi) inscription of the Gupta year 139 contains the name of Maharaja Bhimavarman, who was presumably a feudatory of Skandagupta. Evidently, this Bhimavarman was the descendant (perhaps the son) of Bandhuvvarman and was the governor under Skandagupta. After Bhimavarman in G. E. 139, Bandhuvvarman cannot again appear in G. E. 153 as assumed with Fleet's epoch. During the last few years of Kumaragupta's reign, G. E. 129-136 (= A. D. 71-78) the descendants of Pushyamitra the Sunga, rose to power and rebelled against Kumaragupta. The Mlecchas or the Hunas also were giving him much trouble. Skandagupta as a Crown Prince was fighting against these enemies but he only came out victorious just after his father's death in G. E. or V. S. 136 (= A. D. 78, the epoch of the Saka era). The Malava year 529 being equivalent to G. E. or V. S. 129, falls within Kumara's reign, hence this date is no record of a second Hun war, beginning in Narasimha Gupta's reign and continuing till Budhagupta's reign. The correct date of Narasimhagupta Baladitya and Yasodharman Vishnuvardhana was Malava or Krita year 589 or G. E. or V. S. 189 (= A. D. 131) when Mihirakula was defeated. With Fleet's epoch Yasodharman comes sixty years after Narasimhagupta which is a grave blunder and is evident from Hiuen Tsang's statement. Kumaragupta II was the son of Narasimhagupta Baladitya and must therefore come after G. E. 189.

Hiuen Tsang states that the Buddhist patriarch Manoratha flourished in the midst of the thousand years after the Nirvana of Buddha. At that time Vikramaditya, King of the country of Sravasti, was of wide renown. A little afterwards Vikramadityaraja lost his kingdom and was succeeded by a monarch who widely patronized those distinguished for literary merit. Vasubandhu, the disciple of Manoratha and the 21st Buddhist patriarch, approached this monarch.

General Cunningham understood the phrase 'in the midst of 1000 years' to mean 500 Anno Buddho. From Beal (Si-Yu-Ki, Vol. I, pp. 105-8) also from Watters (Yuan Chuang—Travels, vol. I, p. 213) we learn that according to the Chinese reckoning, Manoratha flourished before A. D. 150.

From the statements of Hiuen-Tsang it is clear that Manoratha flourished during the latter part of the reign of Kumaragupta when the Gupta power was tottering to its fall. At this time Skandagupta succeeded to the throne and restored the ruined fortunes of his family. Skanda or Pura's son Baladitya studied under Vasubandhu. We have seen that Baladitya was flourishing about G. E. 189 = A. D. 131. Hence Hiuen-Tsang's statement about Manoratha and Vikramaditya is found to be correct. Mihirakula after his defeat repaired to Kashmir. After sometime, he put the 23rd Buddhist patriarch Simha to death. The time deduced for Mihirakula and others from the average period of patriarchship also tallies exactly with the true time of the Guptas, found herein.

The Buddhist inscription on the wall of Mandasor fort of the time of Prabhakara dated in Malava year 524 mentions the early Gupta emperor Chandra Gupta II and his son Govindagupta who was the governor of Vaisali for his father during the latter's life-time. Now, with Fleet's epoch, the Malava year 524 = G. E. 148 and, therefore, falls in during the last days of Skandagupta, the grandson of Chandragupta II (G. E. 60-93) i.e. 55 years after Chandragupta II's death, which is very improbable. The true equivalent Gupta date of the Malava year 524 = 124 (= A. D. 66) and falls in during Govindagupta's brother Kumaragupta's reign (= G. E. 94-136).

From the above it will be seen that to suit Fleet's hypothesis facts have been twisted and reliable evidences arbitrarily disbelieved. Fleet's hypothesis must not be considered sacrosanct and an article of faith. The whole chronological question should be examined with an open mind. Fleet assumed the epoch of the Balabhi era (A. D. 319) to be identical with the Gupta era and this created a veritable mess.

It is well known that the era used by the Balabhi monarchs was that of the Guptas. The commander-in-chief, Bhatarka, the founder of the dynasty, became the governor of Surashtra during the last two years of Skandagupta's reign. Bhatarka, a saintly king—*Rishi-Raj*—out of his gratefulness for his master, adopted the Gupta era which was continued by his descendants. Alberuni does not speak of any Gupta epoch as such but from what he says it is clear that the Guptas must have reigned before A. D. 319. Alberuni says, "As regards the Gupta *kala* people say that . . . when they ceased to exist, this date was used as the epoch of an era." This states simply that the Gupta era did not fall into disuse but was continued by the people as Vikrama era in memory of Chandragupta I, Vikramaditya.

Now, among the Balabhi monarchs we have Siladitya I with the inscriptional dates G. E. 286 and 290. With Fleet's epoch these dates are equivalent to A. D. 605 and 609. Now Dhaneswara Suri, the courtier and religious adviser of Siladitya of Balabhi wrote his *Salrunjaya Mahatmya* in the year 477 of Vikrama. He also stated there that the Vikrama era started 470 years after the Nirvana of Mahavira, i.e. in (528-470) or 58 B. C. Now, in Vikrama year 477 (=A. D. 420) a Siladitya was ruling in Balabhi. But on Fleet's hypothesis the first Siladitya was reigning about A. D. 605, i.e. about 185 years after. This shows clearly the absurdity of Fleet's epoch.

The Gurjara plate of Jayabhata is dated in 'Samvat 456 in the month of Magha on the full moon day, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, on Monday.' This date is equivalent to Monday, the 17th of December A. D. 400, on which day there was a total lunar eclipse visible from India, thus clearly verifying that Jayabhata's record is dated in the Vikrama era. In Jayabhata's grant it is clearly mentioned that he quieted the impetuosity of the lord of Balabhi. With Fleet's epoch, the Balabhi rulers had no existence in A. D. 400. This again shows Fleet's incorrect epoch of the Gupta era.

That Siladitya I, the Balabhi monarch ruled India about A. D. 228 (=v. s. 286) will be evident from the following: "One coin with the modified Kushan obverse, and the names Bashana, Nu, Pakaldhi (?) in Indian Brahmi characters in various parts of the field, has on the reverse a fire altar of the type found on coins of the earliest Sassanian kings. It is thus clear that in some way or other during the third century, the Punjab renewed its ancient connection with Persia." "Drouin points out that the form of the altar is that found on the coins of Ardashir, the first Sassanian King (A. D. 225 or 226-241) as well as those of some of his successors." "Ferishta in his introduction records that one year Ardashir Babagan (A. D. 226-241) marched against India and reached as far as the neighbourhood of Sirhind. *Junah* was very much alarmed and hastened to do homage to him. He presented pearls and gold and jewels and elephants as tribute and so induced Ardashir to retire." The statement is confirmed by the existence of the coin from Jhelum District, described by V. A. Smith." (V. Smith—*Early History of India*).

It is interesting to note that the first reading was.

Pashana, Nu, Pakaldhi (?)
and the second reading is
Pashana, Nu, Shiladi.

We find that the 'P' of the first reading has now been read as 'S'. It seems the 'P' of the second reading (of the first word) should also be 'S.' Then the reading will be 'Sashana, nu,

Shiladi.' This clearly indicates friendship between the Sassanian (Sashana) King and Siladitya (Shiladi) I of Balabhi, the Jaina ('Junah' of Ferishta) monarch of India.

Now, I take up the astronomical verification of the Gupta epoch which formed the groundwork of Fleet's hypothesis and demonstrates its absolute untenability.

First, I take up the inscriptions dated in the twelve year cycle of Jupiter coupled with the concurrent date of the Gupta era.

Now we should remember here that, according to all the Hindu astronomers, Jupiter's years are complete when through his mean motion he moves over one sign i.e. 30 degrees—
'बृहस्पतेर्मेघमराशिभोगात् सत्रात्सरं सांहितिका वदन्ति।'—

(Bhaskara.) They also distinctly state that the solar year exceeds in duration the Jovian year.

With Fleet's hypothetical epoch, Mr. Sh. B. Dixit could not get the name of the Jovian year correspond to the supposed equivalent date of the Gupta year, on the mean sign system. So, Dixit went over the unequal space divisions of the Nakshatras. But even then he could not get results tallying with the inscriptions. He then assumed the Jovian year to be equivalent to the synodic period of Jupiter (399 days) which everyone knows is about 34 days more than the solar year. This was an unwarranted assumption in view of the express statements by all the Hindu astronomers that Jupiter's years are shorter by more than four days than one solar year. The sidereal period of Jupiter being 4,332.58 days (i.e. 11.86 years),
he moves over one sign in $\frac{4332.58}{12}$ or 361.0 days.

With these wrong assumptions, Fleet with the help of Dixit could make the names of the Jovian years tally with the given Gupta dates. But with his assumed epoch when he came to the other Gupta inscriptions giving the week days or the mention of an eclipse, he was a total failure as will presently be seen.

There are four inscriptions of Maharaja Hastin and his son Samkshobha for the current Gupta years 156, 173, 191 and 209 i.e. the elapsed years 155, 172, 190 and 208. Now for the same reason as put forth by Dr. Fleet '... Mr. Sh. B. Dixit finds that ... on Tuesday, the 7th of May A. D. 905 ... corresponding to the southern Vikrama year 962 and to the northern Vikrama Samvat 963 ...' these Gupta or Vikrama years are respectively equivalent to Saka years 19,36, 54 and 72 elapsed (=A. D. 97, 114, 132 and 150). Astronomical calculations for the mean longitudes of Jupiter in A. D. 97, 114, 132 and 150 in the beginning of luni-solar Chaitra yield longitudes 222°, 17°, 204° and 29° respectively from the Hindu initial point. The name of the Jovian year when Jupiter lies within 30° from the Hindu initial point is called Maha Aswayuja, and so on.

Therefore, the names of the Jovian years in those years should be Maha Vaisakha, Maha Aswayuja, Maha Chaitra and Maha Aswayuja respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. General Cunningham also, in his *Indian Eras*, makes the first three dates Maha Vaisakha, Maha Aswina and Maha Chaitra respectively exactly as in the inscriptions. For the last date A. D. 150 (=Saka 72) Cunningham gives Maha Kartika, as against Maha Aswayuja. But we see that, in his Table, A. D. 139 was Maha Kartika, the next year A. D. 140 is recorded as Maha Pausha, making Maha Margasirsha omitted that year. If this had not been done that year, A. D. 150 should have shown Maha Aswayuja exactly as in the inscription.

Now, I take up the Eran inscription of Budhagupta of the year 165, the month of Ashadha, on Thursday, the twelfth lunar day of the bright fortnight. Now this being the current Gupta or Vikrama year is equivalent to A. D. 107=Kaliyuga year 3208. Now, Kaliyuga year 3208 elapsed $= (365.2586 \times 3208)$ or 1171749.85 days. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kaliyuga era (3102 B. C. 18th of February)=588466. Therefore, the Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaisakha in K. Y. 3208=1171749.85+588466 or 1760215.85 days, equivalent to March 17.85 days A. D. 107. The solar months of Vaisakha and Jyaishta=62.34 days. This brings us to the 19th of May for the first day of solar Ashadha. Now, the initial day of the luni-solar year (lunar Chaitra) was Thursday the 11th of March in A. D. 107. (This is correctly given in Cunningham's *Indian Eras*). Now, on the 71st day from this we have a 'sukla dvadasi'. This brings us to Thursday the 20th of May, A. D. 107 which day we find was the 2nd day of solar Ashadha and the week day was Thursday exactly as in the inscription.

Next, I come to the Koh grant of Maharaja Samkshobha of the year 209, the month of Chaitra, the lunar day 13 of the bright fortnight and at the end of the inscription the date given is the 29th day of solar Chaitra. Now, this being the current Vikrama year, is equivalent to A. D. 150-151. But as the month was Chaitra it was A. D. 151. The Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaisakha in K. Y. 3252 (=A. D. 151)=1776287.48, equivalent to March 19.48 days in A. D. 151. The solar month of Chaitra=30.37 days. Therefore, the 29th of solar Chaitra was the 17th of March, A. D. 151. Now, full moon occurred on March 20.4 days (Ujjaini civil time) this year. Therefore, *sukla trayodasi* began on the 17th of March and this we find was also the 29th day of solar Chaitra, exactly as in the inscription. With Fleet's epoch the assumed date (19th of March, A. D. 528) was neither the 29th day of solar Chaitra, nor the 27th as emended by him. In *Indian Antiquary* vol. XX. p. 379 ft., Fleet therefore remarked: "I think that the value of the second numerical

symbol must be corrected once more, and no matter what may be suggested at first sight by the value of similar symbols elsewhere, must be finally fixed at 8; i. e., the (civil) day 28.' The reader must have to read the second symbol as 8, through his imagination, for so Dr. Fleet commands so as to conform to his pet theory.

Lastly, I come to the Morvi grant of Jainka from Kathiawad on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun in Gupta year 585 expired, the 5th solar day of the month of Phalguna. This is the most important inscription for the verification of the beginning of the Gupta era. Now, Vikrama year 585 expired=A. D. 528-29. But as the month was Phalguna (Jan.-Feb.) it was no longer A. D. 528 but A. D. 529.

Now A. D. 529=Kaliyuga year 3630 elapsed. The length of the Hindu solar year=365.25876 days. Therefore, 3630 years=3630 \times 365.25876 or 1325889.28 days. Now, the Julian day number of the epoch of the Kali yuga era (18th of February, 3102 B. C.) is 588466. Therefore, the Julian day number of the initial day of the Kali year 3630 elapsed=588466+1325889.28 or 1914355.28 equivalent to 21st of March, A. D. 529. Thus the last day of solar Chaitra being the 21st of March and knowing that the Hindu solar months of Phalguna and Chaitra=60.2 days, the 5th day of Phalguna comes out to be the 25th of January A. D. 529. Now, on looking up the astronomical tables giving the dates of the eclipses of the sun, we find that in A. D. 529 there was an eclipse of the sun on the 25th of January, Greenwich civil time of conjunction in longitude being 23h 18m. This eclipse was total and ended on the earth generally in Greenwich civil time about 2 A. M. or in Ujjaini civil time about 7 A. M. in the morning. But owing to the effects of parallax this eclipse was not visible from India, on calculations from the elements given in modern astronomical tables. The above calculations may be verified from the tables of Julian day number given in the Nautical Almanacs, Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Theodore Von Oppolzer's *Canon der Finsternisse* and Prof. Dr. P. V. Neugebauer's *Astronomische Chronologie* (Berlin). There are instances of grants being made on the occasion of an eclipse though the same may not be visible from the particular locality. The above calculation proves conclusively that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama era and began from 58 B. C. Fleet, as well as Cunningham with their supposed epochs of the Gupta era and the resulting dates could get no eclipse in Phalguna. They, therefore, had to assume that the charter was perhaps dated several months before or after the eclipse, an assumption quite indefensible. All this proves conclusively Fleet's incorrect beginning of the Gupta era and should have convinced him of the desirability of abandoning this long ago.

Thus, we see very clearly that the (Chandra) Gupta (I Vikramaditya) era=(Chandragupta I)

Vikrama (aditya) era and started from B. C. 58, the traditional date among the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Jains, and the Muhammadans for the epoch of the Vikrama era.

We now see clearly that Fa-hien (A. D. 405-11) the Chinese pilgrim did not visit India during the reign of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya, a great Hindu monarch.

Fa-hien did not even trouble to mention the mighty monarch in whose territories he spent six studious years. India was being ruled by the Jaina Balabhi monarchs at that time. It was perhaps Siladitya VII for whom we have an inscription dated in G. E. or V. S. 447 (A. D. 390) during whose reign Fa-hien visited India. Vincent A. Smith's remarks are worth reading "Travels, Ch. XVI. The temples and priests apparently were Buddhists. The versions of this chapter differ considerably. Those of Giles and Legge have been used in this text." From this statement it is apparent that the temples and priests were not Buddhist but Jaina. "Fa-hien describes with great admiration the splendid procession of images carried on some twenty huge cars richly decorated, which annually parade through the city on the eighth day of the second month, attended by singers and musicians, and noted that similar processions were common in other parts of the country." This is clearly the Jaina festival "Paryusana Parva" which begins on the 12th lunar day of the dark fortnight of the second month (the year starting from the summer solstice) and continues up to eight days and ends on the 5th lunar day of the bright fortnight. "Throughout the country no one kills any living beings, or drinks wines, or eats onions or garlic—they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their marketplaces." These statements of Fa-hien show a thoroughly saturated Jaina atmosphere as will be evident from the following remarks by Stevenson: "Possibly the prohibition rests on deeper reasons as expressed in Jaina philosophy, of course, onions, potatoes and all roots being inhabited by more than one *jiva*, must never be eaten." Thus we see that Fa-hien came to India during the reign of a Jaina monarch—Siladitya of Balabhi.

That Fa-hien visited India long after the Imperial Guptas will be evident from this that when he visited India (A.D. 405-11) he found

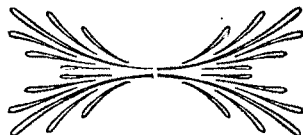
the great city of Sravasti almost desolate, occupied by only 200 families whereas during the reign of the Imperial Guptas Sravasti was the seat of a Governor. But with Fleet's epoch Sravasti was a great city from A. D. 320 to 510.

The alleged synchronism of Samudragupta with king Meghavarna (A. D. 352-379) of Ceylon is on the face of it incorrect and requires fresh examination. Sylvain Lévi noticed in the writings of Wang-Hiuentse (A. D. 657) the Chinese envoy, something which was interpreted to mean that two monks came from king Meghavarna of Ceylon to Samudragupta. The following terms were found in the writings: 'Chi-mi-kia-po-mo,' 'San-meu-to-to-kinto' and 'Ch'eu-Tseu', and these were translated as Sri Meghavarna, Samudragupta and Ceylon (Simhala). It seems the first term is "Sri Meghavarna" and not "Meghavarna."

I shall now try to elucidate the matter clearly. "At nightfall the King offered to the distinguished guests (King Asoka's brother Mahendra, Samghamitta etc.) for a lodging the royal pavilion in the *Meghavarna* garden. The offer was accepted, and when Devanampiya Tissa came the next morning to visit the monks, and heard that they were well pleased with their lodgings, he dedicated to the congregation the Meghavarna, which became the site of the Tissarama or Mahavihara. The monks of the Mahavihara (Meghavarna) whose annals are the sources of our information....." "The Southern branch of the original tree Bodhi, was brought to Ceylon, it is said, by the Theri Sanghamitta, daughter to Asoka, and planted in the Maha Meghavarna..." From the above it seems clear that the monks came not from king Meghavarna but from Sri Meghavarna, the King of Samgha or Vihara—the Maha Vihara to Samudragupta between V.S. 9 and 59.

To sum up, the main conclusions that we reach are these, *viz.*, that Buddha attained Nirvana in 546 B.C. and his death or *Parinirvana* took place in 501 B.C., that there was a Buddha Saka Kala dating from 546 B.C. (also called the Nirvana era), that the epoch of the Sree Harsha, Krita or Malava era was 458 B.C., the date of the foundation of Pataliputra, and that the Gupta era is identical with the Vikrama Samvat and is dated from 58 B.C.

Concluded.



BEPIN CHANDRA PAL

REMINISCENCES OF THE PATRIOT IN VOLUNTARY EXILE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

BEPIN Chandra Pal's name figured prominently in the list of persons whom I was advised to see by William T. Stead upon my arrival in London in the second week of 1910.

The meeting took place in the offices of the *Review of Reviews* in Bank Buildings in Kingsway. Stead sat at his desk groaning under papers and I opposite him in the large comfortably furnished room in which he dictated or sometimes wrote his vigorously worded, often prophetic editorial notes in a bold, round hand, remarkably neat for a man who had been forty years in journalism. At one end of the room was a deep leather-upholstered couch in which he used to repose during the intervals of work. "I can go off to sleep at will", he told me at this interview, "and wake up at any given moment." To that ability of his, he ascribed his health and strength.

For a year or two previously, Stead had taken me under his wing—quite unbeknown to me. He had been reading me in the American and the British Press and printing excerpts from (or, on occasion, digests of some of) my articles. Large-hearted man that he was, he wished to throw me immediately upon my arrival in England into the mid-stream of British journalism, as he put it.

"Of course, you cannot remember the names of all the people that I have asked you to see," he said to me. He had been reeling off name after name of writers, statesmen and politicians that I "must see." He probably had seen a look of hopelessness on my face and in his kindly, almost fatherly way offered to have a list made by his secretary and also to send me some letters of introduction.

"But you do not need an introduction to

Chandra Pal," he said. He always spoke of the Indian leader as "Chandra Pal", almost as if his were a double-barelled name.

"Perhaps not," I chimed in, "though he came into prominence after I left India and I have never set eyes on him or corresponded with him."

"That did not prevent you, however, from writing about him in my *Review*. I like your young cheek. You have the cheek of a brass monkey."

A merry little twinkle came into his eye—the kind of a twinkle that I had the good fortune of seeing again and again during the two years which intervened between my first meeting him and the sinking of the steamship *Titanic* in which he went down in mid Atlantic. In his bluff, hearty way he told me the joke that was tickling him.

At the suggestion of my friend, Louis E. Van Norman, then Associate Editor of the *American Review of Reviews* (New York), I had sent Stead an article that I had headed: "The Men Behind the Unrest in India." The typescript reached the great journalist's hand just as he was on the point of starting off to Wimbledon to spend Christmas with his old chief of the *Pall Mall Gazette* days—John Morley, then recently ennobled. Thinking that the "man who sat in the seat of the Grand Mogul" would be interested in what a "full-blooded Sikh" wrote of the men who were tormenting him, he gave the article to him to read one evening after dinner, before sending it to the printer.

I asked him what Morley thought of my effusion. But Stead would not tell me. He was a man of peace. I had to wait for some weeks until I met the Grand Mogul, who almost directly began to call me "combative."

But that was not the end of the joke. Stead cut my article in twain. He carefully

pasted together the bits that I had written about "Gokhale and other Moderates, who are very well known here (in England)" and posted the pages to me and printed my "pen-pictures of the men who really mattered in India to-day" with a longish introduction of his own, headed "Heroes of the New Era in India" or some such title.

Bepin Chandra Pal was one of these heroes.

"Go to Chandra Pal, my boy" Stead counselled. "He will receive you with open arms." And Pal did.

II

I remember going on a dull, clammy afternoon to Shepherd's Bush by the "tube," as advised by Stead's secretary—Miss Marshall, a most considerate and helpful lady. As I was then unfamiliar with the geography of London, she had jotted down detailed directions on a slip of paper.

Even then I had some difficulty in locating the house in which Pal lived and had to ask a "Bobby" (policeman) for assistance. He knew "just exactly" where the place was. A little later when I told the Indian leader of the policeman's kindness, he tartly remarked :

"Probably one of the d—d spies who have been told off to watch my movements." (More of this later).

Perhaps if I had visited the district on an afternoon when the sky was blue and the sun sailing majestically overhead, sending down golden shafts that brightened everything they touched, my impression of it might have been pleasant. But the heavens above were forbidding and the atmosphere was so saturated with water that I felt I could squeeze drops out of it.

The drabness of the environment clutched my heart as I banged the sticky knocker that had no doubt been "brasso-ed" that morning, but looked tarnished in the half-light and, after the door had been opened, I ascended the flight of steps up which was the drawing-room-cum-study of my compatriot.

The house must have been built after the "neighbourhood" had degenerated into the "district." (The middleclass English are a snobbish people and snobbery gives shades

to the words they use, which foreigners who have not known them in their native environment find it difficult to comprehend).

The sense of spaciousness that clings to property once in the possession of the opulent was conspicuous by its absence. The room in which I found Pal was small and sparsely furnished with articles quite obviously of the type that lower-middle-class dames who take to making their living by letting out rooms delight in. A small fire burned in the grate and near it stood the scuttle in which the landladies catering to the requirements of persons not overburdened with the goods of this world sent up coals at six pence or a shilling per scuttle. (I am writing of January, 1910).

Pal had on a suit of some dark material, none too fresh looking. He had been reading when I was announced. He laid the book on a small, rather insubstantial table, stood up, smiled and shook me warmly by the hand. As we sat down, he ordered tea to be brought in, dismissing my excuses.

III

As the talk warmed up I forgot the shabbiness of the surroundings. Pal was, I soon found, an intellectual, who had seen something of the world. He had touched life at many points. His interests were catholic. Politics and economics held empire over his heart but not to the exclusion of matters pertaining to the spirit.

He bombarded me with questions about the United States of America. I had sailed from New York a fortnight or so earlier, after spending many years in various parts of North America. He wished to know how I had fared there—how many of our people were there and how they were treated. Then he turned to topics in general and wished to be told about the working of democracy in that country.

In time it was possible for me to assume the rôle of the interrogator. I was compelled to put to him several questions of a personal nature. These Pal answered without the least equivocation or reserve.

His love of India, I learned, was too deep for him to be happy in exile even though his exile was self-imposed. He was also too set

in his ways to take kindly to new modes of life, especially to food as cooked by the English. And he abhorred the English weather—particularly the English winter.

Besides even in London, Pal felt that he was not left alone. His steps were dogged, he said. His letters were opened in transit, he was sure.

Fresh as I was from the United States, where at that period, at any rate, native and foreigner enjoyed freedom in a generous measure, I was disposed to make light of these statements. But he assured me that he did not have spies on the brain. They were no figments of his imagination, but real, solid, tangible persons, who never let him out of sight.

"How do you know that your letters are opened?" I asked him.

"There are ways."

That reply was too cryptic to suit me. So I insisted upon his giving me at least one instance.

Pal gave me one. "I told a correspondent," he informed me, "to put a hair from his head in each letter before sealing the envelope. But all letters arrived without a single hair. If one or two had reached me without the hair, I might have said that the writer forgot to carry out my instructions. But not in every instance without exception. The only conclusion to draw was that the person who was detailed to open the letters did not notice the tiny, single hair and it dropped out when he took the letter out of the envelope to read and consequently when he restored the letter to the envelope and closed it the hair was missing."

"You have nothing to hide, anyhow," I said in order to console him.

"Nothing whatever," he answered.

But he disliked prying eyes. They gave him an uncomfortable feeling.

Whether or not Pal had any cause to feel that, while in England, he was spied upon, I cannot say. But I do know that he was convinced in his own mind that he was shadowed.

He suspected not only non-Indians but even some of his (and my) countrymen in England of being engaged in the nefarious work—I felt morally certain that he sus-

pected at least one or two of them without any tangible evidence. But no one could disabuse him of the idea.

He was a man of strong likes and dislikes, a good hater (despite all his spiritual development)—and once he became prejudiced against a person, he could never be persuaded to change his opinion and take to him.

Pal had a very substantial grievance against the officials. He had, some time after his arrival in London, started a paper and they had forbidden it entry in India.

It was, if I remember aright, a fortnightly paper, *Swaraj* by name. The article that had given offence to the Government of India and the India Office dealt with the bomb movement—dealt with its "aetiology," as he phrased it.

He had his stenographer—Miss Willis was, I believe, her name—hunt up the issue and read to me salient pages from it. (I afterwards found that he was, fond of reading his own articles, especially those upon which he was engaged or which had been returned to him "with the Editor's thanks and regrets"; and he read them exceedingly well, though here and there his pronunciation was quaint). He asked me if any sane man could say that he has written anything that could, with the greatest stretch of the imagination, be described as an incitement to political crime.

I told him that I had not the least desire to be regarded as anything but sane: but evidently the powers that be believed that he was trying to stir up trouble.

Pal had a gift for sarcasm. He gave that faculty free vent. The case he made against the officials boiled down to this:

His championship of the cause of his people had earned him the ill-will of the officials.

In leaving India and settling down in England, he had hoped he would find peace but they were bent upon carrying on the vendetta against him.

The officials, he told me knew that support could come to him only from India. They had stopped his paper from entering India so as to crush him. They were hounding him, "Could malice go further" he asked me.

Seldom have I heard a man talk more bitterly than did Pal on that afternoon in January, 1910.

IV

A few days later, Stead invited me to dinner at his house—No. 5 Smith Square, back of Westminster Abbey. He asked me if I had called upon Chandra Pal and how he had struck me. I gave him my impressions of my compatriot, much in the terms in which I have set them above.

Stead was a great lover of liberty. He told me that Chandra Pal had been very badly treated by the officials. He had broken more than one lance in defence of the Indian leader. He had, in fact, had some trouble with the customs officials in India over what he wrote in the *Review of Reviews* about him.

But he could not get Lord Morley to intervene in behalf of Chandra Pal. In such matters the Grand Mogul permitted "Indian officials" to go their way. If any questions were asked in Parliament he found excuses for them.

"But why does not Pal write for British publications?" I asked the great British editor. "He could serve the Indian cause by so doing—and, at the same time, help himself."

"Why not?" asked W. T. Stead, by way of replying to my query. "I have more than once urged him to do so—have given him introductions to editors."

"I introduced him to (Sir) Percy Bunting (then editor of the *Contemporary Review*). He did write one article for the *Contemporary*. But, no more. He has a notion that all our editors are leagued against India. There is no shaking him from that opinion."

Stead felt genuinely distressed at what he considered Chandra Pal's obstinacy—obtuseness. He had the highest regard, he told me, for my countryman's intellectual gifts. "A most likeable man, too," he added. "Highly cultured. Yet he won't move from any position he takes up. Why don't you talk to him the next time you meet? You may be able to bring him round."

I had no illusions on the subject. I knew that I could not hope to succeed where Stead had failed.

But I had seen enough on the occasion of my first visit to realize that Pal needed money. I therefore took an early opportunity to call again at his residence and suggested to him as delicately as I could the desirability of his contributing articles to British papers, magazines and reviews.

As soon as I had spoken, I detected my mistake. I had probed a sore point. With all my care, I had given pain. He had tried but had met no encouragement—in some cases, had actually met rebuffs from conductors of British publications.

If his had not been an exceedingly sensitive nature, I certainly would have persisted with my suggestion. Journalism in Europe and America was, I would have told him, a coy maiden and had to be courted assiduously. I felt, however, that to continue to talk in that strain would merely inflict more pain. He seemed to me to regard himself in the light of a mentor and not unjustifiably. He had so much to tell the British about India that they did not know. He, therefore, expected them to come to him for instruction. They were chary of so doing. He had no patience with fools who could not see what was good for them and what bad. I, therefore, forbore from urging him any further to write on India for the British Press.

But I did press him to write for the Indian Press, though I told him there was precious little money in it. He had himself thought of doing so. But he told me publications in India were so badly edited. Most of the men who conducted the papers lacked education.

Finally he decided to send contributions to the *Modern Review*. Ramananda Babu is a "man of education," he told me.

I fear, however, that his heart was too filled with bitterness for him to write many articles.

I wonder, moreover, if the money he got from his contributions to the Indian Press paid even his stenographic bills.

V

At this time my wife and I were living in north-western London. One evening while we were sitting in our study chatting Pal turned up. How well I remember that he

wore a funny little cape over his long, black coat.

"I wished to make acquaintance" he said to Mrs. St. Nihal Singh "and invite you to an Indian meal. I also wished to acquaint you with my friend."

Saying that he introduced Shapurji Saklatvala, who, at the time, was courting the Labour Party. He had an eye upon a seat in the House of Commons.

"Like many Socialists," Saklatvala informed me apologetically, "I have to earn my living in a capitalist concern." That concern was the London House of the Tatas, to whom he was related. Some time later, he introduced me to a son of Phirozshah Mehta, also serving in a minor capacity in the same concern.

Pal and Saklatvala presented a vivid contrast.

Pal talked with quiet dignity. Though many were the sufferings that he had endured in the cause of the Motherland, a smile often played upon his lips. He had a habit of keeping his mouth open a little. There was, if my memory does not betray me, a tiny space between his two front upper teeth, which gave a pleasant air to his intellectual cast of countenance.

Saklatvala, on the other hand, had a way of clipping his words. As an American painter and writer who met him subsequently at our house put it, when Saklatvala talked he gave the impression of chewing steel and one could almost see sparks flying from his teeth.

They had one thing in common, however. They pinned their faith to the British Labour Party. They talked eloquently and long to persuade me to do the same.

I had met Keir Hardie and fallen in love with his gentle, affectionate nature. I had met Ramsay MacDonald, too—superior to Hardie in intellectual capacity no doubt but not so sympathetic.

I feared that when Labour came into power, if it ever did, the cold, calculating spirit represented by MacDonald might easily triumph over the simple, kindly benevolence irradiated by Hardie. I had had one disappointment at the hands of the Radicals,

then in the saddle, and had no stomach for another from the Labour Party.

Stead was, moreover, constantly dinning into my ears that the future lay with the "Lib-Labs"—a fusion of the Liberal and Labour Parties—a fusion in which he visualized Labour as being always the "junior partner." If that were to be so, what was the good of transferring faith from one to the other—or even what was the justification for having any faith in either.

Saklatvala entered into a hot disputation with me. Pal seemed to concur with him, but left to his companion the task of converting me.

As the sequel disclosed, the man who was to convert me left the Labour Party. For some years he has found the English vocabulary much too inadequate to express his detestation of that Party.

One thing I noticed that evening, full of contention as it had been, Saklatvala paid Pal great deference. Himself no mean performer on the platform even at that date, he extolled Pal's powers of speech.

Pal was very modest. "It comes" he said. By "it" he meant, I suppose, the message he had to give the public. "When I get up," he added "my mind may be an utter blank. But as I begin to speak words pour from my lips. It is all His doing."

Faith is not particularly my strong point: but I was deeply touched by Pal's modesty.

VI

Some evenings later my wife and I were seated at Pal's table. He had taken the trouble to cook, with his own hands, a fish curry and some *dal*. Miss Willis (his secretary, who was devoted to him) and Nanoo (his real name was, I believe, Niranjan)—his son—were of the party.

My wife and I thoroughly enjoyed the repast that evening, and on other occasions Miss Willis succeeded in mastering the art of making curry without assistance from her employer.

Pal, as I remember him, was at his best when playing the host. He lost, for the time being, all sense of wrongs. He gave of his best—without stint. His talk at the table was brilliant. He related interesting in-

cidents—not always of a serious character. Persons who had only heard him thunder from the platform at political miscreants had no idea of how he could unbend in his little, humbly furnished flat or in some friend's apartment.

VII

Pal had a child's heart. I remember he and G. S. Khaparde calling upon me a day or two after I had a long audience with the Grand Mogul (Lord Morley) at the India Office. They both were full of curiosity as to what had transpired between the Secretary of State for India and myself. Particularly Pal.

I told them that the interview was not of a public character and I, therefore, did not wish to discuss it.

My disinclination only served to put a keener edge upon their curiosity. But I was not to be moved.

Finally Pal asked me: "Tell us, at least, what was said about us."

"Nothing," was my reply. "Nothing at all."

It passed their understanding that an Indian could be closeted with the Grand Mogul for upwards of an hour and their name not creep into the conversation. However strange, that was, nevertheless, the sober truth.

VIII

I was not surprised when Pal announced his intention of returning to the Motherland.

His days in England were spent largely in enforced rest. He was not at all happy.

He knew that in returning to India he was running certain risks. The officials, who were down upon him, might give him trouble. He also knew that, while living at home, he would be able to render service to his people—service that he attempted but was not permitted to do from abroad. He, therefore, willingly took the risk and as the sequel showed he was not far wrong in entertaining his suspicion. He was arrested upon landing, prosecuted and jailed for a month (I believe).

The Pal who returned to India was a far

different man than the one who went out some three years earlier. Much of the fire that used to kindle enthusiasm in the breast of his auditors and even readers had been extinguished.

As he took the earliest opportunity to admit, his political convictions had undergone a change. He no longer felt that India must break away from Britain before she could attain freedom. He hauled down the flag of "independence" which he had unfurled in 1905 and ran up in its stead the banner of "dominion status," as we would now put it. Or, in Gokhale's words, he believed that India could rise to her stature within the British Empire.

Walking through the vale, as he did during his years of self-imposed exile, must have had something to do with this change. But not that alone. Contact with the British, limited as it was—had had its effect. Especially contact with William T. Stead. Of another man I might easily have thought: "He has become tired of living in a foreign country—of living in straitened circumstances—in uncongenial surroundings—in a climate that is disagreeable during a great part of the year. Nostalgia has assailed him. He longs to get back to the spacious bosom of his dear Bengal—to cast his eyes upon a peacock-blue sky studded with stars dripping gold—to hear the croon of the reed lute and the melody of the minor notes so sweet to the Indian ear."

Not of Pal, however. He had championed unpopular causes for so long and shown such a disposition to suffer with hardly a moan, that any suspicion of his motives died a-borning.

After Pal got back to our beloved country, I—a wanderer upon the face of the globe—lost sight of him. Our paths crossed but once after his departure from England and then only for a brief few moments.

My impression of the patriot, therefore, is that of a bird beating bruised pinions against the wires within which he found himself entrapped—heart-sick to resume his flight, arrested by malign Fate which had not only clipped his wings but had shut him up in an ungilded cage.

THE FASCIST STATE

A STUDY

BY AKSHAYA K. GHOSE

THE problem of the State is essentially the problem of its Government which has given rise in all periods of history, in all climes and in all countries, to perplexities so various, conflicting and almost insoluble that it may be worth while to consider within the compass of a brief paper in this review how one of the greatest and most resourceful minds alive now has sought to solve it. During the twentieth century, the question is, it has been questioned everywhere, whether democracy is the ideal solution of the problem of government. The Latin races in particular seem to have shown a singular incapacity to adapt themselves to the party system to which the most highly developed yet balanced political system, the English system, owes its vitality, virility and utility. Fascism is considered, and indeed judged by eminent critics to be one of the most illuminating of the practical alternatives to real democracy. It is felt therefore that a study of the Fascist system is essential to a complete understanding of modern politics.

The problem is so vast that I will not undertake a detailed discussion of how and why Fascism came into-being. The many interesting topics connected with it, such as, the evolution and history of Fascism, its philosophy and the personality of Mussolini may be attempted one after another.

For our present purpose we will divide Fascism into four main parts : in the first of which we propose to deal with the constitution of the Fascist State as it now exists, in the second with its economic aspect, with its national and international relations in the third, and in the last with the conclusions which may be drawn with regard to its future.

I

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FASCIST STATE

Before the war, labour in Italy was organized as in most industrial or semi-

industrial countries. After the year 1918 a tendency to syndicalism began to show itself, and in the course of a few years two old trade unions disappeared to be replaced by Fascist confederations composed of many diverse elements—nationalists, reactionaries, syndicalists and political idealists. These confederations formed the nucleus of the new Fascist party, and on them the present Corporative State of Italy, with which we are familiar, is theoretically based.

a. The Government of the Fascist State is composed of

i. *The Prime Minister.*

ii. *The Grand Council.* The Grand Council is presided over by the Prime Minister, and appointed on his nomination, by the King, consists of life members, cabinet members during their term of office, and extraordinary members designated for an undetermined period, in virtue of the services rendered to the Fascist movement, e. g. the Quadrumviri who led the march on Rome in 1923. The strength of this body does not exceed about fifty in all. Its functions are pre-eminently consultative, and it is in no sense a power in the Government. However, it must be consulted in any constitutional matter which the Government proposes to submit before the Parliament and also, as the most complete synthesis of the various forces of the Fascist regime, it has the right to propose to the Crown the names of those whom it considers most suitable to be members of the legislature.

iii. *The Senate,* which is appointed by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister, forms the second Chamber of the Fascist Government, when constituted the Senate takes the form of a permanent committee of experts.

iv. *The Corporative Chamber* has a strength of four hundred in number, and is nominated by the Grand Council as follows : (a) The confederations of employers, (b) employees and (c) the professional

classes, together with (*d*) certain cultural and charitable bodies "present" a thousand names to the Grand Council. The Grand Council then revises the list with special reference to its representative character, makes additions of its own as it sees fit, and finally designates a list of four hundred. The list is then put up for the approval of the Crown and the Prime Minister. After its approval by the Crown and the Prime Minister, it is placed *en bloc* before the electorate which is called upon to vote as a single constituency by a ballot bearing the formula, "Do you approve of the list of Deputies designated by the National Grand Council of Fascism?" If the majority answer "Yes," then the entire four hundred are elected. In practice this is always the case, though provisions are made for the case of a rejection of the list; this is described by Signor Rocco as "a merely formal hypothesis."

The Corporative Chamber, thus constituted, forms the general legislative body of the Fascist State. In accordance with Fascist ideals, however, power is delegated from above, not from below, and it may be emphasized that the power of the Prime Minister to control, directly or indirectly, the composition of the Government, is unfettered. Moreover, by the law of December 24, 1925, no motion can be laid before either the Chamber or the Senate without the previous consent of the Prime Minister.

What can be the object of such a principle is not at all a puzzling problem for it is frankly acknowledged that the object is to secure government without an opposition. Class warfare and party politics must be completely subordinated to the attainment of a common national feeling: when the general consent of the nation to the Government has been obtained at the polls, the executive is to have a free hand.

b. Objections.

To the formula laid down above there are, from the point of view of political ethics, many serious objections. That true political liberty has been abolished may be realized from various considerations. They may be briefly enumerated under half a dozen heads: (*a*) the confederations do not represent the

whole country, or even all the members of the trades concerned, (for a membership of only ten per cent of those eligible is the minimum fixed by law for the constitution of a confederation). In any case the Councils of these confederations, (and they of course make the nominations), are not elected by the members, but are appointed by the general Fascist executive; (*b*) the nominations made by the various confederations are not proportionate to their membership (*e. g.*, the confederation of Maritime Transport, with a membership of 49,000, makes forty nominations; while that of Land Transport, numbering 247,000, is allowed only thirty-two nominations); (*c*) the unlimited power of the Grand Council to alter and add to the list of nominations makes the procedure assume the appearance of a farce. Many names which appear on the final list of four hundred are unknown to the electorate altogether; (*d*) the electorate has no freedom of debate or discussion through the press or on the platform before being called upon to vote; (*e*) the objections to taking a vote on four hundred names *en bloc*, treating the whole country as a single constituency and preventing the elimination of unsuitable candidates, are obvious; (*f*) the system cannot be presumed to have the consent of the nation, for, if it had one would be at a loss to see where was the necessity of having innumerable laws and repressive measures against freedom of speech and opinion such as are prevalent in the Fascist State of Italy.

II

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE CORPORATIVE STATE

Fascism seeks to retain, by means of the political structure outlined above and its maintenance of social conditions not far removed from martial law, the unity of purpose which Italy achieved during the War. The theory is that, under Fascism, valuable forces normally wasted in class struggles are liberated for the development of Italy as a great economic and military power. It will serve us no useful purpose, to enter into a detailed survey and discussion of the economic condition of Italy of today, but clearly it is of great interest to examine how far

Fascism has affected the economic progress of the country.

a. Economic Position :

During the period 1922-25 Italy enjoyed a considerable trade revival. As 1922 is the year in which the Fascists came into power, they claim the credit: but other European countries, not blessed with Fascism, had a similar experience, and in fact all of them, including Italy, experienced an inflationary boom due to the rapid depreciation of their currencies. Events show that since 1925, the economic position of Italy became steadily worse until 1927, when the *lira* was stabilized, and since then some improvement has shown itself. It is difficult to say that Fascism has achieved anything which could not have been done by any other form of Government.

The moral force of Fascism combined with the fact that the Corporative State can and does eliminate the possibility of industrial dead-locks, has undoubtedly stimulated the economic vitality of Italy; but real economic reorganization cannot take place without large amounts of new capital, which are not forthcoming from Italy, in spite of the stimulation to saving which Fascism is promoting and indeed has promoted. The nature of the Corporative State is such as to deter foreign investors from putting capital into Italian concerns, for they feel and very naturally, that the constitution savours too much of a dictatorship to be really stable: and although the Corporative State professes to put no hindrance on private enterprise, its power to interfere in industry is neither attractive nor encouraging to investors. It may, however, be realized that this lack of confidence may decrease the longer the system lasts. But the fact remains that the fundamental principles of the Corporative State cannot admit the influx of too much foreign capital. The State is constructed on economic foundations which it cannot allow foreign interests to control. And this is the principal reason why Mussolini has at present placed an embargo on foreign capital.

b. Social Conditions :

In their order of importance they may be enumerated under the following heads.

(i) Liberty, (ii) Education, (iii) Taxation,

(iv) Wages, (v) Unemployment, (vi) Public Works, etc., (vii) the Church.

Individual or political liberty may be said to be non-existent in the Fascist State of Italy. Rigid censorship of the press and literature and the total denial of the right of free speech have seriously limited the liberty of the individual. There are also stringent laws against any form of political opposition.

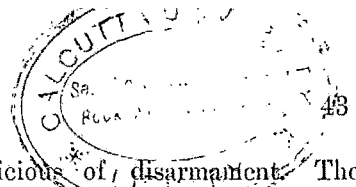
Education has no doubt made rapid progress in Italy for the number of schools has been considerably increased, though the Fascist propaganda occupies a large place in their curricula. On the 9th of March, 1930, Signor Turati, addressing the National Association of Teachers, said, "The teacher must know how to educate in a Fascist manner. He must not look for the elements of his teaching in books, but in his fervid Fascist conscience." The greater "Fascistization" of the schools is being considered, and State text-books are to be used exclusively in the elementary schools.

No definite particulars of the scale of *taxation* in Italy can be discovered for want of published statistics. But in the case of the Turin metal workers, whose weekly wages of about £2 a week is the highest in Italy, we find that 8 per cent of this is paid in direct taxes to the State.

Statistics from the International Labour Office show that real *wages* have not risen in proportion to the price level in the period between 1914 and 1929. And as the standard of living in Italy was low before the war, these figures indicate a decline in the standard of living of the wage-earner, which Fascist rule has not either checked or been able to check.

Italy publishes no base figure for her *unemployment* statistics, and therefore, it is difficult to say exactly what the conditions are, nor over how large a proportion of her workers the figures extend. However a figure of between three and four hundred thousand registered unemployed is serious when we consider that Italy is only 25 p. c. industrial, and it is in industry that by far the most unemployment exists.

There has undoubtedly been a vast improvement under Fascist rule in the *public services*, roads, railways, development of



electricity for power, hygiene, and the reclamation of land by drainage. Attention may also be drawn to the vigorous and successful agricultural policy recently adopted by the Government, and to its encouragement of rationalization in certain depressed industries.

The problem of the *Church* is more complicated than appears on the surface. In theory the Pope has received by the Lateran Treaties a measure of temporal power in addition to his spiritual powers, but in these treaties and other relations between the Pope and Mussolini we see the assertion of the right of the State to control education and the moral life of the citizens, which the Church maintains to be the concern of the priest and the family.

III

THE EXPANSION OF ITALY

Since the War, emigration, which used to take place from Italy on a large scale, has been restricted by Mussolini himself and by the rigid *quota* laws of the United States, which formerly took a large percentage of Italian immigrants. At the same time Mussolini has agitated for an increase in the already high birth-rate. In view of unemployment and the low standard of living in already over-populated Italy, such a policy, unless it is followed by colonial expansion, can only lead to a falling off in the average quality of the race. It may, therefore, be judged that the artificial *stimuli* to population are designed to force an overflow from Italy to territory yet to be acquired. It is therefore that the northern boundaries of Italy have been extended, and efforts are being made to extend them further, of which the most convincing evidence exists, namely, the hostility towards Yugo Slavia and France, military activities in Albania, the completion of the conquest of Tripoli and the insistence that Great Britain should cede African territory and the mandate of Palestine to Italy. There is, of course, no evidence of any attempt to secure adequate new territory by brute force, but rather the hope that the persuasive force engendered by military power will gain the ends Italy desires.

The Fascist government regards the League of Nations as a hypocritical institu-

tion and is suspicious of disarmament. The Italians feel that the significance of Vittorio Veneto was minimized at Versailles, and they are prepared to obstruct any suggestion which does not recognize the weight of Italy in the balance of world powers.

Finally, we must fix our attention to the aggressive and propagandist nature of the Fascist political speeches and pamphlets, and to the suppression of war books and other pacifist literature. The frequent demonstrations of the various Fascist organizations are not so much militaristic as advertisements of Fascism and of the rejuvenation of the nation which Fascism claims to have brought about. But obviously the Fascist militia, the *Avant Guardisti* and other organizations could be speedily converted to military purposes if a pretext were found.

IV

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

It is impossible to analyse what is perhaps the most important aspect of the subject, the moral force of Fascism. Its Doctrine of Order, Discipline and Hierarchy has made Italy deeply self-conscious as a nation, which is sure to have a very great and far-reaching effect in future international relations. The emphasis laid upon the organic nature of the State has led to serious limitations of the political and social liberty of the individual. The citizen is regarded as a productive unit who must be completely subordinate to the State. It is hardly necessary to point out that this contradicts the fundamental principle of democracy, that the citizen has certain private rights and interests which it is the duty of the State to protect, and for which the State exists. I have not discussed the rival merits of these two systems in the abstract: the subject is clearly too long and complicated and controversial for a brief paper of the size of the present study. We have simply tried to examine a non-democratic State, unique in an age, which is on the whole still democratic at least in name.

As for the future prospects of Fascism, it must not be imagined that there is no opposition in Italy to the present regime. It is improbable that so large a body as the

Corporative Chamber can exist for long without an opposition arising in it. At present all opposition and criticism is suppressed, but we may ask why this is necessary if Fascism is supported by the majority of Italians. It may be argued that a bloodless revolution needs to safe-guard itself at first by stringent laws which may afterwards be allowed to lapse, and certainly Mussolini has delegated some of his powers and constitutionalized his position during the last few years. Nevertheless, Mussolini's personality is obviously a vital

factor in Fascism, and a worthy successor will be difficult to find.

The Fascists continue to employ the slogan "Fascism or Anarchy" although the danger of the latter has long since passed. When the Italian people are allowed to debate freely upon other more liberal alternatives to Fascism, and the weaknesses of the present system are thus exposed; when the strong hand of Mussolini is removed, then, it is felt by competent critics that the end of the Fascist regime will be in sight.

THE FOLK-DANCES AND FOLK-SONGS OF BENGAL

By G. S. DUTT

THE folk-dances and folk-songs of a race constitute its store-house of simple and spontaneous joy as well as unfailing fountain of inspiration for the rejuvenation, simplification and purification of its national life. They are also an indication of the extent and nature of its inherent art sense and of its inherent capacity for artistic self-expression. Being the most un-self-consciousness and spontaneous forms of self-expression, folk-dances and folk-songs afford a valuable indication of the innate traits of character of the race, besides furnishing a faithful record of the various stages of its cultural link with its past and with the roots of its spiritual life. Folk-dances furnish simple, inexpensive and joyous form of physical exercise and recreational activity, satisfying to both body and mind, and a means of artistic self-expression to the great majority of the people constituting a nation to whom other forms of artistic self-expression cannot be readily adapted; while folk-songs constitute a vehicle for the deep and eternal spiritual truths forming part of the cultural heritage of a nation. The decline of folk-song is thus tantamount to nothing less than the blunting of the conscience of the community and the dimming of its spiritual vision.

That Bengal has a particularly rich store

of folk-songs of an inspiring character in the shape of her *Baul*, *Kirtan* and *Bhatial* (boatman's) songs, has now been recognized for some time past; and the Poet Rabindranath has instinctively found the true basis of his inimitable lyric creations in the national folk-music and folk-songs of Bengal. Little has, however, yet been done in the direction of making a systematic and scientific record of the vast wealth of folk-music and folk-song which still survive in rural Bengal, but which the yearly increasing inroads of industrialism and of a purely secular education and the rapid break-up of the last vestiges of the cultural, social and economic structure of Bengal's rural life threaten with complete extinction within the next few years.

In the sphere of folk-dance, until only about a year ago, the educated classes of Bengal were under the belief that there were no indigenous dances worth the name which Bengal contributed to the synthesis of Indian culture; and as a result attempts were made to import dances for both men and women from outside the province.

The cultural and artistic value of the *Baul* and the *Kirtan* dance, which are still widely practised in rural Bengal by men even of the most respectable classes and of all ages, on the occasion of annual festivals and *pujas*,

were lost sight of by the educated classes ; while the more ancient folk-dances, handed down by the so-called depressed classes as living art traditions, were either not noticed at all, or if noticed, were regarded with unmitigated contempt and ridicule. Dancing both among men and women was banished from polite and cultured society, and relegated to the sphere of the professionals, and its ideals became so degraded as to become synonymous with vulgarity, looseness and immorality. Nothing could be more eloquent than this attitude on the part of the men and women of the so-called educated classes in the towns and cities of Bengal, of the extent to which they had become divorced from the life and thought of the rural population, male and female, of not only the lower classes but of the highest castes, which has preserved intact to this day as a part of its ritualistic, religious and recreational activities, folk-dances of great nobility, dignity and rhythm on the one hand and of a rare grace, harmony and spiritual value on the other. This divorce was so complete and the very word "dance" had acquired such a bad odour that the educated classes, with their academic and straight-jacket ideas of propriety, professed to be deeply shocked at the very idea of respectable Bengali women indulging in dancing of any kind, and they condemned the very suggestion of such activity on the part of the latter as synonymous with an immoral and de-nationalized mentality, while all the time in the villages still fortunately unaffected by the inroads of our modern education, women even of the most respectable castes, *e. g.*, Brahmins and Kayasthas, were still more or less freely carrying on their traditional practice of *brata* (ritual) dancing and ceremonial dancing on the occasion of religious festivals and weddings etc. as an inseparable part of social life.

The indigenous folk-dances of Bengal may be first divided into two classes, *vis.*, the women's dances and the men's dances. Women's dances may be again broadly subdivided into two categories, *vis.*, (i) *brata* dances or dances on the occasion of religious ceremonies and (ii) dances on the occasion of other festivals such as weddings. All these dances are, as a rule, (though not always)

accompanied by the singing of folk-songs of great rhythmic and melodious value. An invariable characteristic of the folk-dances among the women in Bengal is that they



Brata Dance, Jessore



Brata Dance, Jessore

are performed by women only. The sexes do not take part in dancing together. Folk-dancing among women in Bengal, even among the highest classes, such as Brahmins and Kayasthas, is, in accordance with immemorial

practice, generally performed to the accompaniment of the *dhol* (drum) played by men of the lower classes, usually cobblers or *Doms*; and this practice has continued even to the present day in the rural areas. Broadly speaking, dances on the occasion of secular or semi-secular functions such as weddings are performed to the accompaniment of the *dhol* or *madol*, whereas those on the occasion of *bratas* or religious functions are performed to the accompaniment of the *dhak*, which is a larger form of drum than the *dhol*. Among the women of the upper

advanced age as well as young girls take part in these dances which are performed quite openly in the courtyards of the village homes within sight of all. An atmosphere of religious solemnity and spiritual earnestness pervades these performances and there is a complete absence of any suggestion of frivolity or indecorum.

The *dhak*, *dhol* or *madol*, although played by men of the depressed classes, is held in high spiritual regard as typifying the spirit of divine rhythm—so much so, that even to this day in some parts of Eastern



Girls performing the Brata Dance

classes, the movements of the dances are, generally speaking, of a gentle character, and except when the dancing is performed while going from one place to another as in the case of the procession for *gangabaran* or *jalbhara* which is a part of wedding festivities, or in the case of special dances such as the *arati* dance, the feet are hardly ever entirely taken off the ground but are moved with a simultaneous sliding movement from side to side. Although the movement of the feet is thus of a somewhat monotonous character, it lends a peculiar dignity and solemnity to the dance. On the other hand, the movements from the waist upwards are of a much freer and more vigorous character, and an endless variety of beautiful movements is performed from the elbow onward and particularly with the wrists, the palms, and the fingers of the hands. Adult women of fairly



Madol Puja Dance

Bengal even in Brahmin families, one of the ceremonial dances which forms part of the wedding festivals is the *madol puja* dance or the "drum worship dance," the drum held by the drummer being worshipped by offering of flowers from a *kula* (winnowing tray) to the accompaniment of the dance.

In Western Bengal folk-dancing among women of the higher castes had fallen into desuetude during the last thirty or forty years

and only survives now in the form of the *bhajo* dance performed by unmarried girls in the month of *Bhadra* in connection with the autumn festivities in honour of the god Indra. In olden times, within living memory, the *bhajo* dance was performed by women of all classes in West Bengal irrespective of caste and social rank. In East Bengal, however, folk-dancing in the forms mentioned above still survives in many localities among adult women of the highest classes as well as young girls, and, but for the acquired prejudice of the so-called educated classes of the present day, there would be little difficulty in reviving it again on a national scale to the untold benefit of the women of the country in health and joyousness and of the race as a whole in freedom of spirit and vigorous development of life.

Men's folk-dances may be broadly divided into three classes according to the nature of their origin, *viz.*,

(i) Martial or heroic. Under this class would come the *raibeshe* and *kathi* dance of West Bengal and the *dhati* dance of Jessore and Khulna.

(ii) Dances of a social, semi-religious, or

devotional character. These comprise dances which are performed on the occasions of social or religious ceremonies but not as an essential part of their ritual. Under this class would come the *kirtan*, the *jari* and the *baul* dances as well as the *jhumur* dance. (The *jhumur* dance is danced only by men and has a distinctively *tandava* character. It must not be confused with the *jhumuri*, which is a debased form of operatic dance current among professional women dancers).

(iii) Ritual dances : these are danced as an essential part of religious rites, and under this class would fall the *avatar* dance and *incense* dance of Faridpur, the *dharam puja* dance of West Bengal as well as the *gambhira* dance of Maldah and other districts.

A short description of some of the men's folk-dances is given below :

RAIBESHE

Of all forms of folk-dances in Bengal the *raibeshe* is undoubtedly the most interesting. It is found in some of the Western Bengal districts, *e. g.*, Birbhum, Burdwan and Murshidabad, but it is only in the first mentioned district that it can be found in its



Dharam Puja Dance of Birbhum

purest form. It is practised by the *Bauris*, the *Domes* and other cognate castes of the Hindu community.

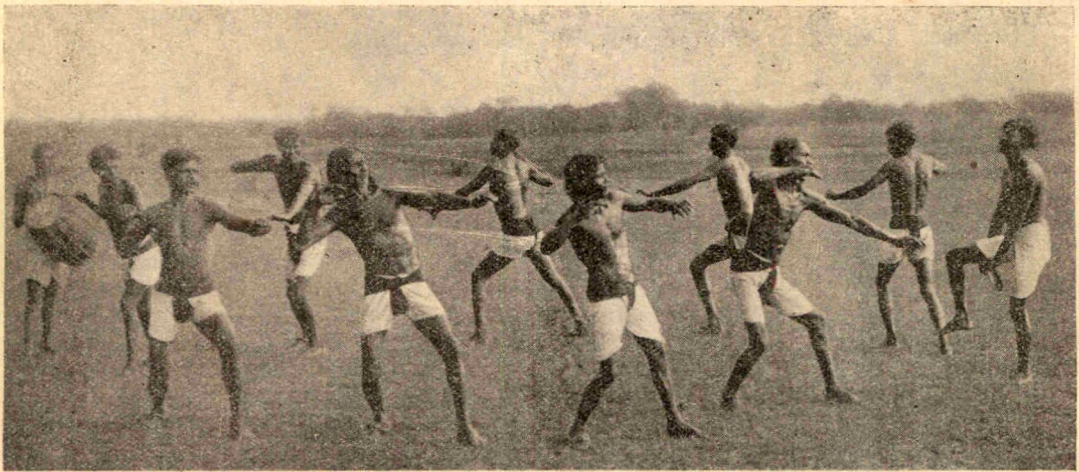
The dancing is performed by a group of men to the accompaniment of the *dhol* (a type of indigenous drum) and the *kansi* (gong). The dancers wear brass anklets called *nupurs* on their right legs and are usually adults, though they occasionally include youths of tender age. This dance is one of the manliest and most vigorous folk-dances extant in any country in the world and is marked by a remarkable dignity, orderliness and rhythm. The scheme of dancing is absolutely free from all traces of effimacy and vulgarity, and displays a high order of symmetry and an innate sense of discipline of the dancers.

The dancing is punctuated by occasional yells, and the whole atmosphere is one of warlike excitement. But with all the vigour and virility introduced into the dancing and the excitement under which it is performed, there is that restraint which is the criterion of all true art.

extending the knees, imitating the gestures and movement of horsemen. The movements are such that all the muscles of the body are brought into prominence and play during the dance. Sometimes the dance is performed in pairs, one man supporting another on his shoulder, the dancer on the ground performing the usual movements of the dance while the dancer on his shoulder also performs the same movements with his arms and hands in a standing posture.

The dancing has, as its counterpart, a complete system of acrobatics which are remarkable for the agility, the daring valour and the artistic grace with which they are executed, and which, like the dancing itself, are performed to the accompaniment of rhythmic beats of the *dhol* and the stirring gong of the *kansi*.

From its nature it seems obvious that the *raibeshe* was a war dance in its origin. And from the researches I have made, I have been able to discover the history that lies behind it. The *Raibeshes* appear to have been the



Raibeshe Dance

The dancing takes various forms and is in the nature of military exercises. It is usually performed in a ring formation and the various gestures of the arms and hands indicate the drawing of bows, the hurling of spears or brandishing of swords. At times the dancers with slightly bended knees, hop forward towards the centre alternately joining and

spearman in the infantry of ancient Bengal from the earliest times; and I have found references to *Raibeshe* soldiers in ancient Bengali literature—viz., the *Kabikankan Chandi*, the *Dharma Mangal*, the *Annada Mangal* and the poetical works of Ramprasad.

The name *raibeshe* was applied to the lancers the handles of whose weapons were



Raibeshe Dance

The Kansi player in the centre is lying on his back as if wounded in battle and is yet keeping up the dance by turning round and round

made from a particular kind of tough bamboo called *rai*-(king)-*bansh* (bamboo).

KATHI

The *kathi* dance and song is practised in Birbhum by the so-called depressed sections of the Hindu society and mainly by the *Bauris*.

An even number of men, usually adults, dance to the accompaniment of the *madol*. They stand in a circle, each carrying two short sticks—one in either hand. The men who play on the *madol* remain outside the ring and sometimes at its centre. At the commencement the dancers sing in chorus and each keeps on hitting his left hand stick with the right hand one at regular intervals and in perfect unison with one another. Then, as the dance begins, each alternate dancer forms a pair with his right hand neighbour and strikes with his left hand stick the right hand stick of his partner on his right. Each man then strikes his left hand stick with the right hand one. Different pairs are then formed, those who formed pairs with their right hand

neighbours now form pairs with the left hand neighbours and strike the left hand stick of their partners with their own right hand ones. The process is repeated and all the while the dancers keep moving along the ring in an anti-clockwise direction. The whole system is in accordance with a simple but regular and symmetrical scheme; the steps are brisk and graceful and the body movements are very lively and in entire unison with the sound of



Kathi Dance of Birbhum

the sticks which produces a pleasing rhythmic effect. The scheme includes many variations of which the most interesting is that in which

a player falls flat on the ground on his back as if wounded, and yet keeps on dancing round and round in that position, striking his sticks against those of his neighbours who keep up the round progression of the ring.

In its origin it was very likely a war dance and the sticks symbolize swords and shields. The fashion in which the sticks are wielded indicates parrying with swords.

The folk-songs sung with this dance are simple ditties dealing with the simple joys and sorrows of the peasants and often strike a pathetic note.

The name is obviously derived from the fact that the dancing is performed with *kathis* (sticks) in hand.

The *kathi* dance and song are not associated with any particular occasion or ceremony

arms being of a remarkably vigorous character. The dancing is performed in a round ring somewhat in the manner of the *raibeshe* but there are interludes of mock fight with *lathis* as well as with wooden swords and cane shields. This dance undoubtedly perpetuates the military dance of the celebrated *dhalis* (shield-wielders) of Pratapaditya of Jessore. It used to be performed mainly by the *Namasudras* who must have formed the great bulk of Pratapaditya's troops. Nowadays, however, it is also performed widely by the Muhammadans of Jessore and Khulna.

JARI

Dancing on the occasion of the annual *mohurrun* festivals is prevalent among Muhammadan villages of certain sections in



Jari Dance of Faridpur

and the players perform them both as a pastime for themselves and for the edification of their spectators.

DHALI

The *dhali* dance of Jessore and Khulna has an undoubtedly martial origin. It is performed with wooden swords and cane shields to the accompaniment of the *dhul* and the *kansi*. It is an extremely virile dance, the foot-work as well as the movement of the

almost every part of Bengal under the name of *jari* or *marcia*, but the most interesting and artistically attractive form of this dance is that which is prevalent in certain Eastern Bengal districts, particularly Mymensingh.

In Mymensingh, the dancing and singing are performed by a group of adults who usually form themselves into a ring; there is a preceptor, the *boyati*, as he is called, who leads the song from outside the ring. All the dancers except the *boyati*, wear sounding bells

round their ankles, and as the *boyati* sings, they mark time with their right feet and then take up the song in chorus. Vigorous movement is not commenced till after the song has progressed to a climax. The scheme of dancing lends itself to an infinite variety. The dancers wave the red handkerchiefs which they carry in their right hands with sharp downward movements of the hands while they hold the ends of their wearing cloths or *dhoties*, in their left hands.

The folk-songs sung with this dance have reference either to the tragic historical events in the desert of Kerbala in Arabia connected with the life of Imam Hussain, as the meaning of the word *jari* (mourning) indicates, or else breathe sentiments of religious harmony and general goodwill. The tunes are characterized by a sweet melody and pathos and constitute a very suitable vehicle for the expression of the sentiments of the songs.

BAUL

The *baul* song and dance are confined to the Hindus and may be found in all parts of Bengal. The singing and dancing are performed either in solo or in groups on a community basis, to the accompaniment of the *ektara* or the *anandalahari* (popularly known as the *gabgubagub*) and in some cases, the *karatal* and the *dubki* as well.

The *baul* dance, while lacking the variety of formations appertaining to the *jari* dance, has many points of similarity with it. Its most striking feature is a spirit of joyous abandon and a fluidity of rhythmic movement which is in complete accord with the sentiments of the songs.

The word *baul* means "mad," that is, mad after the eternal spiritual truths; and the songs invariably preach the unreality of mundane existence and their message is that of religious toleration and universal brotherhood.

Baul dancing and singing are not associated with any particular occasion of festivity, and are performed as a devotional art for

the self-gratification of the performers themselves, but more often as a profession for earning a livelihood.

KIRTAN

The *kirtan* dance is perhaps the most widely practised of all the folk-dances in Bengal and it is a typical Bengal product. It is of great antiquity, being associated with the worship of Vishnu; but it was the great religious leader Chaitanya who gave it its present national character. Perhaps the most striking feature about the *kirtan* is its democratic character. People of a whole village or group of villages, young and old, rich and poor, zamindar and tenant, freely join in it, without any distinction of caste or rank. The dance is performed to the accompaniment of the *mridanga* and *karatal* and the general scheme is an extremely simple one—performed by raising either one hand or both hands while the dancers generally move in a circle. It is a dance of great spiritual fervour and generally has an ecstatic end. Sometimes the *kirtan* dance and song are performed in a procession through the village. This is called *nagar-kirtan*.

AVATAR DANCE

The incense dance and the *avatar* dance of Faridpur are typical ritual dances associat-



Avatar Dance of Faridpur
Showing Rama Avatar in the act of drawing the bow

ed with the *charak gambhira* festival which is performed at the end of the Bengali year. In the *avatar* dance there is a



Avatar Dance of Faridpur
Showing Balaram Avatar in the act of drawing the plough

great variety of *mudras* or symbolic actions to the accompaniment of which the dancers exhibit the different types of mimetic movements indicative of the ten *avatars* of the gods. It is performed to the accompaniment of the *dhak* and *kansi* and is not accompanied by songs but is interspersed with incantations of *mantras* uttered by the principal dancer or "*bala*" as he is called.

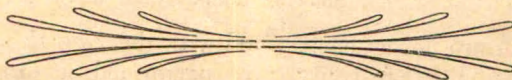


Incense Dance of Faridpur

The incense dance of Faridpur is also performed in connection with the *charak gambhira* festival and is probably of a magical origin. It is performed to the accompaniment of the *dhak* and *kansi*. Each of the dancers has a *dhunochi* or earthen incense burner in his hand with burning charcoal in it and as the dance proceeds in a ring formation, each dancer in turn takes a handful of incense or

dhuno from a pot held by a man standing outside the ring and vigorously throws it into the burning charcoal in the incense holder held in his left hand. This makes the fire suddenly flare up, and as the dancing is extremely vigorous, the effect in a dark night is a very striking and picturesque one. There are no songs accompanying this dance. At the end all the dancers join hands together and go round dancing in a ring.

The great need of the present moment is a recognition on the part of the educated Bengalis of the national value of these still surviving relics of their invaluable cultural heritage in the shape of the traditional folk-dances and folk-songs of the province and to help to revitalize social and national life by incorporating them again into the everyday life of the people and into the educational system of the country.



PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

DISCUSSION OF THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY) BILL

[Continued from the previous issue]

[Quoted from the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES,
Friday, 11th March, 1932. Vol. II—No. 14.]

Mr. Muhammad Azhar Ali (Lucknow and Fyzabad Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have read through this inhuman Bill, which I cannot describe as being anything but a piece of legislation which will not be liked by any section of people in this country. First of all I must refer to the very matter which my friend, Mr. Raju, was just adverting to. It is section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code which has been set at naught by this proposed legislation, which is going to be hurled at the country's head at this most auspicious time of the year. Sir, if the present Government of India and its members are prone to go head-long into the abyss they are leading to, I am very much afraid that they are launching on a very dangerous pastime. Sir, I find that the powers of the High Court, which are considered universally to be the most sacred prerogative of the High Courts in England and which are vested in Indian High Courts by section 491, are being taken away by the present executive Government by one stroke of the pen. Sir, if the High Court Judges are not competent to cope with the present conditions, and if they are not considered fit enough to decide on the merits and demerits of appeals and to exercise the powers of the *habeas corpus* section, I think it amounts to saying something which is really a great insult to the present High Courts. Sir, we Indians have always had very great respect for the High Courts of our own country (hear, hear) and we know that the High Courts of India generally follow the rulings and interpretations of the High Courts in England. Sir, my idea is that if the powers under the *habeas corpus* section are taken away, that will not only be heaping an insult on the Indian High Courts, but it will also be an insult really to the whole of the British Empire and the British constitution. Sir, if we stand here to say that proper food is not given to the detenues, if we stand here to say that proper precautions are not afforded to the detenues, that they have very little of comfort in the jails where they are locked in and a lot of similar other harshness, such propositions may sound somewhat incongruous in the present atmosphere and our friends on the Treasury Benches might say, "Well, we want to arm ourselves for every emergency." But, Sir, to suffer this elementary constitutional right of the people, this constitutional right of the High Courts, to be taken away is really an insult which no Honourable Judge can ever bear with equanimity. Sir, my friend, Mr. Raju, has just read what are the rights under section 491. It is the writ of *habeas corpus* which any individual in India

or in England can resort to if he in any way feels aggrieved; he can at once rush to the High Court and have the wrong set right, but by taking away this right, it is every individual of India who is being deprived—mind you, not only the detenues at present—of an elementary right; and my idea is that if these proceedings go on, it will be very difficult indeed for the executive Government to stop anywhere. Sir, the executive Government are trying, without trial to put people into jails and to send them from one province to another—a course which is very much disliked, as I read from the reports, and is distasteful to other Governments and other provinces, but, in the teeth of their opposition, this legislation is being enacted. and we appear to be absolutely helpless at the present moment. Sir, the Government claim that it is only a preventive measure, but the way in which it is being enacted and administered, as we have just heard from my friend, Mr. Mitra, cannot but make one feel that it is not only preventive but a most inhuman and cruel engine of oppression. Sir, if you want that the people of this country should remain loyal, and if you want that the people of this country should remain peaceful, my submission is that this is not the way in which you should treat them. It is humiliating to those who go to jail; it is humiliating to their wives and children and other relations, and if they and the general public become desperate, my submission is that it is not the public that is to blame but it is the executive Government which is answerable for all these consequences. Sir, with these remarks, I sit down and oppose.

Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am not using a mere idle phrase when I characterize this Bill as the most barbarous Bill that can ever find its place on the Statute Book, even though the Honourable the Home Member characterized it as a very short Bill dealing only with one aspect of the question. Sir, the only justification for introducing this most barbarous measure as we have been told by the Government Benches, is the prevalence of the terrorist movement in Bengal. Sir, at present we are not dealing with the original measure—the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act—but we are considering only the Supplementary Bill dealing with the transfer of detenues from one province to another. If, Sir, we have allowed this Bill to go to Select Committee, it is because we feel that this terrorist movement ought not to progress. We are at one with the Government in seeing the terrorist movement put down at any cost. Of course, we approach this subject from a different view-point from that of the Government. The Government want to put down this terrorist movement because they

want to maintain law and order in the country. Sir, we on this side of the House want to put down this terrorist movement because we feel that the continuance of this movement will only retard the progress of the nation to full self-government. Sir, this nihilist movement has never succeeded in any country, and we believe it will not succeed in this country also. Sir, from this point of view we are at one with the Government in seeing that this terrorist movement is put down. But, Sir, this Bill does not deal with the terrorists as such; it deals with suspects, people who, as the Bill itself says, are merely suspected of committing certain offences or who are about to commit certain offences; it does not deal directly with terrorists; and so, in the actual application of the enactment, we must show some amount of consideration. Sir, the persons who are brought under the purview of this Bill are not actual terrorists, but suspected participants in that movement. The Government, Sir, anyway have vast powers of dealing with the movement. In the maintenance of law and order the officials in the lowest rung of the administrative ladder are made responsible for bringing these people to book. So, Sir, we must treat this Bill with a great amount of circumspection as the executive are liable to be misled by these overzealous lower officials who may catch hold of any and every inconvenient person who comes in their way.

Sir, as I said, if we allowed this Bill to go to the Select Committee, we did so on certain conditions and we specifically charged the members of the Select Committee with the duty of embodying certain amendments and to take certain points into consideration when the Bill was considered in the Select Committee. Sir, in this connection I would like to refer to the speeches that were made by certain responsible Members from this side of the House when the Bill was referred to the Select Committee. Members who were to constitute the Select Committee were definitely asked to propose certain amendments which would lighten the hardships of the detenus. The Honourable Member, Diwan Bahadur Mr. Mudaliar, when he spoke on this Bill on the last occasion, clearly stated that he would support the Bill going to the Select Committee on certain conditions. He laid down as a condition that in the Select Committee they should consider the advisability of introducing a clause whereby, whenever a detenu is transferred to a different Presidency, the opinion of that Provincial Government should be taken into consideration. He considered this as the most important thing that the Select Committee ought to have taken into consideration. This is what he said:

"Therefore, I would suggest in the first place that when this Bill goes to the Select Committee there must be a provision that no detenu should be transferred to any other province unless the specific consent of the Government of that province or the Administration of that area is taken."

Further on he says:

"Now, I suggest that there should be a very definite provision that the conditions under which these detenus live if at all they should be transferred to any place outside their own province should be adequately safe-guarded, safe-guarded by legislation, and that is what I am suggesting to the Select Committee."

Then he goes on:

"There ought to be a provision that in the matter of dieting, in the matter of clothing and in the matter of those amenities which are essential for the ordi-

nary comforts of life, they should have those amenities which they were accustomed to have in Bengal."

Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Nationalist Party, who was also a Member of the Select Committee and who, I think, presided over that Committee, also clearly stated in his inimitable words what the sufferings of these people are. This is what he said:

"Honourable Members on this side of the House, it has been said, are not unanimous upon the main issue. I know the feeling of my people and I know the feeling of those who sit around me, and I am voicing their feeling when I say that, however reluctant they would be in ordinary times to strengthen your hands, they are prepared to waive their objections in view of the exceptional circumstances and the difficulties of the situation."

Further on he says:

"At the same time, they want that when this provision emerges from the Select Committee, you will consider dispassionately that, let us hope, with a certain feeling of generosity, that the removal of the detenus from Bengal does not add to their privations and sufferings more than you can help. That would give to all of us feeling of assurance that, though you are bureaucrats you have not ceased to be human and, though the Government of India is a machine, it is not wholly soulless. That is a charge that I may be permitted to make to you when you sit on the Select Committee. Mitigate their difficulties, assuage their feelings as far as you possibly can consistently with the primary purpose you have in view of isolating them from their surroundings so as to restrict the limit of mischief that you apprehend." Then in the most feeling terms he says:

"And when you take them away from the familiar scenes and familiar faces where they do not hear voice in which their mothers spoke, or hear the songs which their mothers sang nor hear the songs which their village folks sang, where they see strange faces and hear alien tongues, that, in itself, is a very great deprivation to people removed from one province to a wholly different and distant province. Remember that, and, having remembered that, when you sit on the Select Committee do not weigh your justice in golden scales but let these people feel that, while you are anxious to avoid the mischief, while you are circumscribing their liberties, you are, at the same time, not impervious to the appeals of humanity and compassion and that you will treat them as mere prisoners of State who have not yet been convicted of any crime."

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Biswas, to whose speech the Honourable the Home Member paid such a glowing tribute, also spoke of the duties of the Select Committee in following terms:

"The question is this, whether or not we should require some assurance, either to be embodied in the Bill itself or in rules to be framed under the Bill, to ensure that where such detenus are removed from Bengal to another province, certain things should be done to reproduce as far as possible the conditions of detention, in Bengal—conditions as regards food, health, comfort, and so on."

Sir, I have at some length read out the abstracts from the speeches of the Honourable Members when this Bill was referred to the Select Committee. We referred the Bill to the Select Committee on the distinct understanding that some such provision should be made with regard to the condition of the detenus when they are transferred to other provinces. Sir, it appears to me that

those Honourable gentlemen who spoke on this Bill in this House were suffering from linguistic paralysis when they sat on the Select Committee. Why did they not express the same words in the Select Committee? If their views were not accepted, they should have appended their minutes of dissent. I do not find any such minute of dissent. What they have said is this: "We do not propose that any amendment should be made in the Bill and we recommend that the Bill be passed as introduced." That is how the Bill has emerged from the Select Committee and I charge the Committee with breach of good faith. That is one of the reasons why I oppose the consideration of this Bill. I do not want to take up any more time of the House, but I may say in passing that the most monstrous part of the Bill is where it takes away the powers of the High Court with regard to *habeas corpus*. There are some amendments with regard to that and I will develop my points on the appropriate occasion.

Pandit Satyendra Nath Sen (Presidency Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, coming as I do from the province which this Bill affects and affects most vitally, I feel it my duty to stand up and oppose it. I expected that all my lawyer friends at least from Bengal would be present and take part in the discussion on this Bill because, although it is full of various illegalities, it has after all the semblance of law. Sir, the Bill has emerged from the Select Committee exactly as it was originally drafted by some infallible hand and there are reasons for it. Barring a few exceptions the Select Committee consisted of Members whom I can characterize as permanent figures, because they are always chosen by Government to say ditto to their Master's voice. In this case also the result has been exactly as was anticipated by us and has fully justified the careful composition of the Committee. In discussing the merits of the Bill, I am reminded of a Bengali saying which is current in Eastern Bengal and which means, "Well, I have no mind to oust you from your household, but I am simply tilling your courtyard." The history of this saying is that an influential person wanted to eject his poor neighbour from his household but instead of taking a rough and rude attitude towards him by asking him directly to quit he began to till his courtyard, evidently for the purpose of plantation knowing full well that in that way the neighbour would be forced to quit in no time. In the case of the Bengal detenues also the principle has been exactly the same as I have just enunciated. By this Bill the Government want to transfer the prisoners from Bengal to any other part in British India from one end of the country to the other.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Sir Hari Singh Gour.)

This is apparently a simple measure but to put it frankly and briefly, I am constrained to say that Government want to kill these unfortunate Bengal youths by transplanting them from their native place to a foreign soil under different climatic conditions without any proper care and by placing them "among new faces, other minds." The detenues will have to undergo untold sufferings in their diet and habits as well as in regard to their interviews; and what is their fault? Nobody knows it. They do not know it, and their friends and relatives do not know it, and even perhaps the Government do not know it, because the Government sometimes may be simply working on the report of some C. I. D. officers who are even more enthusiastic than the Government themselves in these matters in order to justify their

own existence. Apart from these sentimental considerations and considerations of health, etc., I have other reasons to oppose this Bill. Government always indulge in tall talk of deficit and retrenchment and so forth, but do they really mean it? Government want to transfer these detenues to distant places, and that will entail enormous cost, because they will have to pay railway fares to these detenues and they are to be escorted by high officers who will have to be paid their daily allowances of various kinds. This will certainly entail heavy expenditure. If the Government have not yet realized their financial conditions they will never realize it at all. The Province of Bengal takes pride in accommodating some 15,000 prisoners, or near about that figure. If Bengal can accommodate 15,000 souls, I think she has room enough to accommodate a few more. Therefore, instead of passing this Bill, I would suggest to Government to construct new jails if the existing jails are insufficient, and that will open a new field of work to the large number of unemployed people and relieve them in these days of economic depression. These are the grounds on which I should like to oppose the Bill. Last, but not least, comes clause 4 which strikes at the very root of the fundamental rights of citizenship. On these grounds, I oppose this Bill.

Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to submit a few observations in connection with clause 4 of the Bill for I have no doubt that the amendment of this clause was the only condition upon which the Bill was sent to the Select Committee, which condition has not been fulfilled, and as a result thereof, I respectfully beg to submit, my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim is bound to have the Bill thrown out. I find that my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim in his speech said that he hoped that the Select Committee would take particular care to ensure the convenience and other conditions upon which these prisoners will be transferred from one province to another. So far as the Select Committee is concerned, they have not added a single comma nor have they even dotted the i's or crossed the t's.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Who was the Chairman of the Select Committee?

Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar: I really do not know. My Honourable friend Pandit Sen said that the Select Committee in this House seemed to be a fixture and it was always the same. Men may come and men may go, but the Select Committee here goes on for ever, and I therefore troubled myself very little as to who the Chairman was, or as to who anybody else was.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I am quite willing to furnish my Honourable friend with the information. The Chairman of the Select Committee was the Leader of my party, who was muzzled in the Chair.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Who muzzled him?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: He muzzled himself.

Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamachariar: The Chairman of the Committee unfortunately got muzzled. He was the Chairman but he did nothing. Coming to the point, when my Honourable friend Mr. Raju was fortunate enough to catch the eye of the Honourable the President, I thought he was going to speak a bit longer on what I considered to be the most important

point in his note of dissent. He says in his minute of dissent :

"The majority of this Committee are of opinion that I cannot press for the deletion of this clause on the ground that in referring this Bill to the Select Committee, the Assembly agreed to the principle underlying this clause and that it is not open for me to raise this question here."

Sir, if I have stood up this afternoon to submit my few observations, it is to emphasize what I have more than once submitted to this House that they have got very very extraordinary, if I may submit with respect, queer ideas as to the functions of the Select Committee. Whenever you raise questions like this on the second reading, they always say, "Go to the Select Committee" and when you go to the Select Committee, you forget all about it, or even if some members of the Select Committee raise the point, immediately they are told that the principle has been accepted. Then what is it that you have got to do in the Select Committee? So far as I have been able to read the proceedings of the second reading of this Bill, this question was not raised except by you, Sir, and you simply referred to it as a matter of protest. There was no discussion, but on the contrary the Honourable the President, in bringing Mr. Das to order when he was discussing this subject, distinctly ruled that the scope of the discussion at the time of the second reading of the Bill was this :

"May I ask the Honourable Member what relevancy all this has got? The issue before the House is simply this that the Criminal Law Amendment Act should be supplemented by authorizing Government to transfer to other provinces detenus who are now restricted to Bengal. On that issue the Honourable Member will be perfectly relevant in making as long speech as he likes. But this is not the occasion, etc. . .

Mr. Das was reading from General Crozier's book and all that sort of thing, and so the Honourable the President, in ruling him out of order or perhaps in bringing him back to his bearings, stated that the only issue was whether these prisoners should be transferred from Bengal to any other place. That is the point. Therefore, Sir, the question of clause 4 was not debated. The matter was referred to Select Committee, everybody forgetting its existence except you. What happened in the Select Committee? I now understand that as Chairman you were not able to say anything or do anything, with the result that the majority held that you could not debate upon that and you could not move that it should be deleted. And now it comes here again and what is the result? Some Honourable Members of this House object to the deprivation of the fundamental right embodied in the *habeas corpus* section. They were not told anything; they were sent to the Select Committee. The Select Committee would not listen to their objection and it comes back here. I say, Sir, that is an illegality which completely vitiates the proceedings of the Select Committee and the report that you now have before you, the Report that you are now asked to consider, is absolutely void and of no legal effect whatsoever. I therefore submit that upon that Report of the Select Committee it will not be in order for this House to take the Bill into consideration. That is my first and most important objection.

My next objection is,—and I say it in all humility but at the same time with all the force that I can command—that this Legislature is not competent to take away the right of *habeas corpus* from any

subject of the Crown by its own act. Now, Sir, the Legislative Assembly is not a sovereign Legislature. It only exercises delegated powers, and one of the powers that it cannot exercise is to legislate upon matters which will take away the allegiance of any subject to the Crown. Now, Sir one of the most important rights secured to a subject of the Crown in the Magna Charta is this right of *habeas corpus*. A subordinate Legislature, a Legislature with only delegated authority, cannot deprive the subject of that right while it yet professes to do things legally and carefully. Consequently, Sir, I respectfully submit that the existence of this provision in clause 4 of the Bill is *ultra vires* of this Legislature, and therefore I submit that upon that ground also this House will not allow this Bill to proceed further except upon the deletion of this clause. And what is the trouble about section 491? As my friend Mr. Raju has read from the section, it is a very innocent section. Where an act of the executive is being tested not by one of the members of the executive but by some independent authority, why do you fight shy of that? Sir, the Advocate-General of Madras,—whom I congratulate upon having attained his Knighthood and that for a very good reason too,—said that if your statute had been applied then there is no illegality, but if your statute has not been applied then there is an illegality. Sir, I presume he is perfectly right but not being accustomed to these high-flown passages from the great law officers of the Crown, I am not able to understand what that conundrum is. If it is not legal, it is not legal, and if it is legal, it is legal. I daresay there is no difficulty about it. Under the circumstances and in view of the fact that no ground has been mentioned by the learned Mover of this Bill why do you want that this provision of the *habeas corpus* should be removed the jurisdiction of the High Court be taken away? That is a matter upon which, so far as I know, there has been absolutely no declaration whatsoever. You, Sir, at the time of the second reading of the Bill, as I said, repeated your protest, a hundred times repeated in this House, against the deprivation of the right of *habeas corpus*. The Honourable the Home Member congratulated you, took to your speech very kindly, complimented you and threw his compliments all round and said that his task was very much lightened. But was it lightened? You raised an important issue; there was no reply to that on the part of the Honourable Member and, as I said, it went to the Select Committee and not only you but everybody else who wanted to raise this question was muzzled. I would therefore very respectfully submit that upon these grounds this Bill should not be taken into consideration but should be rejected straightaway without further consideration.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab: Sikh): Sir, there are progressive laws, there are oppressive laws and there are suppressive laws. As regards progressive laws, since the inauguration of this House we have had no occasion and no instance. As regards oppressive laws, on account of the kind consideration of His Excellency the Governor-General we are spared the pains of going into them and they are passed over our heads. As regards suppressive laws, we have got this instance in point. Now, when I read the provisions of this Bill, I was reminded of a similar twin brother to this law and that was probably the last measure of the old Council, I mean the Rowlatt Act. The provisions of that law are well known to all as they are now historical and they

were taken exception to by all the reasonable men of the time. I am tempted to tell you that a meeting held in Lyallpur to record our protest against that measure was presided over by my humble self. A speaker at the meeting aptly described that Bill in one phrase. The Bill aims at "no vakil, no *daleel*, and no appeal." This phrase has since become historical, but it will be of interest to Honourable gentlemen to know that this little phrase cost the President and the speaker four years and Rs. 1,000 fine. After a bit of inconvenience in jail for six months the appeal was accepted and we came out all right. There was no apology in those days. But that is a digression.

Later on, what was the fate of that Council which passed the Bill? It went out of existence and a new House under the new reforms came into being. Now, what I thought when I read the provisions of this Bill was that this was a very good measure with which to sing the death-knell of this House; and to those optimistic friends of mine like Sir Hari Singh Gour, before whom I bow as being my leader, I will say that he has done well in Select Committee in recommending it to be passed without any changes; so that the death-knell of this House will be sung earlier and the next Assembly may come into existence sooner than we imagine. This House is not liked by anybody. It is not liked by Government because they do not trust it. It is not liked by the Members of the House because they tabled Resolutions that this House should be suspended. And it is not liked by the outside public because they say that we are too docile to oppose any measure of repression. So the sooner it comes to an end the better it will be for all concerned.

Coming now to the provisions of the Bill, it is said that it is a single clause measure. It is so. But this single clause is just like poison gas: it will, if let out of the pipe, kill combatants, non-combatants and the civilian population all together. If I stand up to oppose that clause I will be at once dubbed as a man lacking a sense of responsibility and not fit for being granted further powers to govern my own country. If I stand up to support it, then my friend, Mr. S. C. Mitra, will come down upon me and say that this is the result of your legal training that you give your consent to such a Bill. I am therefore in a difficulty. I may assure Honourable Members on the Treasury Benches that I do not like the terrorist movement. The terrorist movement does not seem to be liked probably by those very people who practise it, because in the various statements of the approvers in the various conspiracy cases they have openly tried to dissociate themselves from the principles of killing or taking innocent lives. But all the same we find this phenomenon that they have taken to killing innocent people. Why is this? That is a point which requires serious consideration.

My Honourable friend the Home Member says that the terrorist movement is becoming very dangerous in Bengal and requires to be suppressed. So far I am willing to go with him; but our ways differ when we come to prescribing the remedy for this disease. The remedy he suggests makes the executive the supreme authority in the country: I want the law to be the supreme authority. This is our difference. He wants all powers to be in his hands, while I want to place all power in the hands of my friend, the Honourable Sir B. L. Mitter, the Law Member. That is our difference. If we can only agree to the transfer

of power from the executive to the law courts and to the High Courts, I am with him. But if he wants that the executive should be armed with all the weapons which unfortunately I must confess have not been properly used in the past in this land, I take strong exception to arming the executive with further powers. My object is very simple. The police who collect the evidence and the Magistrates who try the cases are both Government servants. So far in India the judiciary has not been separated from the executive. The police is the executive and the Magistrate is partly executive. By proposing such a measure the Government clearly indicates that they do not place confidence in their own executive officers, that they cannot trust the Magistracy of the land; they cannot place full faith in the judgment of the Magistrates of their own creation. That is a sort of charge against the Magistracy; but I can assure them that they are mistaken. I do not know about other provinces: I have never had the honour of practising in any other province or in many of the courts of my own province even: but I can assert without any fear of contradiction from any serious-minded lawyer that within my experience of now fully twenty-four years, one year less than a quarter of a century, in the criminal courts of my district, the Magistrates are very docile to the police; they will act as the police asks them to do. If the Treasury Benches find any difficulty in placing faith in Bengal Magistrates or in U. P. Magistrates, I will recommend Magistrates from my own province. You might send them any suspects with the flimsiest evidence against them, and you will find no difficulty in securing corrections at least in the trial courts.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: That means two years: now they get five years.

Sardar Sant Singh: I do not mind the period: I say that to detain a person without trial for a single day is a sin against society, and treason against citizenship. If you really mean to develop a sense of responsibility in the masses of the people, you will have to trust them and you will have to give them a fair trial and a fair hearing. You cannot suppress one vice by committing another vice. You cannot suppress one evil by committing another evil: sin can be crushed by virtue, not by another sin; two wrongs have not gone so far to make one right...

An Honourable Member: But two negatives make one positive.

Sardar Sant Singh: Two negatives have not made a positive so far; you can go on multiplying zero any number of times, but it will always remain a zero. You can never suppress any feeling, any movement by doing other acts of injustice to suppress them. The best course for you is to lodge a complaint and give the man a chance of being heard. If he is really the guilty man, the culprit given to acts of violence or committing illegalities, there is the police to look after him. But if you cannot catch him in committing any overt act, of course you have got your C. I. D. to look after him and watch his movements till he commits any such acts or till you get evidence of the nature to get him convicted in a court of law. You must make out a case against him and you will find that there will be more confidence in your administration; there will be less discontent against you and more confidence in your administration.

What is the meaning of rule of law if it does not mean that every man is presumed to be innocent until and unless he is proved to be guilty? What is the meaning of that noble phrase let 99 guilty persons

escape but not one innocent person be punished? Are these idle phrases? Have not these phrases got the experience of ages behind them? Was it not the result of experience of wise men? History is full of such tragedies as is being enacted in India to-day. The irresponsible despot, unchecked by popular control, persistently refuses to recognize the existence of a discontent, declines to remove the causes but tries to suppress the individuals who step forward to give expression to particular grievances. He seems to succeed for the time being, and is thereby further intoxicated. This process continues till resentment is intensified and swallows up the despot and his Empire. You want this enactment as a bulwark against chaos, anarchy and disorder. If that is so, then I will say that this measure will not provide that bulwark. In spite of the Ordinances that have been issued and worked most unsympathetically in the provinces the movement has not been suppressed. Have there been no terrorist crimes after the issue of these Ordinances? The Honourable the Home Member in his speech while referring this Bill to the Select Committee the other day, said that even until that very day there were crimes committed by the terrorists. If the Ordinances have failed to reach them, is it not high time to change your attitude towards them? Is it not high time that you looked beneath the surface of things and devised measures which are reasonable and which will appeal to the moderate element in this House who have come to co-operate with you? If you have no other alternatives to your Ordinances, then I say, Sir, that there is complete bankruptcy of statesmanship in the opposite Benches.

Now, Sir, let us examine what will be the effect of this measure for one minute, if it is passed by this House. A detenu is arrested: he is kept in jail. It causes heart-burning amongst his relatives. There was resentment already in the mind of one man in the first instance before his arrest. The bitterness is added to by his arrest; you spread that bitterness to his relatives. That detenu is removed from his usual place of residence and sent away to a far-off land to unfamiliar surroundings, where he is made to take food which he had never taken in his life; where he is thrown into a society whose ways he does not know, where he cannot understand the temperament of the people and where he is quite ignorant of the language of the place. After some time, moved by considerations of humanity, you permit him interviews with his relations once in three or six months. Those relations come together and try to meet him in jail. This causes another revival of the same bitterness not only amongst those relatives who are going to meet him, but also amongst the relatives of those relations who actually meet him, who have had to travel long distances at their own expense in these days of no income and great expense. Thus the bitterness goes on multiplying. It is just like a whirlpool in water into which a stone has been thrown. The circular eddies go on extending till they reach the bank. The same will be the resulting effect in the case of this measure also. The bitterness will spread and spread from house to house and from family to family. It will spread even to those who are now sympathetically inclined to this administration. Therefore, I submit, that before you persist in passing this measure, you should realize the consequences that are likely to follow. May I enquire what is your ultimate objective? You are of course not going to detain a man for his life. Are you provid-

ing any measures or doing anything to disabuse the mind of the detenu of the terrorist activities? There is no such provision either in this Bill or in the Bengal Act. What do you propose to do to improve the man while he is in custody? If you have no proposals to offer in this respect, then I may tell you that it will be far better to shoot that man straightaway than to allow bitterness to spread. (Applause from the Nationalist Benches.) What is the good of enforcing a lingering life of imprisonment in that manner? Such a life is not worth living. We expected that the Select Committee would come forward with some constructive proposals as to how the detenus are to utilize their time while under detention, how they could be made better citizens when they come out of detention. There is no suggestion of any kind. We cannot support a barren measure of this character where a man will have no trial, no hearing and no appeal. With these few remarks, Sir, I oppose this Bill.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Mr. President, I did not address this Honourable House when the Honourable the Home Member moved the first reading of this Bill, and although the measure was criticized by certain Honourable Members, I believe, from all sides of the House, it was decided that it should go to Select Committee. Now, Sir, if I may respectfully point out, there appears to me to be some confusion of thought. When we accepted the principle of this Bill with some criticism we did so because we do not by this Bill make any new enactment giving any further powers to any Local Government to arrest and detain without trial. The powers that the Bengal Government have got to arrest and detain without trial are powers taken under a local Act, with which we in this House have nothing to do. Those who passed that Act are responsible for it; those who work it are further responsible to their people. A clear cut issue was placed before us. We were asked to help the Bengal Government under certain peculiar circumstances. They desired that some of their detenus might be sent to other parts of India, and in order to do that, the Government of India had to come before this House. Therefore the only principle to which we agreed was that, with the sanction of the Government of India, the Bengal Government should be allowed to send certain of its detenus to other parts of India. Beyond that we accepted no other principle in this House. Therefore in my humble opinion all discussion as to the advisability or non-advisability of arresting people and keeping them for years in prison without trial does not arise on this Bill. We discussed that principle at some length when it was brought prominently before this House by a motion moved by my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. That discussion is finished and gone. The Government have heard what we had to say. The Government, I trust, have not only heard but digested the remarks of many of the Honourable Members on this side of the House. Therefore, I personally do not see any necessity of again going on with a discussion which is irrelevant to this Bill.

Now, Sir, certain criticisms were made at the first reading of this Bill which were most relevant. It was pointed out to the Government that if this House gave the power to Government of sanctioning the removal of detenus from Bengal to other parts of India, care must be taken to see that those detenus lived in other parts of India under more or less the same conditions as they would have lived under in

their own province. It was also pointed out to Government that interviews should not be made impossible; in short, that the life of a detenu should be no harder or no worse than it would have been in his own province. That was the main principle enunciated by several Honourable Members on this side of the House, and it was the most relevant principle which could be enunciated with regard to this Bill.

Now, Sir, we have the report of the Select Committee. It is signed by Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir James Crerar, Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, Mr. R. S. Sarma, Mr. S. R. Pandit, Mr. M. A. Azim, and Mr. Arthur Moore, without minutes of dissent. They accept the whole Bill as originally presented to the House. There are two other signatures, Mr. B. Sitaramaraju, and Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhury, and their minutes of dissent have a special interest for us of the Independent Party as they happen to be both members of our Party, and they are of course Members of the House. They happen to be members of our Party. (*Mr. B. Das*: "For the whole House.") They happen to be members of our Party, and they are of course Members of the House. They happen to be members of our Party, and therefore, their criticisms to me, have a peculiar interest. I have no criticisms to make against my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. He accepted the principle of the Bill. He may have disagreed with the criticisms that have been expressed on the first reading of the Bill, and he signed the report. I have no complaints against that, nor have I any complaints to make against any of the other Honourable Members who have signed the report without dissenting minutes. They are welcome to their views, they are within their rights; but it does seem rather strange that, not having penned a single minute of dissent, Member after Member of this House should rise and deliberately oppose the whole of the Bill for reasons which are more or less irrelevant, with the exception of my Honourable friend Mr. Raju, whose criticisms were I consider of such value that they ought to appeal to Honourable Members opposite.

I am not a lawyer, but I fail to understand why clause 4 was included in the Bill, and I await enlightenment from the Honourable the Law Member on this point. The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act gives certain powers to the Government of Bengal. No Court can deprive the Government of Bengal of those powers; they are statutory powers; they are given to the Government of Bengal under a statute. Why, then, deprive anybody of contesting or being able to contest the point in a court of law if he considers that the Government of Bengal have exceeded their powers? So far as I can make out—I am not a lawyer—this clause prevents anybody from appealing against the Government of Bengal for having taken action illegally....

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter (Law Member): In that case section 491 will apply.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Then, why insert this clause in this Bill?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: There are good reasons.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I should like to hear those good reasons. If there are good reasons for inserting the clause in the Bill, which on the face of it does not seem necessary, I have got plenty of patience to wait and hear my Honourable friend. But, in the

meantime, an amendment has already been tabled which will clear that point completely. If it is so important in the opinion of the Government that this clause should be retained, then I trust that they will see no objection, at any rate, to accepting the amendment that has been tabled by my Honourable friend Mr. Raju....

Mr. K. Ahmed: Will you please read the Statement of Objects and Reasons?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Of what? Of the Bill?

Mr. K. Ahmed: Yes, of the original Bill.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Do you expect that I have not read it? My Honourable friend may be accustomed to speak on a Bill without reading the Objects and Reasons, but I am not accustomed to do that. I always read the Objects and Reasons of a Bill before I stand up to speak on it.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Then please read it again when you go home this evening.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: The next point I would like to deal with is this question of interviews and food. It may not be possible to provide for these matters in the Bill itself; it may have to be done by rules; but I do expect the Government to give an assurance to the House that these detenues will live in the province to which they are sent under, as far as possible, the same conditions under which they live or would have lived in Bengal. I desire to have that assurance from Government, and, what is more, I desire the Government to assure us that they will see that those assurances are carried out by the Provincial Governments. Sir, I have great sympathy with my Honourable friend Mr. Mitra and my Honourable friend from the Punjab. They speak with experience which none of us possess. (*An Honourable Member*: "Question.") Who says "Question"? Have you been a detenu?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should address the Chair.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Then the Honourable Member cannot speak with experience. These two Honourable Members have been detenues and we must listen to them with sympathy and realize that, after all, we who have not had that experience can on certain occasions speak light-heartedly. But let us see, at any rate, if we are to pass this Bill in order to facilitate the administration of the Government of Bengal, that these detenues are no worse off than they are at present, and if Government will give that assurance....

Mr. S. C. Mitra: Mere assurance will not do. You must see that the assurance is carried out.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: When Government give that assurance, I generally take it that it will be carried out.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: Sir James Crerar will be in his home safe.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: There will be his successor whom we can cross-examine. Every word that Sir James Crerar says will be not only his bond but the bond of the Government.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: We are not so sanguine, from our experience in the past.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I trust that the assurance will be so phrased that there will be no room for doubt in the mind of any Honourable Member of this House.

The Assembly then adjourned till eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 12th March, 1932.

CASTE DISTINCTION IN EDUCATIONAL REPORTS

By ROMESH CHANDRA BANERJEE

It is no longer a secret to the educated public of the country how the Government's far-flung policy makes itself painfully felt in all its departments. The policy of coaxing, cajoling and subsidizing the Muslims seems to have fully succeeded by this time. The game of luring away the so-called "depressed classes" from the main body of the Hindus is now being played with great care and energy. The future alone can reveal the results of the above policy, but a peep into the past shows us that preparations for the purpose were started long ago. A careful perusal of the records of the Education Department discloses the fact that it duly takes a hand in carrying out the Government's policy, a part of which consists in magnifying and perpetuating the divisions of the Hindu community where they actually exist and also of creating imaginary divisions where they are non-existent.

The question of the "depressed classes" or "the backward classes," as they are often called in the reports of the Education Department, has now assumed extraordinary importance, though it is a curious thing that in spite of a good deal of lip sympathy bestowed on the depressed classes, assistance really rendered them has been up to now very trifling, if we compare it with the long list of privileges given to the Muslims.

Let us now look at some official records to see how the Education Department has dissected the Hindus into smaller and smaller sections, from year to year, and how to serve some purpose, it has stretched the list of "depressed classes" to make it appear longer and longer.

I. HINDUS TREATED EN BLOC IN EARLY REPORTS

The Report of the Education Commission of 1883 is embodied in the "Review of Education in India in 1886" compiled by Sir Alfred Croft and published in 1888.

This is an important old document in reference to the subject under discussion. In this official publication a table is given entitled "Race or Creed of Scholars" (p. 99). This table contains the following headings :

Europeans	Native	Hindus	Mahomedans	Others
or	Christians			
Eurasians				

By "others" are meant Parsis, Sikhs and Burmese, as is evident from the next page where a list is given of "Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Sikhs, Burmese, Native Christians, Europeans, Eurasians and others."

There is no reference here, direct or indirect, to what are now called "depressed classes" and no invidious distinction is made between the different castes of Hindus, by mentioning by name the "depressed classes." The Europeans, the Eurasians and the Muhammadans were the only "special classes," as is indicated by the following extract from proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department (Education), paragraph 13, under date Simla, the 18th June 1888 :

"There are two classes in India for whose education it has been at different times suggested that special measures are required. These classes are the children of Europeans and Eurasians and Muhammadan children." (*Vide* Review of Education in India in 1886).

Section VII of the above Review (1886) was devoted to "Education of special classes" and it dealt with (a) Europeans and Eurasians and (b) Muhammadans.

However, as we are more directly concerned with the case of Bengal, we will now turn to the official publications of the Government of Bengal. The first Quinquennial Report on Education in Bengal published in 1897 contains a Chapter (XVII) on "Aboriginal and Backward Races." The total number of scholars under the above heading in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (in schools supervised by Government) was 36,848 and in Chota-Nagpur Mission Schools the number was 6,271. Of these numbers, certain are

said to be "Christians" and others "Non-Christians." Mentioning the Railway Primary Schools at Giridih, it is said :

"Of 1383 pupils, 895 are Hindus, 315 Muhammadans, 71 Aborigines, 2 Native Christians."

It is further stated,

"The Hindus and Mahommadans in the above extract were probably aboriginal converts to these persuasions."

Here the "depressed classes" are not included among the "backward races."

Page 7 of the Report (para 12) gives a general table of the "Race and Creed of Scholars," the headings being as follows :

Europeans	Native Hindus	Muhammadans	Others
and	Christians		
Eurasians			

While this is exactly the same as given in the Education Commission's Report (1883) mentioned before, the Bengal Government's Quinquennial Report (1887) gives a slightly different list on p.8, paragraph 13, *viz.* Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, Sikhs, Buddhists, Native Christians, Europeans and Eurasians, Jews, Brahmos.

It is evident, therefore, that neither in the special chapter on "Education of backward races" nor in the general table was any attempt made to unnecessarily divide and sub-divide the Hindus and to show certain chosen castes as distinguished from others. Though Brahmos, Buddhists and Sikhs (as previously) are shown separately in the detailed list, they are not treated under special and separate headings in the General Table.

The chapter on "Education of Aboriginal and Backward Races" in the Report on Public Instruction (Bengal) 1899-1900 (p. 159) gives the number of pupils in the Railway Elementary Schools and says, "of 1512 pupils, 970 were Hindus, 462 Muhammadans and 80 Non-Christian Aborigines." The classification given here is very broad and no castes are taken out of the main body of Hindus and invidiously treated as "depressed" or "backward."

General Table III mentions "Scholars according to Race or Creed" and is as follows :

Europeans and Eurasians	Native Christians (Non-aborigines.)	Hindus	Brahmos
Muhammadans.	Aborigines Chris. Non-Chris.		Others.

The only new feature of the Table is a separate heading for Brahmos.

In the Third Quinquennial Report (Bengal) published in 1907, in the chapter on "Education of Special Classes," there is a section on "Education of aboriginal and other backward races and tribes and of indigent classes." Para 769 (page 663) says :

"According to the returns, pupils of aboriginal and other backward races and tribes and of indigent classes under instruction in public and private institutions on 31st March 1907 were as follows :

(1) Indigent classes of Hindus 41450, (2) Indigent classes of Muhammadans 22886, (3) Indigent classes of Non-aboriginal native Christians 2799, (4) Aboriginal native Christians 10414, (5) Non-Christian aboriginals 35,822."

Here it is seen that Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian "backward races, tribes and indigent classes" are dealt with in one chapter without any partiality being shown for or against any caste or creed.

II. CASTE DIFFERENCES STRESSED FOR THE FIRST TIME

In the General Table IIIA however the following classification of scholars occurs :

Europeans and Eurasians.	Native Christians	Hindus	Brahmans	Non-Brahmans
Muhammadans	Buddhists	Parsis	Others	

Here, for the first time, we see a distinction set up between caste and caste among Hindus.

In the Fourth Quinquennial Review (1907-8 to 1911-12), the aborigines receive separate treatment in the chapter on "Education of Special Classes." The following extract from paragraph 820 (p. 156) is significant as giving an inkling into things which are being prepared for the future :

"The Classification (of indigent Hindus) depends upon the opinion of the returning officer, one man will classify Telis, Mochis, and Sooris, as belonging to the indigent classes of Hindus and another will not. The last Quinquennial Review, paragraph 780, pointed out that the educational statistics for backward classes have never been compiled on any definite principles. It was stated that the whole question would be examined and definite principles of classification prescribed, but nothing has so far been done."

It appears from the above that the Government was in quest of some "definite principles" on which to base the enumeration of "backward classes." But nobody could

dream that these "definite principles" would at length be merged into distinctions based on birth, that is, caste.

That "backwardness" in education did not necessarily imply birth in this or that caste, that it had nothing to do with one's creed, seems to have been tacitly admitted by the educational authorities even at this time. This is proved from the following list (quoted from the above-mentioned Quinquennial Review) of "aboriginal and other backward races and indigent classes."

- (1) Non-Christian aboriginals.
- (2) Aboriginal Native Christians.
- (3) Indigent classes of Non-aboriginal Native Christians.
- (4) Indigent classes of Muhammadans.
- (5) Indigent classes of Hindus.

Dissection of the Hindu Community once begun is continued in the General Table IIIA.

(1) Europeans and Eurasians	(2) Native Christians	(3) Hindus Brahmans, Babhans, Ors. Rajputs Baidyas, and Kayasthas.
(4) Muhammadans	(5) Buddhists	(6) Parsis
		(7) Others

In the Third Quinquennial Report Hindus were divided into "Brahmans," "Non-Brahmans." In the Fourth Quinquennial, they are divided into a greater variety of castes as shown above.

Report on Public Instruction, Bengal, for 1914-15 has the same table as above except that in place of "Native Christians" the expression "Indian Christians" occurs.

Up to this year, every periodical report had a separate chapter on "Muhammadan Education." But the chapter on "Education of special classes" always dealt with "aboriginal and other backward races and indigent classes."

We have also seen that "indigent classes" included those who were supposed to be really indigent and they included Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians. No class of persons was considered below a certain line simply because they were of this caste or that, (as would be done shortly afterwards).

In the Report on Public Instruction (1914-15), the phrase "indigent classes" was

dropped. Paragraph 102 (page 19) gives a description of "backward and other races." Only "Indigent Moslems" seem to have disappeared all on a sudden. Instead of the grouping together of indigent and backward classes of all creeds (without mentioning the castes of Hindus), we find a distinct tendency to segregate the indigent Moslems from the Hindus, as if no Moslem could be said to be backward educationally and indigent. More attention is paid to different castes among Hindus. After enumeration of Garos, Koches, Mandais, Tipras, Maghs and Santhals, the following compliment is paid to the Namasudras and the Jogis: "The Namasudras and Jogis have started associations in different centres and are making strenuous efforts to spread education in their own communities."

III. THE BLACK LIST

It was reserved for the sixth Quinquennial Review (1917-18 to 1921-22) of Education in Bengal to bring out the first list of the so-called "Depressed Classes." While in the general table Hindus are divided into Brahmans and Non-Brahmans, paragraph 320 of chapter XI dealing with "Education of Special Classes," under the head (B) "Education of Backward Classes" says:

"The following table gives, according to the Census of 1921, the approximate number of persons included in the castes or tribes, which are regarded, in terms of the Government of India's orders, as depressed:

A DEPRESSED CLASSES PROPER

1. Bagdi, 2. Barui, 3. Bhumali, 4. Bhuiya, 5. Bhumij, 6. Chamar, 7. Dhoba, 8. Dom, 9. Dosadh, 10. Hari, 11. Kaora, 12. Kora, 13. Mal, 14. Muchi, 15. Munda, 16. Namasudra, 17. Oraon, 18. Pod, 19. Santhal, 20. Sunri, 21. Tiyar."

Then follow the lists of "aboriginal and Hill tribes" and "criminal tribes," which we leave out as unnecessary.

It now appears that we have at length landed upon those "definite principles of classification" of the backward classes, of which the absence was deplored in the Fourth Quinquennial Review. These "principles" happen to be nothing more or less than this that certain castes among Hindus should be enumerated and declared by the Government to be "depressed" and "backward." To avoid giving offence to the Moslems, the indigent classes among them, who were formerly placed

in the same category as indigent Hindus, were removed, leaving the Hindus alone in the field ; so that the world might be led to think that the "upper" castes had reduced a large number of "lower" castes to the level of the "depressed" and that, whenever necessary for political purposes, the "depressed" castes might be incited against the other Hindus.*

Another curious fact is this that, though the Muhamadans were honoured by being lifted from the pit of "backward classes" in 1914-15, they continued to enjoy the ever-increasing number of privileges (including the one of converting a primary school into a maktab, if more than 50 p. c. boys are Muslims, while those who were officially declared to be "backward" and "depressed" and, consequently, it might be thought, deserved more help, got almost nothing, in comparison with what were bestowed on the "favourite wife" of Sir Bampfylde Fuller.

However, it is to be noted that the list makes a difference between "Depressed classes proper" and "Aboriginal and Hill tribes," etc. The sixth Quinquennial Review of Education (1907-12) published by the Government of India also makes the following classification (*vide* chapter on "Education of Backward classes") :—(i) Aborigines and Hill and forest tribes, (ii) Depressed classes, (iii) Communities who, though not necessarily either backward or depressed, present problems of education different from the ordinary."

The seventh Quinquennial Review of the Government of India also keeps the "depressed" classes separate from aboriginal and criminal tribes.

The seventh Quinquennial Review (1922-23 to 1926-27) of Bengal gives the following table of Race and Creed of Scholars :

1	2	3		
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Indian Christians	Hindus Educationally advanced	Hindus Educationally backward	
4	5	6	7	8
Muhammadans	Parsis	Buddhists	Sikhs	Others

The fact that among Muhammadans, too, there are advanced and backward classes

has been ignored, the division being here confined to Hindus.

The expression "Educationally backward" is explained in a foot-note (p. 145) where a list of 62 castes and tribes is given who "with a few smaller castes which come under the same category comprise the educationally backward classes among the Hindus."

Thus we see that the list of "backward" or "depressed" classes has increased since 1921-22. In that year, the depressed classes proper numbered 21, the hill and forest tribes being kept apart. In the next Quinquennial Review all were combined, the "backward," that is "depressed" classes becoming all on a sudden three times as numerous. The hill tribes and others are mixed up with the depressed classes proper and it is officially pointed out that they all form "the educationally backward" classes among Hindus."

But the latest complete list of the "backward" classes of Bengal is found in the *Education Code* (1931) where, according to Government order No. 2909, dated 26th September 1923, as many as 71 castes and tribes are mentioned in two groups.

It is curious that hill, forest and aboriginal tribes who are shown to form the "backward classes" among Hindus in the educational reports, are also put down as "Animists" in the Census Reports.* Can it not be concluded from the above that when it is necessary to show up the Hindus as hopelessly divided amongst themselves, the aboriginal and other tribes are officially called "Hindus." But when the question of the comparative numerical strength of Hindus and Moslems comes up, these same tribes become "animists"!

It is also noticeable that the Seventh Quinquennial Review of Bengal cleverly avoids the word "depressed," which seems to connote social opprobrium. It pretends to make a harmless division of the Hindus into "Educationally advanced," and "educationally backward" classes, although by the latter phrase, it means the so-called "depressed"

* Castes among Muhammadans, *viz.*, Beharas, Jolahas, Nikaris, Pathahs, Sayiads, Seikhs and others are never mentioned in the educational reports, though specific mention of these is made in the Census Reports.

* *Vide* Census Report 1921—Bhuiyas, Lohars, Mundas, Oraons, Santhals, Tiparas, for example, are partly Hindus and partly animists. Maghs, Lepchas and Chakmas are Buddhists, many others are non-descripts.

castes. If the authorities really intended to avoid unnecessarily putting a permanent social stigma on certain castes, they might have returned to the old classification of "backward and indigent classes" under which category Hindus, Moslems and Christians were placed without partiality to any.

IV. GENESIS OF THE BLACK LIST

We have seen that the Sixth Quinquennial Review of Education in Bengal speaks of the list of "depressed" classes, as being prepared "according to the Census of 1921" and under orders of the Government of India. But in the Census Report (1921) Vol. I, the following occurs :

It has been usual in recent years to speak of a certain section of the community as the "depressed classes." In the Quinquennial Review on the progress of education (in India) from 1912-1917 (Chapter XVIII, para 505) the depressed classes are specifically dealt with from the point of view of educational assistance and progress and in Appendix XIII to that Report, a list of the castes and tribes constituting this section of the community is given.....I therefore asked Provincial Superintendents to let me have an estimate based on census figures of the approximate strength of the castes who were usually included in the category of "depressed." (Chapter on "Caste tribe, Race and Nationality," para 193).

It is clear therefore that before the census officers could fully go into the question of the depressed classes, the Government of India's Education Department had, in their hurry, drawn up a list of certain castes and tribes and dubbed them "depressed." The census officers could only work upon this unalterable black list prepared by the Education Department of the Government of India.

V. WHO ARE "DEPRESSED" ?

Mr. Marten, the Census Commissioner for 1921, frankly says, "So far as I am aware the term has no final definition nor is it certain exactly whom it covers." Mr. Thompson who "compiled Census of India Vol. V (Bengal)" observes :

The term has never been defined and it is not easy to define it. It has not quite the same meaning as the "backward classes," the classes backward in education and civilization generally, and yet is not quite conterminous with the lowest class in the Hindu social scale. There are classes among the Muhammadans which are very backward in education as there are Buddhist, Animist and Hindu tribes in the Darjeeling hill and the Hill tracts to the east of the Province, but when the question of proportional

representation of the depressed classes in the democratic government of the country was considered, it was obviously not intended that any Muhammadan should be included among them." (P. 365).

In the Seventh Quinquennial Review on Progress of Education in India (1912-17), Mr. Sharp makes the following observation (on page 206) on the "Depressed Classes" :

"They form the unclean castes whose touch or even whose shadow is pollution. But a wider significance is often attached to the expression, so that it includes communities which, though not absolutely outside the pale of caste, are backward and generally poor and despised and also certain classes of Muhammadans. Some have interpreted it simply as educationally backward. The task of definition is made difficult by doubt as to where the line should be drawn and the elastic conditions of such classes as dwell on the border land of respectability."

In spite of difficulties admitted by those who were entrusted with the task of making enquiry into the matter, the Education Department of the Government of India did not hesitate to draw up a list off-hand and order all concerned to abide by it.

VI. ARBITRARY NATURE OF THE LIST

Who decided whether a certain caste is "depressed" or otherwise? The published records of the Government do not show that any Hindu social organization or any Hindu leader or leaders were consulted. If the much-maligned "Upper castes" were not to be trusted, the leaders of the depressed classes themselves could be taken into confidence, which, however, was not considered necessary. A short cut to the solution of the problem was easily found by the sudden caprice of one or two omniscient and omnipotent officials and lo ! one fine morning the "dishonours" list was out for the enlightenment of the World !

Another interesting feature of the list is its permanency. The motto of the Government seems to be—"once depressed always depressed." The case of the Namasudras is an instance in point. In the Seventh Quinquennial Review of the Government of India (1912-17) it is said of the Namasudras :

* The latest definition is that attempted by the Lothian Committee. The Committee agreed to define the depressed classes as those who are untouchable, *i. e.*, who cause pollution by touch or approach or denied access to temples. If this criterion is followed, the black list must be greatly curtailed, so far at least as Bengal is concerned.

"This community now considers its enumeration among depressed classes as a serious set-back to its social development. So steady has been their progress that in the opinion of the Director, their classification under a higher category is justified" (p. 203).

In the Sixth Quinquennial Review of Bengal (1917-18 to 1921-22) in chapter XI a long testimonial is given to the Namasudras :

"The advance of primary education among Namasudras noted in the last Quinquennial report is steadily continued and Mr. Hornell's remark that their present position in education and their present social advancement bring them under a higher category than that of a depressed class gains a point.....the community is raising its status rapidly, and arguing mainly from its constant educational advance, is constantly making out a case for being regarded as other than backward."

In the Seventh Quinquennial Review of Bengal (1922-23 to 1926-27) the same sort of empty compliment is paid to the Namasudras :

"The spread of education among them marks the Namasudras as destined speedily to emerge from the position of a backward class" (Chapter IX, p. 88).

Yet even now the Namasudras are "rolling in the mire" notwithstanding numerous "friends" in the persons of crooked officials and communalist Moslem leaders !

Again, if the Namasudras have established their claim to a lift out of the gutter, there are other castes with a higher literacy standard, i. e., educationally advanced, who cannot be denied that honour. The following table of literacy taken from the Census Report of 1921 will speak for itself :

Castes	Literacy per mille among males and females of 5 years and over.
Teli or Tili	225
Sunri	188
Jogi or Jugi	176
Tanti	168
Kalu	152
Pod	138
Chasi Kaibarta	131
Sutradhar	121
Kumhar	116
Kapali	115
Magh	89
Dhoba	88
Namasudra	85

If the progress in literacy made by the Namasudras be regarded as the minimum qualification for removal of a caste's name from the black list, all the castes shown above should have that honour.

The arbitrariness of the list does not end

here. There are castes who are backward in comparison with many of the above but are not, fortunately, on the black list, for example, Goalas and Napits with 119 and 152 literacy per mille. There are others who are placed on the list, but who in the opinion of Mr. Thompson, Census Officer, Bengal, should not be there :

"There are castes, like, for instance, the Telis, and the Sunries, who in education are far advanced compared with castes which rank below or level with them in the social scale and I would certainly not count such castes among the depressed classes." (Census Report 1921, Vol. V. Bengal, p. 365).

The number in the list also varies. The Sixth Quinquennial (Bengal) mentions 21 castes as "depressed classes proper." The Census Report (Bengal) for 1921 mentions 40 castes. The Seventh Quinquennial gives a list of 62 and the *Education Code* (1931) in which certain scholarships are said to be reserved for "depressed classes" enumerates 71 castes and tribes, who are euphemistically called "educationally backward classes." In the last two reports hill and forest tribes are mixed up with others.

Additions to the list were made without any rhyme or reason as the following from the Seventh Quinquennial Review of Bengal shows :

"During this quinquennial some new tribes or classes were placed on the list of educationally backward classes.....such are the Jogis or Naths, the Mahisyas, the Sutradhars" (chapter IX, p. 88).

It will no doubt surprise many to see that, in the midst of steady educational progress in the country, educationally "backward" classes crop up at the whim and caprice of certain officials.

VII. EVIL EFFECTS OF STRESSING CASTE DISTINCTIONS IN EDUCATIONAL REPORTS

The effects of stressing caste differences in educational reports are bad enough in themselves inasmuch as they at least give pain to certain readers and may rouse feelings of hatred and resentment against their supposed social superiors. But the mischief is not confined to paper alone. It spreads far and wide and in the large number of schools of the country often revives and accentuates the invidious distinction between one caste and another. We shall understand how it all happens if we remember the manner of

collecting statistics. Statistical forms containing such heads as "Hindus—Low castes, High castes"* etc., and with a long list of the "depressed classes" at the foot-note, are sent down to all schools. There are thousands of Lower and Higher Primary Schools, as well as Middle and High Schools. In these schools, the teachers make enquiries, in course of which they have often to ask a boy whether he is a Dhoba, or a Dom or a Pod or a Namasudra, etc., and imprudent and uncharitable remarks may not improbably be made giving rise to feelings of hatred and indignation in the minds of the boy and his guardian. In this way, educational authorities, whose duty it is to keep educational institutions clean and unpolluted by narrow caste prejudices, rake up these evils where they were unperceived before and accentuate them where they exist in a latent form. The possibility of this mischief is admitted in the Census Report 1921, Vol. I, para 193 :

"There is undoubtedly some danger in giving offence by making in a public report social distinctions which may be deemed invidious."

VIII. NO CASTE OR COMMUNAL BIAS IN EARLY REPORTS

We have seen that prior to 1907 the educational reports of Bengal were mostly free from the tendency (which became more and more marked afterwards), to make invidious distinction between caste and caste.

* Cf. Bengal form No. 1271 (Bengali). In Bengal form 1275 note the following headings: সমাজের নিম্নতর শ্রেণীস্বয়ং যত ছাত্র মিত্র মিত্র মানে উত্তীর্ণ হইয়াছে তাহার বিবরণ। under the head ছাত্রগণের বৃত্তি—these sub-heads occur (১) হিন্দু (হাড়ি, মুন্সি, ডোম প্রমৃতি নিম্ন শ্রেণীস্বয়ং জাতি (২) মুসলমান (মুন্সি, মজুর, গাভোয়ান প্রমৃতি etc.)

Unthinkable though it may seem now, there was a time when even the pro-Moslem bias of the Government which is creating havoc in the country for the last quarter of a century was totally absent. I shall conclude this article by quoting a few passages from the Review of Education in India in 1886 in order to show that at that time, there were no attempts made to set Moslems against Hindus as there were none to set Hindus against Hindus.

Referring to certain special recommendations in favour of Moslems made by the Education Commission of 1883, the India Government's observations were :

"Special encouragement to any class is in itself an evil ; and it will be a sore reproach to the Musalmans if the pride they have shown in other matters does not stir them up to a course of honourable activity, to a determination that whatever their backwardness in the past they will not suffer themselves to be outstripped in the future ; to a conviction that self-help and self-sacrifice are at once nobler principles of conduct and surer roads to worldly success than a sectarian reserve or the hope of exceptional indulgence."

From the Government of India's Resolution, July 1885, in reference to a memorial submitted by the National Muhammadan Association :

"It is only by frankly placing themselves in line with the Hindus, and taking full advantage of the Government system of high, specially English Education, that the Muhammadans can hope fairly to hold their own in respect of the better description of State appointments."

Then, again,

"In applying the recommendations (of the Commission)—care must be taken to avoid unnecessary widening of the ties between the Muhammadans and other classes of the community."

Contrast this spirit with the present one. One is reminded of the famous line of the poet—"From what a height fallen how low" !



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

MEMORIES OF MY LIFE AND TIMES.

Vol. I, *Bipin Chandra Pal*. Modern Book Agency, 10, College Square, Calcutta. 1932.

Bipin Chandra Pal, whose death was recently mourned by all sections of public opinion in Bengal, had towards the end of his earthly days penned the memories of his life, a life rich in thought, knowledge, feeling and action, a life which had synchronized with much that is memorable in the history of modern Bengal. Here also, as in the reminiscences of Sir Surendranath, we have a glimpse into 'A Nation in Making.' Bipin Chandra had been a distinguished all-India leader during the Swadeshi days, a member of the trio 'Lal-Bal-Pal' whose photographs were once known far and wide in the country, and, though with the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi on the field, he ceased to represent the thought of Modern India, to the great regret of many of his countrymen,—his learning, originality, strength of character and conviction, and critical and vigorous intellect had never been allowed to fade from the public mind. Much of these is in evidence in the volume before us, the first volume of the projected work and named 'In the days of my youth.' The reader will find here a store-house of new information regarding Bengal of the period roughly extending from the Sepoy Mutiny to the birth of the Congress, a stretch of about three decades. The Hindu renaissance; the birth of the national movement; the Bengali stage, newspaper and other periodicals; the early days of the Brahmo Samaj; politics and student life in Calcutta—all these have been treated in a fresh style. Bipin Chandra, in the course of this youthful struggle with life, had been whirled through Madras and Orissa, and we have interesting glimpses into these provinces fifty years ago. The story of Sir Surendranath's getting the sack in the I.C.S. has been told with some new matter, and will be read with renewed interest.

The volume will be an important source-book to all students of the history of 19th century Bengal in all its aspects, and is sure to be appreciated by the reading public. We await with interest the publication of the next two volumes which will complete these memoirs.

A word is necessary by way of caution to the publishers. It is to be regretted that trivial causes delayed the work till its author departed this life. The other volumes will have to be revised by the friends of the author, who had been his comrades. Care should be taken to eschew all mistakes, some of which have unfortunately found their way into the book under review. Two instances will suffice: though the author was born in 1858 and though his father passed away in 1886 (which sad event closes the book), we have it on the front page—1857-1884. The other: on p. 256, there is a reference to a national song on the exploitation of India by *Tungadweep* or England from a novel by Babu Manomohan Bose, *Bangadweep Parajaya*. This is doubly wrong: the song occurs in a drama, not a novel, by Babu Manomohan Bose, named "Harishchandra"; secondly, Manomohan Babu had nothing to do with *Bangadweep Parajaya* which had been written by Pratapchandra Ghose. These obvious inaccuracies should be carefully weeded out in the volumes to come.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

INDIA MICA, Vol. I: By *Ramani Ranjan Chowdhury*. Published by Dr. N. N. Sen, D. Sc., University College of Science, Calcutta, 1932. Pp. XII + 103 + 12 appendices. Price Rs. 5 (inland) and 7-6d. (foreign). To be had of the Economic Supply Agency, Post Box 11437, Calcutta.

Sir Thomas Holland's well-known memoir on "The Mica deposits of India" is the first authoritative work on Indian mica. Its publication dates thirty years back and the volume is out of print. (Mem. G. S. I. Vol. 34, 1902). After twenty years (in 1923) Dr. Coggin Brown in a bulletin (Indian Industries and Labour No. 15)

has dealt with the commercial aspects of Indian mica and it has been supplemented in 1927 by another publication in the same series (No. 40) by Mr. G. V. Hobson—"Notes on the Marketing and Utilization of Mica."

The volume under review has its aim similar to the above bulletins but has a wider sphere of compilation. The book is full of noteworthy factors which have been treated with adequate details and there are important discussions on valuable commercial and industrial practices which demand proper attention of the people concerned. The statistical figures recorded up to 1931 for India and to 1928 for other countries. There are seven chapters besides the introductory chapter and the appendices.

The comparative statements of the results of chemical analysis of the different kinds of mica will be of little interest to those for whom the book is written. A short account of the geology and nature of all deposits of marketable mica in India would have been more useful. There are several errors indicating hurried proof-reading—more attention should be paid to the second edition of the book. As regards the sources of information the author has given a list of literature in the last page of the book. The list however lacks the name of a very important publication, *viz.*, "The Mineral Industry." Mr. Chowdhury has in addition collected some first-hand informations from experts as stated in his prefatory note.

Two of the salient features of the book specially attract the reader's attention, *viz.*, (1) voltage strength of mica and (2) "unscrupulous and unhealthy trade practices of a section of mica dealers in India." (i) The importance of testing mica for di-electric strength can be realized from the fact that major portion of the world's output of mica is utilized for electrical purposes. Hobson in 1927 noted that no proper system for such testing was developed. Mr. Chowdhury has however compiled statements showing the results of different tests on various types of commercial mica and has given a method of determining the di-electric strength of the mineral. This is indeed an extremely valuable basis for grading this commodity. Testing certificates from recognized testers regarding voltage strength of mica, is sure to enhance its value in the market for affording the advantage of reaping its fruits to the consumers. (ii) Both Dr. Coggin Brown and Mr. Hobson condemned the bad trade practices of some of the Indian firms and the latter in addition mentioned that a feeling of doubt as to the security of Indian supplier was spreading among consumers and he solicited immediate intervention of proper authority. Mr. Chowdhury in his book sounds the signal of danger. He has given his experience in India of the prevalent malpractices and has pointed out the loopholes and latitudes in the present system grading according to size and quality, which the unscrupulous dealer utilizes to his advantage. Mr. Chowdhury appears to be extremely anxious to regain the lost ground in the field of mica business before it becomes too late, and for this purpose he suggests ways and means to minimize illegitimate trading. His system of "middle average" and his chart on a standard grading of mica is worth serious consideration. These malpractices can be checked most effectively by legislation and controlling boards like marketing boards. The output of mica in British Empire is nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the total production of the world—an Empire

board can control the whole trade and can put it under a healthy system.

Mr. Chowdhury deserves thanks of all conscientious mica merchants for suggesting practical methods to uplift the mica trade of India and to regain mutual confidence. The volume is sure to attract attention of the public as it places before them the technique and prospects of Indian mica industry.

S. L. BISWAS

FUNDAMENTAL OF THE ESOTERIC PHILOSOPHY: By G. de Purucker, M. A., D. Litt., Edited by A. Trevor Barker and published by Rider & Co., Large Demy 8vo., pp. 576, price 25s. net.

This is a series of lectures delivered by Dr. Purucker to the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society at Point Loma, California. It attempts to release for the general public that portion of the Esoteric Philosophy which may safely be communicated—a deeper insight into it being naturally a sealed book for the uninitiated. These lectures were delivered under the direction of Katharine Tingley to whom frequent references are made in the course of the lectures as 'the Leader' (p. 1), and 'the Teacher' (pp. 9, 18, 26, 279, 506, &c.), and who not only gave instruction in private as to how the discourses were to proceed but also appears to have been present throughout and to have interposed a question now and then to give a lead to the lecturer (*e. g.*, p. 303).

This book claims to be a commentary on H. P. Blavatsky's book *The Secret Doctrine* which is considered too difficult for many. It is certainly more condensed, less polemical and more exegetical than its acknowledged prototype, which, by the mere wealth of its materials, is too heavy for the ordinary stomach.

The theosophists have their own philosophico-scientific theories—their own cosmogony, and also their own opinions on such things as Nebular Hypothesis, Solar System and Space, Time and Matter. And it is hardly necessary to say that some of these views cannot be easily dovetailed with what are ordinarily called scientific theories on these subjects. In saying this, however, we do not imply that the scientist is necessarily right and the theosophist is necessarily wrong.

Not only does the theosophist advocate ideas which are likely to be scrapped by the scientist or the philosopher, but he also uses a terminology which is often too abstruse, if not altogether meaningless, for the lay man. Thus, in the book before us, we have a host of terms like 'laya-centre' (ch. vi), 'root-race', 'globe-round' &c. (ch. xxi), 'brain-mind' (p. 243), 'physiology, psychology, and pneumatology of the universe' (ch. xlv), 'inter-planetary Nirvana' (p. 521), &c. &c. And on p. 431, we are on the border-line of a new grammar, for Mme Blavatsky is there referred to as "our great-souled brother."

Arithmetic, however, is the same for theosophists as for ordinary mortals. So, the calculation given on p. 252 as to the "length of time of a Root-Race" is difficult to explain. Taking 72 as the span of individual life, we are asked to multiply it by 7 to get at the Tribal Generation—whatever that may mean;—and multiplying this product by 7, we obtain one Tribal Race; which multiplied by 7, gives us one National Race; and this last figure, we are told, is "about 25,920 years, the length of the Precessional Cycle." But $72 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7 = 24,696$, which is less than 'the length of the Precessional Cycle' by over one thousand!

With all this, however, or perhaps for them, the lectures are quite interesting reading; and anyone

who feels attracted to the undoubtedly recondite teachings of Theosophy will find an able guide in Dr. Parucker.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE ANCIENT HINDUS : By Santosh Kumar Das, M.A., Professor, Tri-Chandra College, Nepal, Calcutta: 1930. Price Rs. 8 pp. 508 published by the author.

Prof. Santosh Kumar Das first made his reputation as a historian by his work on the economic history of ancient India. The promise of that work has been more than fulfilled in the present work which, in the comprehensiveness of its scope, and the volume and variety of the evidence treated, easily establishes its superiority to all previous publications which have hardly done full justice to a subject of so much interest and importance. If the world has still any respect or consideration for India, it is only for her superiority in the sphere of thought and spirituality and yet her success in this sphere was not an accident but the outcome of her system and methods of education carefully planned on the soundest and most scientific principles of Pedagogy which alone could make that education so fruitful and rich in results. To understand Indian culture, it will not do merely to read its records or the literature presenting that culture. We must understand the social organization or the machinery which produced that culture and was responsible for that magnificent and continuous output in the vast and varied Indian literature from the Vedas to the works in later Sanskrit Pali or Prakrits. We appreciate and admire the Upanishads, but spend no thought on the schools which produced them and are justified by them. For want of an adequate account of Indian education India is not given any place in the history of education as taught in the West, although she has such a large place in the history of philosophy. And yet India has so much to contribute both to the science and practice of education. This great gap in the knowledge of India, of her culture and civilization, is now very creditably filled by the laborious work of Prof. Santosh Kumar Das which has added a new chapter to Indian history. Among the topics or aspects of Indian Education dealt with in the work may be mentioned the following: Home Education; Elementary Education; Secondary and Higher Education, Brahminical and Buddhist; Vocational Education; Female Education; Education of Princes; Educational Institutions and Agencies of different types; State and Society in relation to Education, and the like. On each of these topics, the available sources of different ages and regions have been studied and utilized. In some cases, due to the very nature of the case, there are glaring gaps in point of both time and space in the continuity of the evidence presented and perhaps the other alternative method of treatment with references to sources rather than topics might have more satisfied the critical sense and scruples. But the advantages and the necessity of a topical treatment cannot be doubted or disputed. After all, the subject presents a vast and untrodden field and will bear treatment from different points of view to do justice to its different parts, phases and aspects. One of the additional attractions of the work is its clearness and brevity of expression by which a mass of matter has been very well compressed. It is worthy of introduction to post-graduate studies in Indian history.

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS. By Harold J. Laski, Professor of Political Science in the University of London, George Allen and Union, pp. 112.

This small book bears on every page the stamp of Professor Laski's master-mind. It is in four chapters dealing with (1) The Nature of the State (2) The Place of the State in Society (3) The Organization of the State and (4) The State and the International Community. The treatment of each of these topics which practically cover the entire field of political theory is not merely up-to-date: it also reflects the lines of future advance towards a more adequate system. It is thus an indispensable introduction to the study of Politics. The book is also worthy of a wider appeal for the fundamental concepts presented in a masterly manner marked by extraordinary brevity coupled with profound analysis.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE

THE SOCIAL DYNAMIC OF JESUS: By the Rev. Alden H. Clark, M. A., D. D.

If one at the present day after a century of Biblical criticism, is to know of the extraordinary absence of any intelligent understanding of the Christian origins one has only to read this book. From the fact that this book is published by the Christian Literature Society for India to "introduce afresh the fundamental principles of Christian teaching" (*Editorial note*) it can be easily inferred that it does not give exactly the view that meets the hankering of the seeker after the truth about Jesus. About the book the author says in its *Preface*: "Its purpose is to present in brief outline the creative religion of Jesus as it may be applied to the social life and institutions of today." Think of it! For the solution of the problems of modern society inspiration will have to be drawn from a young man of thirty in Galilee who, two thousand years ago, came out with the message: "Think not of the morrow" and "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's" though the Caesar was a foreign oppressive ruler. Also one finds he was thinking of the speedy end of the world and in the new order of things that was coming, there would be no marrying and giving in marriage. Dr. Schmiedel, a German theologian, who perhaps has done more than any other single person to rehabilitate the historicity of Jesus, says—"Certainly we have few, if any, utterances of Jesus on the importance of daily work, civil society, the State, Art, Science, and the attitude to be adopted towards all these things which seem to us to be great blessings." The Doctor deplures "the old notion that he (Jesus) must have given a complete system of ethical teaching, adapted to all times." Abandoning blind faith, if we take the help of historical knowledge, Dr. Schweitzer tells us: "We must be prepared to find that the historical knowledge of the personality and life of Jesus will not be a help, but perhaps even an offence to religion." Yet every honest Christian is asked to try to regenerate humanity of today with the example of Jesus by "applying the spirit of his Master to his everyday living with his fellows" (p. 8). Pfeiderer almost ridicules any such idea by remarking that "anyone who seeks to make eschatological prophetic enthusiasm a permanent authority and standard of social ethics is acting no more wisely than one who should attempt to warm his hearth and cook his dinner with the flames of a volcano." In conclusion, the author hopes "God's Reign shall come in the life of the Western world" (p. 97). We have no such hope as the "social dynamic of Jesus," if at all, has

been exhausted by fighting against the scientific culture of the West. If there is any civilization in the Western world it is in spite of that so-called "dynamic." And the author's hope is strengthened by the fact that "Jesus holds the key to the problems of our complex modern world" (p. 98). I must have taken this last remark as cynical, if I had not known that the author is a Christian missionary. My authority is Dr. J. G. Fraser whose ponderous twenty volumes of the *Golden Bough* have been a despair to scholars. He long ago put his foot heavily on any such proposition by concluding that, if humanity followed Jesus strictly, the very existence of the race would have been threatened by this time. According to this savant Jesus' teachings in some respects "struck straight at the root not merely of civil society but of human existence." If the majority of mankind "refused to purchase a chance of saving their souls with the certainty of extinguishing the species," it "was because of this life and death question."

When the author comes to Indian regeneration he "is tempted to throw up his hand in despair" (p. 97) as he encounters almost insuperable obstacles of which he enumerates a dozen but the foreign exploitation and misgovernment he does not count among them. His greatest difficulty is that movements of social reform here are not backed by religion. Here certainly there is occasion to throw up one's hands in despair when one finds that people come thousands of miles to preach an obsolete gospel, but do not know, for example, that Raja Ram Mohun Roy based his social reform movements on "the great power of religion." So did Keshub Chunder Sen and many others.

The author quotes with approval: "Our Lord loved man as none other ever did" (p. 93). Is it not absolutely ridiculous to say so of a man who came half a millennium after the great Buddha? And pray, what is the nature of this love? Jesus so loved mankind that he unhesitatingly consigned 99 per cent of them to where they are tormented with "weeping and gnashing of teeth" from eternity to eternity and that because men's first parents committed a crime. This is justice and love rolled into one. The religion of love has one doctrine and that is the doctrine of universal salvation. Says Dr. Carpenter: "The Buddhist scheme proclaims the ultimate salvation of all beings. Christianity in its most widespread historic forms still condemns an uncounted number to endless torment and unceasing sin." The only way out of it is to explain away the passage. That has been proposed by many. But that is not to be. Dr. A. Edersheim, a Jew by birth and a Christian by persuasion, a specialist in Hebrew and Greek into the bargain, says that in his mind "the Words of our Lord as recorded in the Gospels, convey this impression, that there is an eternity of punishment."

The only redeeming feature of the book is that even the Christian missionaries are changing their viewpoint about other religions. Because "the author's own experience in India leads to the conviction that India has unique and invaluable spiritual gifts to offer the modern world." A great relief indeed. If this is a real sentiment and is, in good faith, acted upon, then there would be less resentment felt for Mahatma Gandhi's proposition that there would be no proselytizing in Swaraj India.

JAINISM, CHRISTIANITY AND SCIENCE: By C. R. Jain. Allahabad, The Indian Press, Ltd.

According to the author, "Jainism is not only the

oldest religion, but it is also the parent of all other forms of religion." In order to substantiate such a thundering claim some amount of historico-comparative criticism would be required. But Mr. Jain has attempted nothing of the kind. He simply says that at one time Jainism was taught orally and minor Jaina teachers allegorized it. "The oldest compilation of allegories constitutes the sacred literature of the Hindus. The Jewish and the Christian sacred literature is also composed in allegorical style," p. 3. Such an easy triumph is not of science, which Mr. Jain claims for his book. We find his philosophy is allied to Sankhya cum Vaishesika, as he takes the world "composed of things which are eternal—e. g., souls and atoms of matter." He seems to be ignorant of the Vedanta philosophy and of the criticism it offers to such an explanation of the world, so here also his claim proves to be empty sound. If tested in the light of the advanced Idealistic philosophy of today his science does not stand a moment's scrutiny. In one thing and that seems to be the main object of his book, his endeavour has been very fruitful. He has collected an enormous quantity of materials from Christian scriptures and other authorities—early Fathers downwards—to show a parallelism between Jainism and Christianity. Though certain points seem to be stretched he has been eminently successful in his attempt. The only difference he finds between the two is: "the one describes the life of the God-Man in plain language, the other does it with allegorical orientation," p. 183. Here also his method has played him false. His object is to show the borrowal of the Christian doctrines from Jainism. In order to do that the mythical character of Christianity must be proved first. But he has not attempted it. If the doctrines are not proved allegorical, the mere parallelism will not satisfy the historical school. The method is faulty in another respect. In order to show the borrowal by Christianity the priority of Jainism must be first established, otherwise the table may be turned against Jainism, as he has not referred to any Jain authority more ancient than Christianity. And these parallels can be traced to literature nearer at hand. On the other hand, historical contact between the two cults must be proved by documentary evidence. As far as historical evidence is concerned Buddhism has a far higher claim. But that is another story. What if it is shown that both have drawn upon a common source?

However, the author is earnest and his book is thought-provoking.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGISH

INSURANCE VADE-MECUM, 1932: Published by the Insurance Publicity Co., Ltd. 10, Nisbet Road, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.

This is an useful compilation annually published by Mr. S. L. Tuli for the benefit of insurance workers in India. It contains all necessary particulars regarding insurance companies, Indian and foreign, transacting business in this country. Besides statistical particulars, the book has an educative aspect; some of the intricate problems of life assurance have been explained in the preface. Information regarding non-life business is very meagre. We hope this defect will be remedied in future issues.

S. C. RAY

RELIGION, MORALS AND THE INTELLECT: By F. E. Pollard, M.A., London: George Allen and Unwin Limited. 1932. Price 5s.

Chapter VIII of the book begins thus: "It is a

remarkable and disconcerting fact that in an age when science has entered more fully into its kingdom than ever before, when education is more widespread and when indeed in some quarters an excessive rationalism is feared as the most dangerous enemy, at this very time there should be an immense recrudescence of superstition... To many, it is signs and wonders, mysteries,—the more unintelligible the better—that are more interesting." The author's explanation is that men "have a certain basic inertia which may have some value as a steadying influence but which assuredly induces apathy, self-contentment, a static unadventurous mind. Thus they fear thought and shrink from responsibility. What a comfort to have our minds and souls in another's charge!... Many, by reason of this inertia or for lack of opportunity to grow, remain at a childish stage where credulity seems almost boundless, and the love of marvels never rises above that of the infantile, or of the adult when in hours of relaxation he has deliberately surrendered to the spirit of magic." If this be so in enlightened England, what must be the case in India! A little scrutiny of the advertisement columns of the periodicals, which are full of descriptions of the potency of charms, amulets, and magic rings, and of astrological bureaus, would furnish the answer—People who have become too helpless and inert to depend on their own right arm for success, are only too prone to rely on these nostrums. But the author rightly says, "It is a perilous policy to pin your faith to anything which seeks to defy or supersede reason. She has a way of getting the last word." Indeed, as Mr. Wood writes in the foreword, "our faith in reason needs perpetual renewal." The book has been written with this object, and in doing so the author has not overlooked the value of moral intuition or of self-control and concentrated effort in nourishing the inward and basic life of the spirit for the evolution of the divine in man. This may lead to loneliness and suffering, but there are unrealized sources of power within us and if the spirit is roused there are moral achievements of self-conquest or devotion or purification which seemed impossible to the normal man. Morality is the good life, and religion is the means of attaining it. There is a sense in which all the higher reaches of the mind's activities, which light up the fringes and depths of the inner life, are religious. A dedicated will, a controlled and purposeful life, an insight into intrinsic qualities and an understanding of their eternal worth are part of the religious life, perhaps the most important part, and proceed from a reasoned faith in the moral law. Reason is not therefore superficial rationalism but is the bedrock on which morality and religion take their stand. Thus the author has sought to reconcile reason with morals and religion. A detailed examination of the process by which he has unified all the three faculties may not convince the reader but will certainly remove the largely prevalent notion that the intellect, which is identical with reason and truth, is opposed to religion. This small volume is thought-provoking, and is sure to furnish nourishment to serious readers who, though perplexed in faith, are pure indeed, and want to find some justification for their purity without concealing their honest doubts.

HINDU FAMILIES IN GUJARAT: By Gorindbhai H. Desai, Naib Dewan and First Councillor (retired), Baroda State. Printed at the Baroda State Press, Baroda, 1932. Price Re. 1-13.

This well-printed and strongly bound volume

of nearly five hundred pages was prepared at the suggestion of the Gaekwar on the lines of a French book which His Highness had seen in 1929, and it must be said that the task, which was entrusted to the author, has been brilliantly executed, except the introductory chapter which deals with the history and geography of Gujarat, all the other chapters, dealing with marriage, caste, personal law, religious beliefs and practices, economic problems, position of women and the like, would apply almost word for word to Hindus all over India, and particularly of Bengal. Some festivals, a few customs and practices, caste organizations like the Panchayet and Mahajan, may have some features peculiar to Gujarat; so also the custom of intermarriage between Jains and orthodox Hindus, and the reforming activities of the Arya Samajists. But for the rest, we seldom come across anything which is not a replica of what is happening everyday before our eyes in Bengal. The unifying tendency of the Gandhi movement so far at least as dress is concerned, and the economic improvement following in the wake of the Swadeshi movement, are duly recognized, while the growing laxity of caste rules in the matter of inter-dining is pointed out. Mr. Desai does not fail to observe that the essence of the matter lies in inter-marriage; he also points out the great and fundamental difference between class distinctions as they prevail in Europe, where a man can raise himself by merit from the lowest to the highest social stratum without being hampered by any legal sanction or social ban, and the caste system as it prevails in India. The numerous grave evils of the system, and its few virtues, are impartially weighed in the balance. Female education, we are glad to find, is making rapid progress, and with it female emancipation is proceeding apace among the higher castes, and the marriageable age is rising. As regards widow-marriage, the present-day attitude is described to be one of "passive sympathy on the part of the educated and blind opposition on the part of the ignorant." The Hindu Divorce Act, 1931, of the Baroda State has been dilated on, and the author concludes: "It may be said with confidence that this bold measure will prove to be a great boon and a blessing; and it may be hoped that it will soon be adopted elsewhere and be an all-India law."

CASTE AND CREDIT IN INDIA. By S. S. Nehru, M. A. (Cantab) Ph.D. (Heidelberg), I. C. S., etc. Longmans, Green & Co., 1932. Dedicated by permission to Sir Malcolm Hailey. Associated Printers, Mount Road, Madras.

This research into the interconnection of caste and credit in a rural area consisting of 54 villages in the mid-Gangetic valley arose out of an investigation made for the Banking Inquiry Committee, various statistical tables are given, and the results deduced from these have been generalized for the benefit of the lay reader. Though the book has been written by an official under official auspices, the tale told is the same that has been repeated so often from the Congress platform—the decline of the higher classes or, as Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee in his valuable introduction puts it, the ruralization of the professional castes and the proletarianization of rural groups. The author's classification reveals the interesting fact that along with Brahmins, Thakurs, and Banias, there are three Mussalman high castes, e. g. Syed, Pathan, Bais Muslim, and that there are as many as eleven Muslim low castes as against thirteen Hindu low castes. The learned author enters an emphatic protest against the

view that the debts incurred by the villager are avoidable. In his opinion, for which he gives very excellent reasons, they are "all unavoidable in every sense of the term." The debts are inevitable, not to say excusable, "when it is remembered that the villager is living from hand to mouth; that the limits between famine and scarcity, and scarcity and plenty, are relatively narrow and ill-defined." This is also the popular view, and it is to be noted that officialdom was reluctant to admit its truth.

POLITICUS

ANNUAL REPORT AND AUDITED ACCOUNTS OF VISVA-BHARATI, 1931. Price Annas Two only. Visva-bharati Office, Santiniketan.

This report shows that all Departments and Sections of Visva-Bharati did very useful and valuable work during 1931. Vidya-bhavana (Research Institute), Siksha-bhavana (Santiniketan College), Patha-bhavana (Santiniketan School), Kala-bhavana (School of Art), Music Section of Kala-bhavana, Library, Sree-bhavana (Girls' Hostel), Swasthya-bibhaga (Department of Health, Sanitation, Medical Treatment, Sports and Athletics)—the work of all these has been described in detail. Besides this an elaborate account has been given of the multifarious work of Sriniketan, which is Visva-Bharati's institute of Agriculture and of Village Reconstruction for the revival of village crafts, eradication of malaria, infusion of a spirit of self-help among villagers, and other means.

Altogether the Report makes very interesting and instructive reading. I believe in the ideal of Visva-Bharati. Some of my most cherished desires and hopes centre round it. I wish it all success and a bright future.

The account given of the Tagore, Septuagenary Celebrations is interesting, but is marked by some significant omissions and one notable mis-statement. It is not true, as stated in the Report, that "The Golden Book of Tagore" was compiled by the Celebrations Committee. The Celebrations Committee did absolutely nothing to compile or publish the book. The work of collecting contributions for it was commenced by others long before the formation of the Celebrations Committee, and the book was published by the Golden Book of Tagore Committee.

The financial administration of Visva-Bharati, it is to be noted with regret, does not appear to have been in the hands of provident and far-sighted persons, as the following sentences from the Report would seem to show:

"It will be noticed from the Balance Sheet that the total liability of the General Fund stood at Rs. 50,948-1-0 on the 30th September, 1931. On that date this figure represented the net accumulated deficit for the period 1922-1931. The actual accumulated deficit was, however, much greater, for the Samsad was obliged to transfer Rs. 48,000 approximately out of the Life Members Fund, in 1927 to liquidate a portion of the liability of the General Fund..."

"The liability of the General Fund has necessitated loans from the Imperial Bank of India on the security of various ear-marked funds. The amount of the overdraft on 30th September, 1931 was Rs. 26,012-5-3."

It is true that "against the present liability of Rs. 50,948-1-0 we hold assets to the value of over ten lakhs of rupees." But a substantial portion of these assets is in land and buildings, and some bank deposits which are not liquid. And some investments in land purchase and bank deposits appear to

have been unwise. For example, of 725.59 acres acquired at a cost of approximately Rs. 40,000 (I write subject to correction, as I do not remember the exact figure) only "60 acres can, at present, be regarded as agricultural lands, and even of these only a few acres can give anything more than an early crop of paddy." (Report, page 43). Village sites, occupied by the houses of Santals and hill tribes, cover about 19 acres. 450 acres "consist of uplands not known to have ever been cultivated," and "present a dry barren surface throughout the greater part of the year." The remaining 200 acres also are useless at present, being *khoai* lands, but it is stated in the Report "that with the making of suitable *bunds* or by planting useful trees, these areas could be reclaimed and made productive." (Page 43). If this suggestion be certified by a competent authority as practicable and sound, an estimate of costs and income should be prepared.

As regards bank deposits, the Auditors, Messrs. Ray and Ray, report that "Nobel Prize Fund, Kala-bhavana Fund, Kadoorji Water Works Fund and Pearson Hospital Fund have received no interest from Patisar Krishi Bank during the year." These Funds total Rs. 2,57,147-9-9. It has been unwise perhaps to deposit such a large sum with a rural agricultural bank.

It is never too late to mend. The Founder and the Governing Body should make the utmost efforts possible to place Visva-Bharati on a sound financial basis.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

THE CROSS MOVES EAST. By John S. Hoyland. (George Allen & Union Ltd., London, 1931. 5s. net.

This is, as the sub-title has it, "a study in the significance of Gandhi's Satyagraha" and seeks to relate the Indian struggle with the forces at work since the beginning of Christianity, if not earlier. The author, who has already made his mark by his grip on influences that work unseen and by a style straightforward and fascinating, presents his case in the course of seven chapters. The cross is the principle of suffering, courted by the sufferer, for the sake of those who are in pain and bondage, and for their relief. It had been so understood by St. Paul to whom pain was the raw material of joy, no enemy, not even a teacher, but a glorious crown of Christ's fellowship. Prompted by this spirit the monk Telemachus put a stop to gladiatorial shows by sacrificing his own life, and Boniface the great English missionary in the Eighth Century died unresisting, with his brave band, before murderous pagans. The Franciscans followed in their wake; their motto was, "Naked carry the naked cross," and they dwelt on the beauty, joy, splendour of suffering, of marriage to poverty. They have been followed through the centuries, e.g. by the "Holy Experiment" of Penn whose friendship won the Red Indians and the incidents showing the brilliant, victories of the Cross will be read with great interest.

The spirit of Christianity is more catholic than conventional. It had, under the Fourth Evangelist, taken in the Greek Logos doctrine without the least scruple, and under St. Augustine traced its essence to the ancients long before Christ lived in the flesh. That it did not learn anything from Islam is due partly to the deplorable and hostile method of approach, and the author also protests: "Islam is not a world culture in the sense in which Hellenism and

and Indian religion are world-cultures" (p. 65). The Indian spirit of *Bhakti*, applied to Christ-worship, will put an end to the thinness and coldness of European devotion. The makers of modern India; Keshab Chandra, Sri Rinkrishna and Mahatma Gandhi all had been profoundly influenced by Christ, and Sidhu Sundar Singh and N. V. Tilak showed what could be done in the line. The contribution of Hinduism may also be seen in the sphere of character-in-action, *viz.*, *satyagraha*, which is based on not five (as the author says) but four simple ideas: (1) conviction of wrong, (2) that wrong must be faced and put to right at all costs, (3) that violence is no remedy, (4) that the radical cure is through self-chosen suffering, vicariously borne. The author then describes the genesis of *Satyagraha* in India, concludes it to be, when reduced to the fundamentals, a re-affirmation of primitive Christian convictions and hopes for its gradual adoption in Europe.

The work is thus very interesting specially in view of its application to, and account of, Indian conditions. Written with enthusiasm, it shows how the better minds of Europe view the non-violence item in the Indian struggle. The author has thoroughly studied the problem and his analysis is both sympathetic and intelligent. There is an inaccuracy on p. 76: Sri Rinkrishna was not "a younger contemporary of Keshab Chandra, but his senior by five years."

TUKARAM. *Translation from Mhipati's 'Bhaktalilamrita.'* By Justin E. Abbott. 1930.

This work belongs to the series named "Poet-saints of Maharashtra" and is a translation from chapters 25 to 30 of Mahipati's work. Mr. Abbott's preface clears up the ground and shows how Tuka has been portrayed by the Marathi poet and historian. The translation has been divided into several groups or under sub-headings, making it easy for the reader, not acquainted with the original to follow the trend of the story. The style is simple, and the glossary, given at the end, of Marathi words used in the translation, is a real help to foreigners. But a *paduka* is to be understood in the first instance in relation to a foot and in the sense of a foot-gear; *dakshina* also is not merely "money or presents given to Brahmins on special occasions" but the money as well that accompanies such gifts, and paid in order to make the gifts acceptable.

The story of Maratha saints is growingly popular. Such translations as this will go far to make the religious history of Maharashtra well known to students of cultural inter-relations in India during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The publication will therefore be appreciated by all lovers of Indology, and Mr. Abbott has done an inestimable service by bringing out this volume.

The get-up leaves nothing to be desired.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJ'S SARASVATI MAHAL LIBRARY. *Tanjore*, by P. P. S. Sastri B.A. (Oxon). Published from Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, two volumes. Price Rs. 2 per volume.

The volumes eighth and ninth of this important series continue as usual to enrich our knowledge of Sanskrit literature. The unique collection of Tanjore,

dates as early as the 16th century when Tanjore was under the rule of the Telugu Nayakas, who collected Sanskrit manuscripts written in Telugu character. As a result of the Maratha conquest of the country in the 17th century, the library came to be enriched and the greater portion of the present collection was made by SERFOJ about 100 years ago when he visited Benares during 1820-30. Between 1878 and 1880 Dr. Burnell noticed briefly 12,376 MSS. in his "Classified Index of the Sanskrit MSS." in the palace of Tanjore. Prof. Sastri is now confronted with the herculean task of furnishing detailed notices of a good portion of the present collection, comprising more than 25,000 Sanskrit MSS. The volume VIII under review deals with about 465 MSS. on *Natakas* (dramatic literature) in all its varieties. The compiler of the catalogue has given a short *resume* of the contents and has given a full index of the authors as well as of the works noticed in this volume.

Vol. XIV. deals with the MSS. on *Kosha* (lexicon), *Chandas* (prosody), and *Alankar* (rhetoric), covering thereby the technical parts of literature. Quite a treasure of technical treatises in Sanskrit has come from the Dravidian South as we have noticed in the valuable publications of the Mysore and Travancore Sanskrit series. And when an encyclopaedia of Sanskrit literature would be compiled, the scholars of the Aryan North will thankfully acknowledge their debt of gratitude to their learned collaborators of the Dravidian South.

THE PALLAVA GENEALOGY: By the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. *Studies in Indian History* No. 7. of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

What the Gupta rulers stand for in the history of Northern India, the Pallavas do for the South. The Pallavas moreover occupy a place for fundamental importance in the history of South India and of Greater India. Yet curiously enough the chronology of the Pallavas as well as their genealogy offered problems that are almost baffling. Only a few years ago Mr. Gopalan published his *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi* and still there was room for such an exhaustive re-examination of the epigraphic documents by Rev. Father Heras who is indefatigable in his researches into the various fields of Indian history. The Vallabhis of Western India, the Kadambas of Goa, the dynasties of Vijaynagara have received already his scholarly attention, and now he has turned his critical apparatus towards the Pallavas, gaining valuable results both by way of simplifications and rationalization of this complicated dynasty. Out of a bewildering medley of names, he has granted the certificate of authentic living only to 24 Pallava kings, printed in chart no. 3 with their *synonyms* given in parallel columns. Chart no. 2 gives his re-construction of the genealogical tree and Chart no. 1 is a wonderful comparative presentation of the epigraphic records, justifying his reconstruction. The learned author, has pronounced against accepting Kanchi as the original centre of Pallava power. On the contrary he points to the *Anthradesa*—that cultural bridge between North and South India—as their original settlement, whence they marched upon and conquered Kanchi and ruled as the leaders of South Indian history till the advent of the Cholas.

KALIDAS NAG

FRENCH

BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANÇAISE
D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT Vol. 30. Hanoi. 1931.

The present volume records the research activities of the famous school of Archaeology of Indo-China, now under the able direction of Mon. G. Cœdès. In this thirtieth year issue of the *Bulletin* we find the valuable study on the documents of *Abhidharma*, translated and annotated by Prof. Louis dila Vallée-Poussin, the renowned Buddhist scholar of Belgium. Then practically an entire book on "Prehistoric Indo-China" by Madeleine Colani has been printed richly illustrated with maps and plates. The book review section offers fair criticism and friendly guidance as usual. The chronicle section of the volume under review is specially rich through the valuable notes on the archaeological work of the Dutch East Indies recently visited by Mon. H. Marchal, the veteran conservator of Angkor. No less interesting and important are the travel notes of M.M. L. Finot and V. Goloubew who visited the archaeological sites of Ceylon in 1930. The School of Hanoi occupies a unique place in the scientific study of Asiatic history and culture, specially those of the East. But India throughout attracts the attention of this devoted group of French orientalisks because M.M. Finot, Foucher, and the present director Mon. Cœdès are profound students of Sanskrit as well as of the Buddhist culture of India. We hope that in near future the French Government and the colonial administration of Indo-China will make suitable arrangements for promising Indian scholars to visit Indo-China and start a new line of fruitful collaboration between the French and the Indian groups of research workers.

KALIDAS NAG

BENGALI

GITI-GUNJA. By Atul Prasad Sen. Bani Bitan, 2 Chittaranjan Avenue North, Calcutta. 1931. Re. 1-8. Rs. 2, Rs. 3-12 for editions in paper-cover, cloth bound, and fine limited edition on hand-made paper, respectively.

This is mostly a reprint of the old songs of S. Atul Prasad Sen, the well-known poet, singer and composer. A few new songs have found their place in the volume. The pieces have been divided according to their thought contents into (1) religious,

(2) nature, (3) patriotic, (4) humanity and (5) miscellaneous songs. The get-up is fine and artistic, and the three designs have been well executed. It is to be hoped the book will have wide publicity.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

GUJARATI

KUDARAT ANE KALADHAM MAN VIS DIVAS: by Dhirajlal T. Shah, printed at the Vasavi Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound: pp. 196, Illustrated: Price Re 1-8-0 (1931)

ELLORA NAN GUTA MANDIRO, by Dhirajlal T. Shah. Paper Cover: pp. 44. Price Re. 0-8-0 Illustrated (1931).

The title of (1) means, "Twenty days amongst places full of natural scenery and art," and of (2) "The Cave Temples of Ellora," with introductions by Kaka Kalelkar and N. C. Mehra I.C.S., respectively. A twenty days' tour in the Dang jungles of Surat, on the banks of the Godavari and the Narmada, with places like Daulatabad, Khulbad (where Aurangzeb lies buried) and Ajanta thrown in is described here with the eye of our artist. The powers of observation and description displayed in both these books are of a high order, and the subject is so well treated, as to arouse a keen desire in the minds of those who have not yet visited the places described in them to do so at the earliest opportunity.

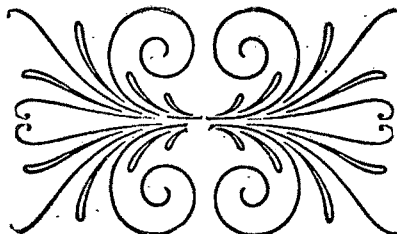
DIRGHAYU KEM THAVAY: by Rao Bahadur Dr. P. R. Kothari, Rajkot: Printed at the Srath Printing Press, Junagadh. Cloth bound: pp. 276. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1930)

"How to attain longevity," this is the subject on which the author offers his views and observations. They are, in Part I, a translation of Dr. Hermann Weber's *Longevity* and the means for the prolongation of life, and, in Part II, of portions of Dr. Lorand's *Life Shortening Methods*. But the recommendations of those European doctors have been modified so as to suit Indian conditions and the result is a book of great use to social and public health workers.

RAJNI, by Mohanlal M. Mehta and Bhagvanlal G. Bhatt, Printed at the Baroda Printing Press, Baroda. Paper (Illustrated) Cover: pp. 145. Price Rs. 1-0- (1931).

This translation of Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel of the same name was first published in 1915 when we remember to have noticed it. We are glad that a fresh edition has been called for.

K. M. J.



INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Kalyani Gupta, daughter of Mr. Samarendranath Gupta, Principal, Mayo Art School, Lahore, has passed the Matriculation



Miss Kalyani Gupta

Examination of the Panjab University. She has stood first among the girl students and fourth among the boy and girl students combined and beaten the previous record of the highest marks obtained by any girl. About twenty thousand students appeared at the Examination this year.

Women Welfare Movement at Puri

The late Lady Basanta Kumari Chatterji (wife of Justice Sir Pratul Chatterji) made over



Late Lady Basanta Kumari Chatterji



The inmates of the Home

the management of the Puri Widow's Home to the Sarojnalini Datta Women Welfare Association. On behalf of the Association Mrs. Hemlata Devi is at present supervising the affairs of the Home, which is now called "Basanta Kumari Ashram." A year and a half ago when Mrs. Tagore took over its charge there was no arrangement for the education of its inmates. It was through her initiative that the New Girl's School was founded, and through her exertions it has now risen to be the foremost institution in this locality. The annual prize distribution ceremony of the school was held recently.



TO PERSIA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

IT was scarcely dawn when I set out from a village on the outskirts of Calcutta. The Ganges was rippling along under the stars in the stillness of the dark. The branches of betel-nut palms waved in the breeze against the walls of the garden. The air was heavy with the composite smell of a crowded verdure. The car rushed along the winding lanes of the sleeping village. Here was an old, stained brick house, part of it habitable, the rest crumbling down; here the barred door of a semi-urban store; a temple left forlorn; rugged waste lands overgrown with weeds; stagnant pools and thickets. The nests of birds in the trees above had not yet become vocal; the life of the village hung at standstill in the last sleep of morning like the Ganges between the two tides.

The motor car ran past the police station on the crossing with its silent bed-strewn veranda, and got on to the high road. And at once the dust raised itself with its aggressive modern smell; it was a first cousin of the gas from the exhaust. Two rows of ancient trees mutely stood in the dusk with their dark massive foliage, bearing witness to those old times when by the shady homesteads of Bengal had flowed the centuries of history now calm and still, now eddying and turbulent. This road received the footprints of all the successive rulers of the country. The Moguls, the Pathans, terrible Barghis, and the sepoys of the East India Company had all marched along this road proclaiming by the dust they raised the vicissitudes of the country's government. They had elephants, camels, palanquins, the caparisoned horses of the cavalry men. That rich pageant of royal pomp and power has vanished like mirage in the grey distance of time. Only the bullock cart remains, slow and plaintive, bearing the burden of the humble masses.

Before us was the Dum Dum aerodrome.

The beams of the electric beacon were flashing out of the huge hangar. Darkness lay still on the wide plain. In the vagueness of the twilight we could see friends and newspaper reporters gathering like shadowy apparitions.

The time was up. The machine darted out with a roar into the open space from its lair. The propellers went round, the dust rose, the wind was agitated. We got into the aeroplane. Its covered compartment with glass windows on both sides contained two rows of wide leather chairs and our light luggage under our feet.

The aeroplane flew rather low as long as it was passing over Bengal. Of the Earth below that was evident to us there seemed to be no sound, no motion, no life; as if forsaken by the spirit of life it lay shrouded beneath a sheet of chequered cloth. As we went higher, the mainfold view of the world shrivelled into thin scratches, like some scribbles of a forgotten age, whose lines could be seen but no meaning deciphered.

At about 10 A. M. the aeroplane glided downwards near Allahabad. Looking out through the window at the right I could only see the fathomless blue, on the left the tilted up field rushed towards the aeroplane. The machine touched ground and moved along, hopping and bumping, unwelcomed by mother earth.

The aerodrome was at some distance from the town. On all sides lay desolate plain, panting in the sun. I felt no inclination to go down. An Indian and a European employee of the company came to photograph me and then asked for an autograph. This almost made me smile. The stanzas of Sankara's *Mohamudgara* were then ringing through my head. I had seen only a few moments ago, from high above, on the grey canvas of dust below, the straggling signature of the world of obliterated life, as if the day of annihilation had cast its anticipated shadow upon the

present. The picture I had seen was of a devastation in which all records of the past had been erased; the historian granted permanent leave and even the venerable foundations of archaeology buried deep down in the earth.

Here the machine had its fill of oil, and started again after a half-an-hour's halt. We had not till now felt the jolting of the machine to any considerable degree. There was only the intolerable roar of its propellers. I had packed my ears with cotton-wool and was looking upon the earth through the window. A Dane was sitting on the chair in front. He was a sugar-cane planter from Manilla returning home. He was following the aeroplane route on a roller map and taking bread and cheese, chocolate and mineral water at constant intervals. He had brought a large mass of newspapers from Calcutta and was paying them undeserved attention with assiduous care. It was not possible to carry on conversation with other passengers, as all sound was drowned in the droning of the engines. At one corner sat the wireless operator with his earpiece on. He utilized his leisure in reading, sometimes resting or taking his meals. The other three piloted the machine by turns, wrote the log of the journey, had snatches of food, and sleep. It seemed as if we were the tiny fragment of a living world rescued from a deluge of dissolution and carried through the air by a winged Noah's arc.

The machine mounted higher. The wind was strong and the plane quivered. Gradually it grew quite cold. Below us was the rocky earth, the harsh aridity of Rajputana, reticuled by the net-work of dry river-tracks—a mourning vision of earth's widowhood.

At last, in the afternoon, one could descry from afar the city of Jodhpur amidst the barren desert, and on its fringe the huge, gaping nest of the aeroplane. On coming down we found the President Kunwar Maharaj Singh with his wife waiting to receive us. They took us for tea at their residence. I had then barely the energy to exist, but none left over for the claims of society. It was with very great strain that I fulfilled my duty and returned to the hotel.

The hotel had been established by the

Maharaja of Jodhpur chiefly for the air passengers. The Maharaja himself came to visit us in the evening. His natural urbanity was princely. He is a keen pilot, possessing his own machines, and has mastered all the difficult tricks of aircraft.

We had to fly again early next morning, on the 12th of April. The wind was steadier than on the previous day. We reached Karachi at noon and received the welcome of its citizens in a relatively better state of health.

In half-an-hour we flew again from Karachi. To the left was the sea, and desert and hills to the right. The wind rose towards the end of the flight. On land the violence of the wind proves itself on many objects. Here its only sign was the swaying of the machine. Far down, on the sea streaks of foam touched the deep blue stretch of water but we could neither hear the roar, nor see the roll of the waves.

We were now entering Persia through the desert gates. The Governor of Bushire sent us a message of welcome by wireless. The journey did not last long from Karachi to Jask which is a petty village by the sea on the edge of the desert. A few small cube-like flat-roofed mud houses lay scattered about, looking very much like earthen chests.

We went to the rest-house built for the air-passengers, and sat on the verandah. From there I witnessed the lavish generosity of peace and splendour from the sunset sky upon the utter destitution of this desert place.

The Persian officials here came to offer me welcome. Our chairs were placed on the sands outside, and I had some talk with those who knew English. I found from their speeches that Persia was ready to rend asunder the bonds of the past and begin her journey of new life. It is the same everywhere among the peoples of the East, wherever they are showing signs of an awakening. The objects of their endeavour are a society freed from the debris of the past, a mind liberated from the trammels of superstition, the widening of human relationship, and acceptance of the material world in a scientific spirit. The peoples of the East have realized that for them the choice lies between assimilating the tendencies of the modern age or receiving their fatal impact.

In reply to a question about the treatment meted out to non-Muhammedan religious communities, I learnt that formerly, both Zoroastrians and Bahais were persecuted. Under the present regime, however, religious intolerance was gone, and all communities were enjoying equal protection, free from the blood-stained terrors of religious fierceness. Dr. Muhammad Isha Khan Sadiq in his book on education in Persia points out that, even recently, the influence of the priesthood had kept Persia hypnotized but with the progress of modern education their influence was rapidly diminished. Formerly, people of various classes and professions—students of theological seminaries, missionaries, readers of the Quran, Sayids—donned the garb and the head-dress of the Mullahs. With the spread of modern education among the ruling class, the profession of priestcraft became restricted. Nowadays it is not easy to put on the dress of a Mullah. The right to wear it is gained only by passing an examination or on the payment of a tax. The new laws have deprived 90 per cent of previous Mullahs to wear their special dress. In the words of the writer, "Such were the results of the contact of Persia with the western world. They could not have been attained without the leadership of Reza Shah Pahlevi, the greatest man that Persia has produced for many centuries."

Now, let us imagine for a moment that a new law has been introduced in India, which makes it obligatory on everyone of her numberless priests and mendicants to pass a degree examination. It is of course true that religious merit cannot be tested by means of an examination, but it is even less proved by dress, and self-bestowed titles. Yet our land has accepted that baseless proof. Millions of our people bow their heads in uncritical acquiescence before the untested garb and easily obtainable title, and the meagre food of a starving country is being spent on a purpose whose only return in most cases is nothing but self-deception. If renunciation or the religious vocation be for one's inner spiritual growth then external guise or titles are not only superfluous but harmful; if they are for others, then a suitable test is called for. If

religion is converted into a means of livelihood, and social recognition and influence, if a particular dress or conduct is utilized for advertising one's spiritual competence, then society must in the interests of its self-respect, impose a rigid test on their genuineness.

We had to get up at 3 in the following morning, to be ready for flight at 4 A. M. We reached Bushire on April 13 at half-past eight in the morning. The Governor of Bushire was our host and his hospitality was unbounded.

This is perhaps the moment when one can note down the impressions of a son of the mother Earth after his intimacy with the upper air.

The creatures I had seen in the sky from my earliest childhood were characterized above all by one thing, the ease of their flight. I can remember, when a boy I saw the soaring of a kite in the midday sky, I did not set it down to necessity, but to the joy of its unimpeded freedom in the air. That joy was expressed not through the beauty of its flight alone, but even through the beauty of its shape. The sails of the boat, too, have to harmonize themselves with the temper and mood of the wind, and that has made their shape a thing of beauty. The grace of the bird's wings similarly is the result of their harmony with the air. And there are besides the endless harmonies of the colours of the wings. Leaving aside living creatures there was in the sky the play of the clouds which filtered the rays of the sun to build their many-hued faery places. On the earth, motions are a conflict, weight and mass reign there, and there is on all hands the dragging of burdens. What has charmed us in the air through the ages is its immunity from dead weight,—the easy soaring of beauty.

Now, man has at last transferred his burden to the skies. Accordingly, the picture of his flight is a picture of power. His motion in the air keeps no harmony with it, it oppresses it. The conflict which so long was the portion of the earth has now reached the air; there is in this conflict no bird's song, but only the growls of the beast. The

land, the conqueror of air, is giving vent today to rude shouts of victory.

The sun rose on the horizon. The arrogant machine never tried to temper itself to morning flush. It remained in discord with the blue of the sky, in perpetual disharmony with the clouds of majestic curves. It is the harbinger of the modern age, free from the burden of sentiment, the despiser of beauty, who unceremoniously brushes aside all that is not useful. The eastern horizon was aglow with pink, a mother-o'-pearl radiance descended on the soft blue of the west, but the machine flew on in the midst of all this like a huge black buzzing cockroach.

As the aeroplane rose higher, our relationship with the earth became narrowed down from that of five senses to one—of sight, and even that no longer intimate. The earth which we had known through corroboration of testimonies as variedly real grew faint and insubstantial; the object of three dimensions transformed itself into a picture of one dimension. Creation moulds itself as a particular phenomenon within the limits of definite time and space. When these are stretched towards the undefined, creation too moves towards evanescence. We saw the earth in the prelude of that effacement, its existence grew dim, its claims on the consciousness grew fainter and fainter. In such a state of mind, I realized, man can grow cruelly destructive if he is out to rain bombs from the aeroplane. Then, delicate calculations as to the offence of the victims no longer paralyse his raised arm, for the very basis of that calculation has vanished. When this world, which as reality, arouses our natural affections, grows obscure, the objects of our affection too dwindle to the vanishing point. The doctrines of the Gita are an aeroplane of this sort; they took the compassionate mind of Arjuna to that distant region from where the slayer and the slain, stranger and friend, could no longer be distinguished. Man's armoury contains many such aeroplanes built out of doctrine which enables him to hide the face of reality; they serve the callous interests of his Imperialism, of his social system, of his religion.

There is a British Air Force station at

Baghdad. The Christian chaplain of that force gave me the news that they were daily bombing some Arab villages. Old men, women and children were being killed indiscriminately from the upper regions of British Imperialism; it was easy to kill them because the principle of Imperialism obscures the individual. Christ has recognized men as the sons of God; but to the Christian chaplain of the Air Force the Father along with his Son have grown unreal, they can no longer be discerned from the altitude of Imperialism, and, thus, throughout the Empire persecution is descending upon the head of Christ. Besides, the desert-dwellers can be killed so easily from the air and their powers of retaliation are so inadequate that the reality of their death too grows dim. For this reason, armed men of the West are very prone today to forget the humanity of those who have not yet learnt their scientific methods of homicide.

The chaplain of the Royal Air Force in Iraq asked me for a message for his people, and the following message was sent:

From the beginning of our days man has imagined the seat of divinity to be in the upper air from which comes light and blows the breath of life for all creatures on this earth. The peace of its dawn, the splendour of its sunset, the voice of eternity in its starry silence have inspired countless generations of men with an ineffable presence of the infinite urging their minds away from the sordid interests of daily life. Man has accepted this dust-laden earth for his dwelling place, for the enacting of the drama of his tangled life ever waiting for a call of perfection from the boundless depth of purity surrounding him in a translucent atmosphere. If in an evil moment man's cruel history should spread its black wings to invade that realm of divine dreams with its cannibalistic greed and fratricidal ferocity then God's curse will certainly descend upon us for that hideous desecration and the last curtain will be rung down upon the World of Man for whom God feels ashamed.

From the air, our eyes can take in a much wider space in a sweep than it can on land. Therefore though the machine was travelling some two miles a minute, it gave us nothing like the sensation of so great a speed. The shrinkage of distance in our eyes had also upset our notions of time. The sensation of reality which they gave in a different ratio of time and space was far removed from our ordinary and normal experience. Had the measure of the world from the aeroplane been

our natural measure, we should have lived in quite a different world. All creation, I thought, was only a manifestation of rhythm. If the time values of our present world were lengthened or made a little quicker, it would completely change our existence. We are surrounded by numerous invisible rays. The rhythm of our nerves cannot keep pace with the rhythm of their motion, and for that reason they remain unknown to us. How can we be sure that, at this moment, there are not round us numberless worlds, attuned to different rhythms, and imperceptible to one another? If there are minds inhabiting these worlds they must view things and realize Reality according to the rhythm of their own consciousness,—those minds would be wholly inaccessible to us. Messages from different worlds created in different minds may, for all we know, be all rising together and creating a composite reality in the background of the infinite unknown.

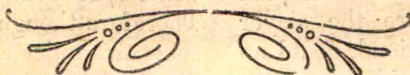
It is impossible not to feel some sort of diffidence while riding in this aeroplane. There is between me and the men who run the machine a tie of enjoyment not any equality of power. Our *Shastras* speak of air chariots, but they belonged to Indra's heaven, being only occasionally despatched to fetch the Dushyantas of the earth through the air. I belong to the latter tribe, but the men who have built the air chariots of this age are of a different sort. It would not have been remarkable had these machines been the expression alone of their intellectual power. But the most admirable thing about them is that they are the expression of the force of character. There is behind them irrepressible courage, and perseverance that

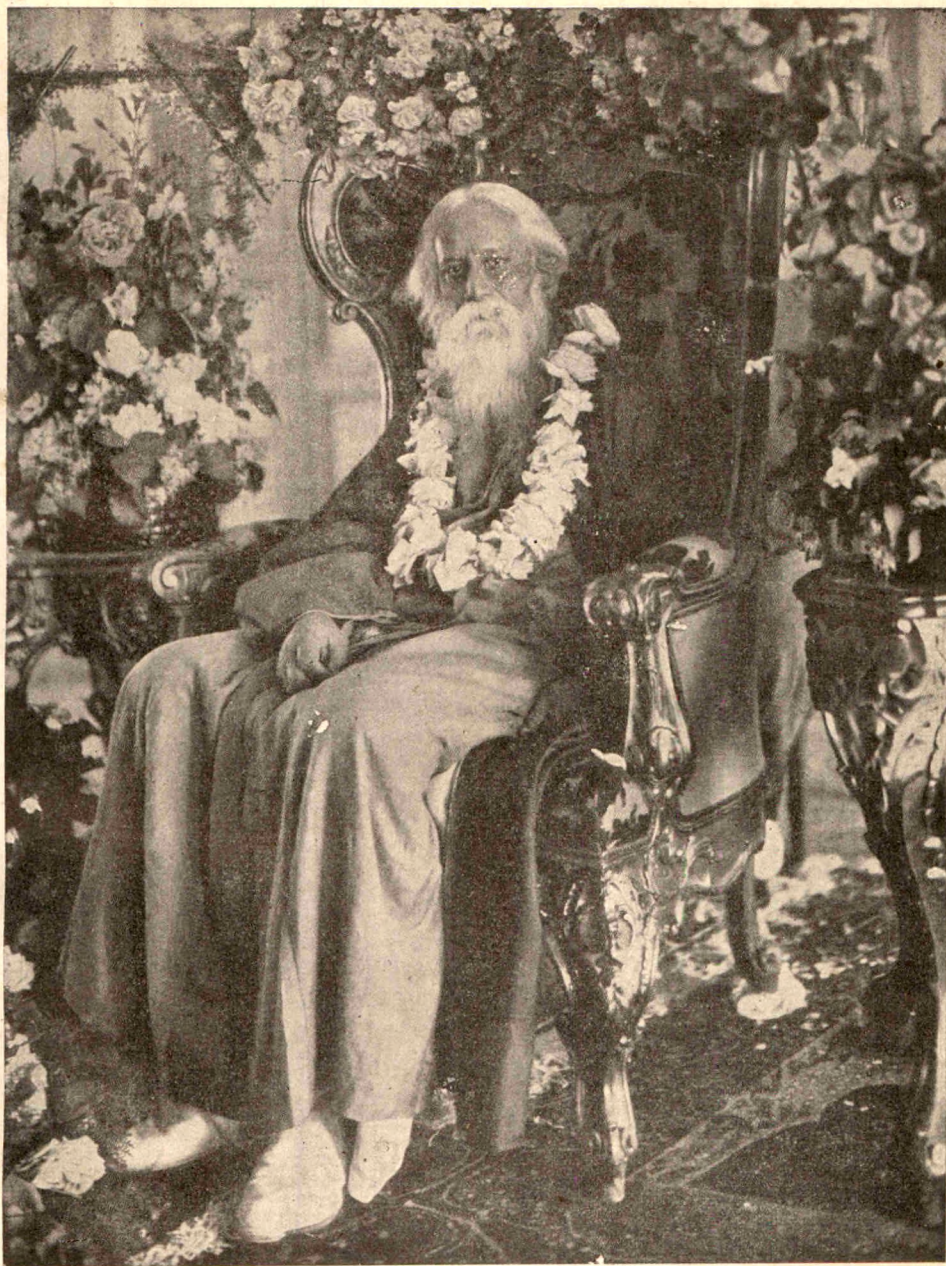
acknowledges no defeat. The men who made them are undaunted by death, by failures—here one must bow one's head.

I cast my eyes on the four Dutch pilots of this machine. Stalwart frames and big bones they are a picture of indomitable energy. The climate in which they were born has not worn them down moment by moment. It has kept them fresh. They have been nourished by the plentiful, sustaining food of many centuries; their energies are a saving of ages. Millions of Indians do not get their full measure of food. The starved body has paid its taxes to every internal and external enemy for generations and is bankrupt. Success only comes of will and effort. If we have the will, where is the strength? The tired body cannot but evade the hardship of honest toil and this spirit of evasion has entered into marrow of the nation and is killing it.

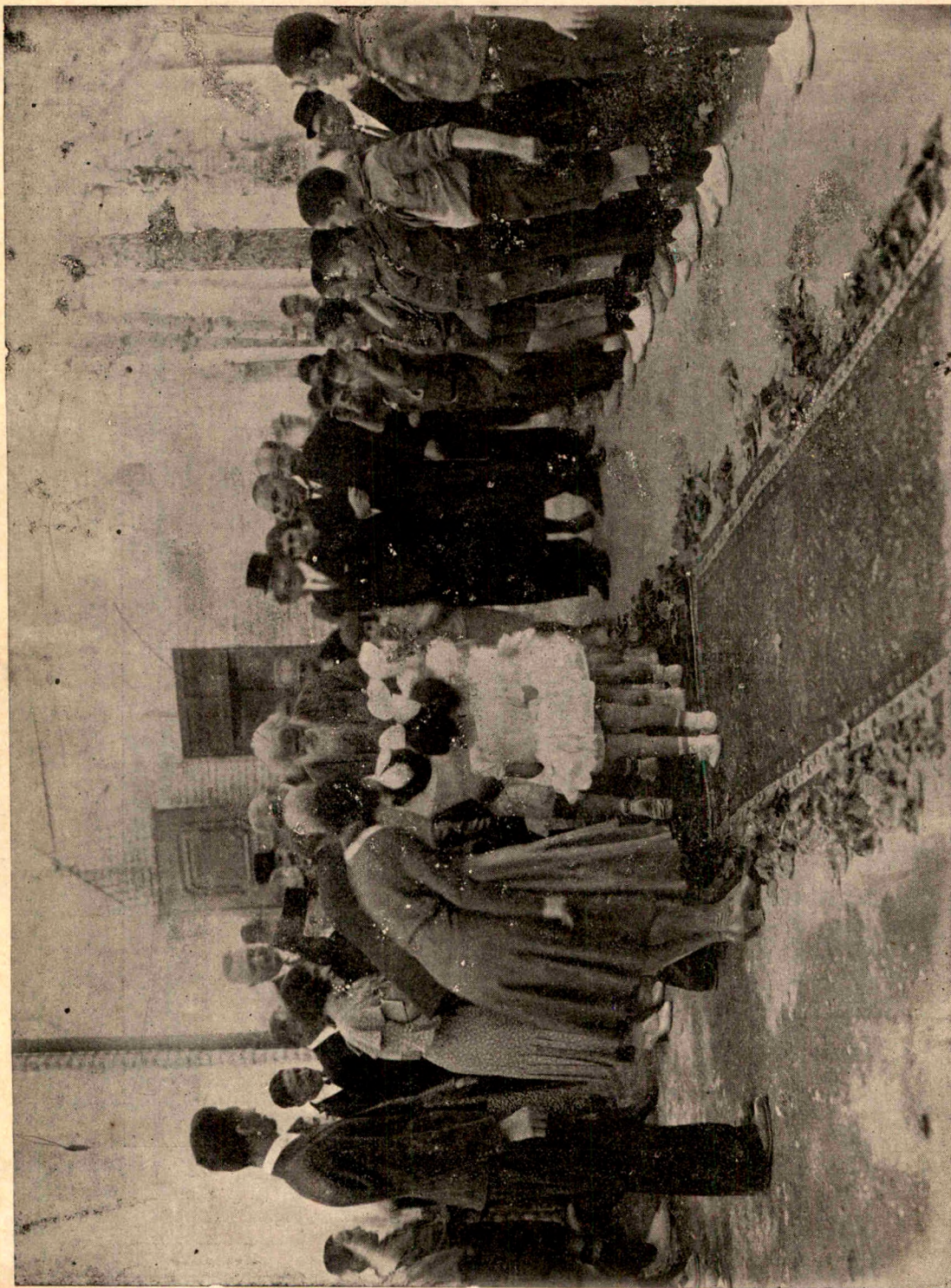
In the West, today, the State is emptying its treasury to solve the problem of starvation, because it is on adequate food alone that the machine of civilization can run at full power both in its internal and external aspects. In our country the problem of starvation is for the individual to solve. And it is not simply that the powers of the individual are small, they are also handicapped at every turn. In the West the problem of poverty is a concern of the State; the free endeavours of the whole people are allowed to run unimpeded towards the amelioration of economic distress—even cruel wrong is permissible in such attempts to stabilize national well-being. We live far away from the controller of Indian's destiny; and so, food is not as plentiful for us as are the batons of law and order.

Translated for THE MODERN REVIEW

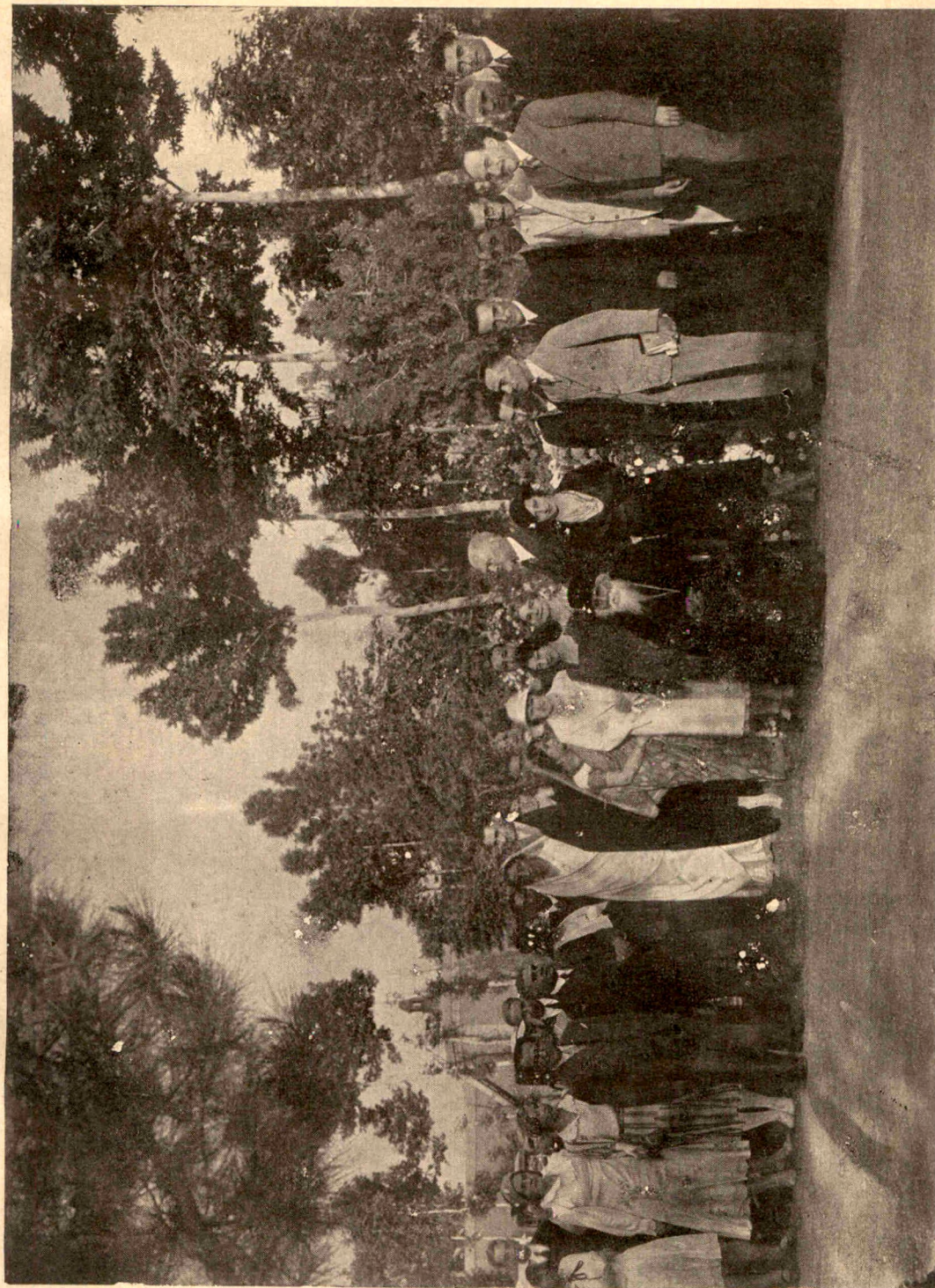




The Poet's Birthday in Teheran
Photograph of the Poet taken in a room
decorated with roses on the occasion of his birthday on May 8



The Reception of the Poet by the Armenian Community of Teheran



A gathering of friends and notabilities in the gardens of the American College at Teheran
Mrs. Pratima Devi, the Poet's daughter-in-law, is seen near the centre of photograph

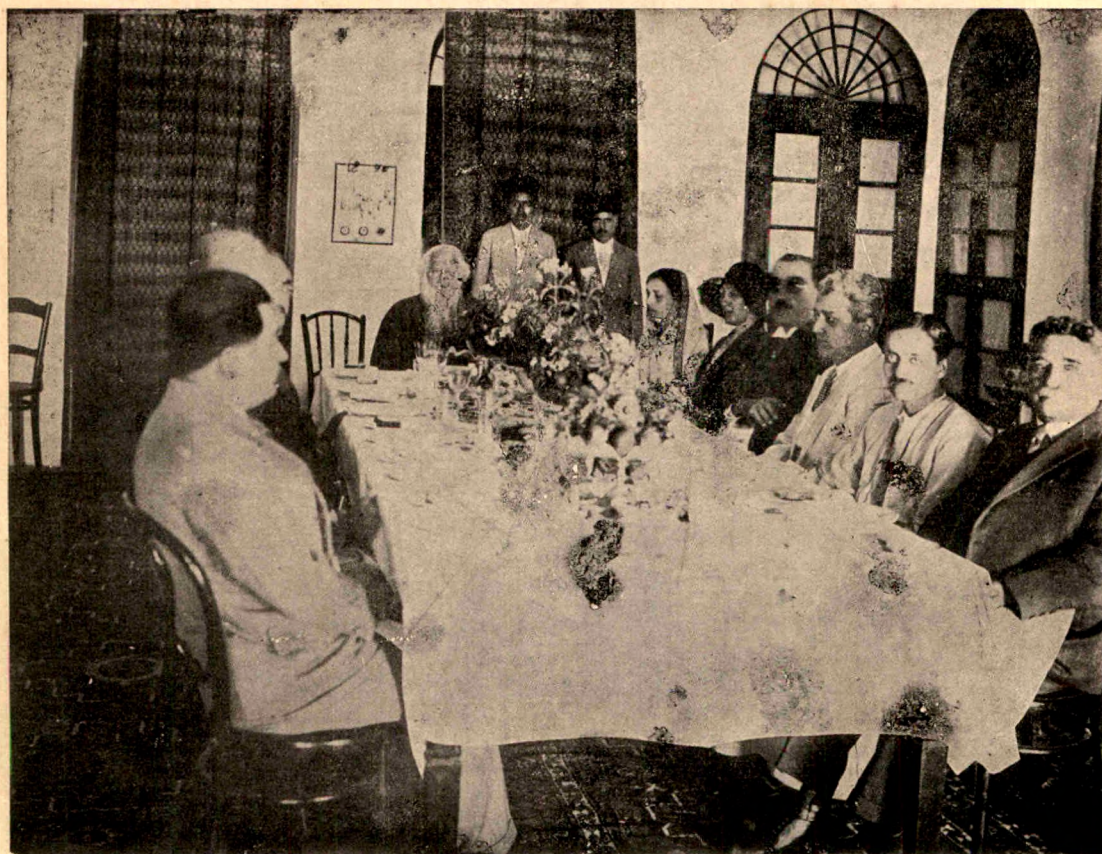


Reception of the Poet at Baghdad
When the Poet's train arrived at Baghdad, the representatives of the teachers, literary men, traders, women, Armenians and Indians at Baghdad as well as official representatives received him enthusiastically

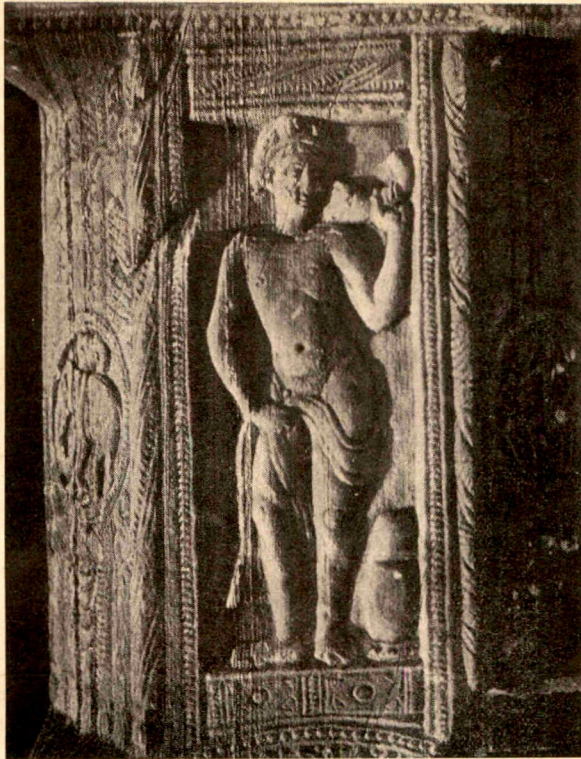
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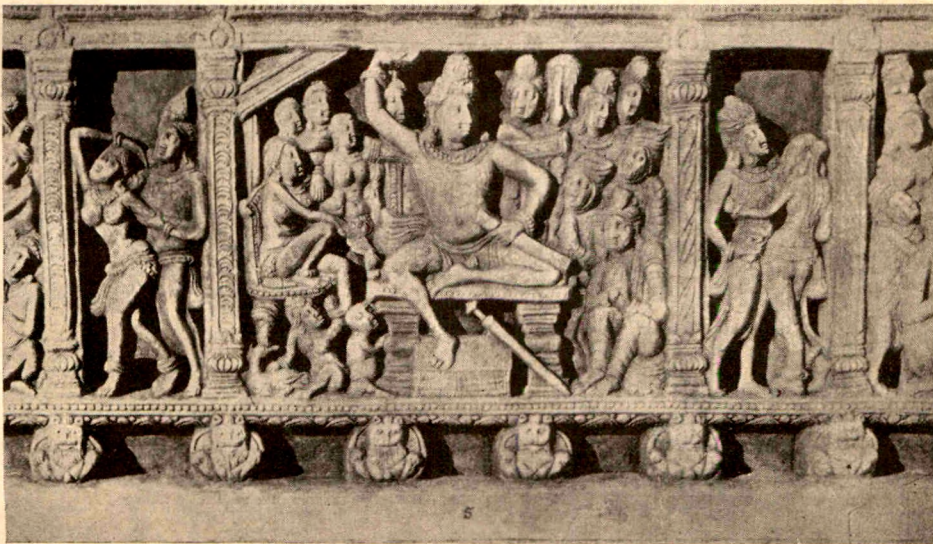
The Poet in a Bedouin Camp
The Poet is seated with a Bedouin Sheikh in a camp about fifteen miles
from Baghdad



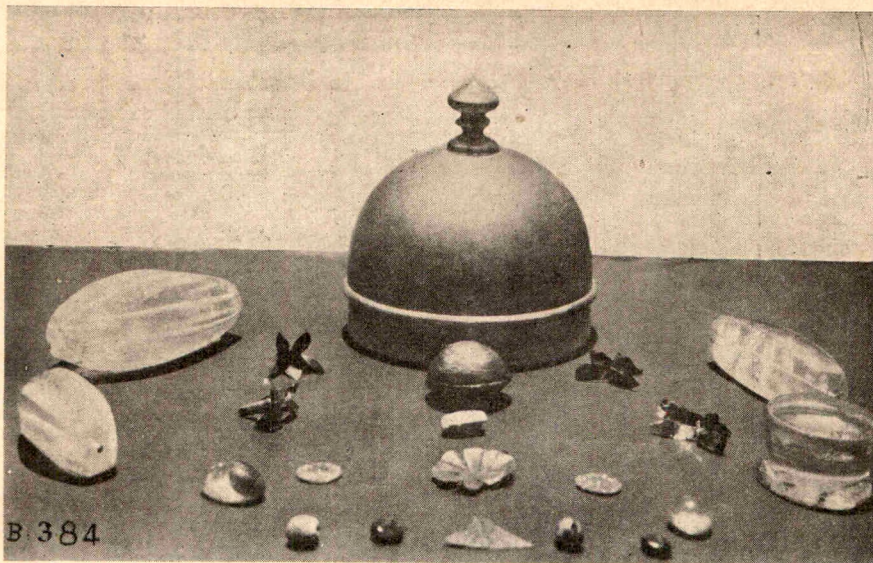
Dinner party at the residence of Puri Reza at Bushire
At the right is seen Mr. K. N. Chatterjee and Mr. A. Chakravarty



By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India
One of the two classical sculptures found at Nagarjunakonda



By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India
One of the sculptures revealing the technique employed at Nagarjunakonda



By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

The Reliquary and its contents with Buddha's bone relic



By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

A richly carved relief slab found
at Nagarjunakonda



By the courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India

Figure of a Greek (or Roman ?)

BUDDHIST FINDS AT NAGARJUNAKONDA

By R. RAMASWAMI

TILL recently but an inaccessible spot with a pillar here and a pillar there peeping out of a mass of mounds and thick jungle growth, Nagarjunakonda has suddenly leapt into first-rate prominence in the eyes of the whole Buddhist world. A number of *stupas*, *viharas*, *chaityas*, sculptures, relics, coins and inscriptions have been found. And the evidence so far collected is all in favour of the view that Nagarjunakonda must have been the centre and capital of Buddhism in the Deccan.

* * * *

That Nagarjunakonda must have enjoyed great fame can be inferred from the fact that people from such distant places as Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Toosali, Aparanta, Vangi, Vanavasi, Tambapanni, Yavana (Greece) and Ceylon visited it—so we learn from the inscriptions unearthed at the place. The finding of many important relics also points to the special sanctity in which the sites excavated must have been held.

Chief among the relics is the fragment of a bone of Buddha's body, as big as a pea. Together with some gold flowers, it was enshrined in a tiny round box which also contained garnets, pearls and crystal pieces. The reliquaries show remarkable workmanship. Another relic was secured in a series of peculiarly-made stone caskets, all well finished and one fitting into another.

PRETTY SCULPTURES

The sculptures are the most noteworthy among the finds. They are exquisitely carved and follow a pretty plan of execution. As Mr. Longhurst, the excavator, has said, some of the sculptures possess a unique value, being unlike anything of the kind found elsewhere in India.

Each panel of the sculptures is either horizontal or vertical, according as it is part of a beam or upright pillar. Interest is sought to be focussed on a principal object

in a panel by depicting on either side thereof scenes of lesser importance (such as love-stricken men and women drawn from ordinary life) or lotuses and lion heads. The main theme of the sculptures is taken from the life and previous births of Buddha, coloured here and there by local versions. *Toranas* or garland friezes too are found in plenty. While many of the sculptures somewhat resemble those at Sanchi and Amaravati, a good deal of refreshing originality is displayed here.

BUILDINGS

Among the buildings of note unearthed may be mentioned the remains of the *Maha-chaitya* or Great Dome. It was a plain and plastered edifice on the Ceylonese model but bigger than those which stood around. A vihara foundation shows that its now crumbled superstructure had a prayer-hall in the centre, with cells for monks built all round.

The delicately chiselled and highly artistic chaitya slabs or relief models give us an idea of what their originals were like. Rich carvings seem to have adorned the entire enclosure to the shrines. Even the dome, including its farthest point, is found sculptured with many a graceful figure. Within the shrine itself, in its centre, stood the image of Buddha for his followers to worship. The expressiveness of the face of the deity speaks volumes for the skill of the executors of the work.

CLASSICAL INFLUENCE

Apart from general references to *Yavanas* (Greeks), the name of one—Moti—is found specifically mentioned. What he was, to deserve it, is unknown. Two superbly chiselled figures, showing beyond doubt they are classical, have been recovered from the excavated sites.

Some Roman coins have also been picked up here. These, together with the above

sculptures and the references in the inscriptions, show us how far south classical influence had penetrated in India during the earlier centuries of the Christian era.

PROBABLE DATE

For, second to third centuries, A.D., have been roughly fixed as the time when Nagarjunakonda must have flourished. This is evident from the names of some kings on certain inscriptions found here, as well as independent testimony of the date of Nagarjuna—the patron-saint, name-giver and resident of the place. The script used in the writings also gives us a valuable clue for fixing the date.

An oft-recurring name in the records of stone and chisel is that of Princess Chantisri who is said to have done much "to house the remains of the most enlightened (Buddha)." He is referred to as "the illustrious Ikshvaku"—i.e., belonging to the solar line of kings. *Upasika* (nun) Bodhisri and Monk Badantha Ananda are frequently mentioned.

Nagarjuna (to whom the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen-Tsang also refers) seems to have governed the Southern Congregation (of Buddhists) for sixty years from here. He is a writer who is respected even today for his versatility and erudition. He built the famous stone-railing of Amaravati. Nagarjunakonda itself must have reached its summit of prosperity in his time. He is said to have been one of the "four suns of Buddhism," attracting to himself many a lesser luminary to adorn his seat at the Hill of Nagarjuna.

The hill was greatly valued by kings also. Bounded on one side wholly by the river Krishna and on the other three sides by frowning hills, the settlement had all the requirements of a martial stronghold as well as a peaceful religious retreat. The entire summit of the hill is strewn with the remains of a gigantic fortress, the valley and the lower peaks having been taken up by the Buddhist structures forming part of the present excavations.

AMALGAMATION OF THE TWO PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICES

By NARESH CHANDRA ROY

THERE has been a persistent demand during the last twenty-five years for a readjustment of the relations between the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors. Difference in status and position between the two sets of officers would have been justified only if it was based upon a difference in the nature of work they performed and in the education and training they had to their credit. But inasmuch as there is very little difference between a Deputy and a Sub-Deputy Collector in these respects, the distinction that is made as to their position and emoluments is wholly artificial and should be done away with at the earliest convenience.

The Sub-Deputy Collectors were at the start intended to be a class of executive agents to help the District and Sub-Divisional Officers in administering the various departments under their charge. They were to be employed in this capacity in revenue, statisti-

cal, and general executive work. The difference between their duties and those of the Deputy Collectors lay in the fact that while the latter had to take charge of some function and had both to initiate the plan of work and execute it in practice, the Sub-Deputy Collectors were merely to help in the execution of the plan which had already been chalked out. The Deputy Magistrates had again to administer criminal justice with, in most cases, the powers of a Magistrate of the first class. The Sub-Deputy Collectors were, however, given no magisterial jurisdiction. Roughly speaking, for about twenty years after their first appointment, the Sub-Deputy Collectors occupied the same position in the Civil Service organization of an Indian province as the executive class occupies now in the administrative organization of England. The Deputy Magistrates, on the other hand, have all along held a position analogous to that of

the administrative class of the British Civil Service.

The duties of the Sub-Deputy Collectors did not, however, remain as they had been before the nineties of the last century. The Government of Sir Charles Elliot, in reviewing their position in 1892, observed that owing to forces of circumstances and exigencies of the Administration the Sub-Deputy Collectors had to be employed in magisterial work as well. They were of course invested only with second and third class powers under the Code of Criminal Procedure. In some other fields of work also, the duties of the Sub-Deputy Collectors became more responsible than they had been. This improvement in the nature of work of these officers was, the Government thought, quite in consonance with the distinctive improvement that had taken place of late in their educational attainments and general capacity for higher work. The Sub-Deputy Collectors were now admitted to the service by the same examination as a Deputy Collector and there was in fact very little of difference between the education and training between the two officers in the two grades. It was therefore not unwise to entrust work of a responsible character to the Sub-Deputy Collectors, who, it was decided, would now "constitute a class similar in powers and responsibility to Deputy Collectors but inferior in dignity." The Sub-Deputy Collectors, in other words, had almost the same qualifications and were entrusted practically with duties of the same nature and character, but all the same they were to be members of an inferior service and paid at a far lower rate. Their position thus grew to be anomalous.

This anomaly became all the greater when in 1905 the competitive system of recruitment was altogether abolished and under the nomination system which came into vogue, men with superior educational qualifications but without any backstairs influence had in many cases to enter the lower service. It so happened that men with a mere pass degree were appointed Deputy Magistrates while men in every sense superior to them had to be satisfied with the office of a Sub-Deputy Collector simply because they had none to do the wirepulling for them from behind. Thus

after 1905, there were many Sub-Deputy Collectors who were intellectually better equipped than, and had undergone the same administrative training and passed the same departmental examinations as, the Deputy Magistrates. The duties they discharged were also hardly less responsible than those performed as a rule by the Deputy Collectors. But still they were members of an inferior service and had to be resigned to a far lower scale of salary.

In 1911, the distinction in the nature and kind of duties of the two classes of officers was blurred to a further extent still. In this year the Government of Bengal proposed in a letter to all Divisional Commissioners to invest some selected Sub-Deputy Magistrates with full first class powers. It was pointed out that these officers were given all the training which a Deputy Magistrate had to undergo, passed all the departmental examinations both by lower and higher standards and had already been invested with the second and third class magisterial powers. Some of these officers had shown themselves possessed of an aptitude for judicial work which would justify the grant to them of full powers under the Criminal Procedure Code. It was in pursuance of this Resolution that some of the Sub-Deputy Magistrates were actually invested with first class powers. During the war, this practice had to be accelerated further. A number of members of the Indian and Provincial Civil Services was deputed on war service. The gap thus created was filled by the Sub-Deputy Magistrates endowed with first class powers. Nor was this experiment anything but a clear success.

So we come to this that whatever difference might be noticeable in the kind of duties performed by the Deputy and Sub-Deputy Collectors before 1892, it was considerably blurred after this date and with the inauguration of the new policy in 1911 of conferring first class magisterial powers on the officers of the lower service, the distinction was practically swept away. It was not unnatural therefore that when the Public Services Commission began its enquiry in 1913, under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington, some of the witnesses should deplore the lower status and emoluments of the Sub-Deputy Collectors and

advocate the amalgamation of the two services. Mr. N. D. Beatson-Bell, at that time the Commissioner of the Dacca Division and subsequently the first Governor of Assam, observed that the most important administrative reform he would advance was "the amalgamation of the Subordinate Executive Service with the Provincial Civil Service." "Then as a body," he thought "there is very little difference between the two services in the matter of qualification of the recruits. In fact those entering the Subordinate Executive Service are often superior to those entering the Provincial Civil Service." Mr. H. L. (Sir Hugh) Stephenson was also of the same view. "The class of men who enter the Subordinate Service," he said, "differ very little from the Provincial Service recruits." Sir George Rainy also gave it out as his opinion that both as regards the qualifications of the officers and the character of the duties to be performed there was now very little difference between the two services and it would not be unwise to amalgamate them at the earliest convenience. It was thus the contention of all right-thinking men that doing as they did the same kind of work, possessing as they did the same qualifications and drawn as they were from the same classes, they ought to be on the same scale and bear the same designation.

In April 1919, Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt put a series of questions to the Government on this subject. His object was to focuss the attention both of the Government and of the public on the anomalous position of the Sub-Deputy Collectors. Sir John Kerr admitted in reply that the two services were manned by officers with the same academic antecedents and the same administrative training to their credit. But he did not think that the nature of work they had to perform was exactly the same. The duties of the Deputy Collectors, he thought, were of a more important and responsible nature. He informed Mr. Dutt that the Government had already passed a Resolution as to the best way of recruiting the Deputy Collectors and discussed therein the question of promoting the Sub-Deputy Collectors to the higher service. The members of the Subordinate Executive Service had been

permitted to express their opinions on the latter part of the question discussed in the Resolution.

In May following, the Sub-Deputy Collectors submitted a representation to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal. In this memorial, they reiterated the facts that in educational qualifications in administrative training and departmental tests, they stood on the same ground as the members of the Provincial Civil Service. The nature and character of the duties they had to discharge were also similar, if not the same. It could no longer be asserted that their functions were any way the less responsible than those of the Deputy Collectors. They therefore now suggested that it was no longer necessary to keep the two services apart. If this amalgamation could not be effected at once for financial and other reasons, it might be postponed to some opportune moment in the future and meanwhile, all the vacancies in the Provincial Service might be filled by promotion from the lower service. This stopping of all direct recruitment to the higher service and the filling of all the vacancies therein by promotion from the Sub-Deputy Collectors would go a great way to allay their grievances.

Two months later in July 1919, a Resolution was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Council for the improvement of the pay and prospects and other terms of service of the Subordinate Executive Service. In course of his speech on this Resolution, the mover, Mr. S. N. Ray, dwelt at length on the identity of qualifications, training, and nature of work of the two classes of officers. Sir John Kerr accepted the Resolution with certain reservations on behalf of the Government. He again admitted that since 1892, the qualifications and training of the two sets of officers were the same, but he could not accept without considerable qualification the claim that they were also on similar duties. Even if the functions of the Sub-Deputy Collectors were the same as those of the Deputy Collectors, the Government, he observed, would not go in for amalgamation. He would of course see to it that the prospects of the Sub-Deputy Collectors were improved. But he could hold out no hope as to amalgamation. Amalgamation, he took it, would mean

the elevation of all the Sub-Deputy Collectors to the position and emoluments of the Deputy Collectors. This would put a severe strain on the provincial finances and must not on that account be entertained at all.

In pursuance of the promise made on this occasion by Sir John Kerr, the Government of Bengal issued a Resolution on the 21st June, 1920 regarding the future of the Subordinate Civil Service. An improved scale of pay was suggested, the practice that 35 per cent of the vacancies in the higher service should be filled by promotion from the lower body was also to be continued. But this continuance was not to affect the principle that the lower service was a reasonable career by itself for those who cared to enter it, and the promotion to the higher service was only a prize in reward for specially good work, to which individual officers would have no specific claim. The two services were hence to continue as two separate and distinct bodies. The Government set their face completely against all demands for their amalgamation. Equally opposed were they to the claim that all vacancies in the higher body should be filled by promotion from the lower one. They did not agree to the view that the two services were engaged in the same kind of work. But they admitted that there were grounds for suspicion that the duties were the same. It was hence required to so reshuffle the functions of the two sets of officers as to remove this suspicion. The first class magisterial powers which at least twenty-six of the Sub-Deputy Collectors were exercising were a constant reminder of the fact that lines of division between the duties of the two services were at least not so clear cut as they should have been. The administrative functions which the members of the lower service had to discharge might conveniently be characterized as of minor importance and responsibility, but when they were sitting on the bench with the full powers of a Magistrate, their duties could not but be recognized as the same as those of the Deputy Magistrates. So the Government decided in this Resolution to discontinue the practice of investing the Sub-Deputy Magistrates with first class powers.

The members of the Subordinate Service

rightly protested against this decision of the Government. The division had become so artificial that they expected that in the near future the distinction between the services would be removed altogether, and the two would be amalgamated. Instead the Government proposed this retrograde policy by which not only the Sub-Deputy Collectors would remain condemned to lower emoluments but would also be deprived of the first class magisterial powers for which by education, training, and experience they were as fit as the Deputy Magistrates and which they had actually exercised with credit for ten years.

The protest of the Sub-Deputy Collectors was, however, of no avail. In August 1920, Sir Henry Wheeler definitely pointed out in course of a speech in the Legislative Council that the Government had made its mind not to do anything towards the amalgamation of the two services. They would keep the members of the Subordinate Service engaged, as proposed in the Resolution referred to above, only in duties of minor importance. About a year later a question was put to the Government as to which of the executive functions were of minor responsibility. The Home Member observed in reply that Sub-Deputy Collectors would henceforward be employed mostly in circle work which was in the opinion of the Government rather of a minor importance and responsibility. Questioned further as to why the Sub-Deputy Magistrates were not given first class powers while the Honorary Magistrates were not debarred from such authority and jurisdiction, he simply replied that the Honorary Magistrates would continue to exercise first class powers as before.

The Bengal Retrenchment Committee which submitted its report in January 1923, discussed in course of its investigation into the District Administration of the Presidency, the relations between the Subordinate and the Provincial Civil Services. It took note of the view that "both services are recruited from men of the same social standing and educational qualifications, and that their work is practically identical." It also took note of the fact that frequent demands had been made in recent times for the amalgamation of the

two services. The Government had indeed resisted these demands and rightly so but the position, the Committee felt "is still equivocal and requires reconsideration in the light of future developments." It had to admit that "in theory the tendency has been to keep the Provincial and Subordinate services distinct, but in practice there has been ... an appreciable overlapping in the nature of their duties." The Retrenchment Committee thus endorsed the view which the Sub-Deputy Collectors had taken of their position, but it did not support their demand for amalgamation. It merely suggested that the number of the Deputy Collectors should be cut down from 323 to 200 and the work thus released should be discharged by the Sub-Deputy Collectors.

Whatever might be the merits of this suggestion the Government slept over it for about two years, and then early in 1925 another Committee was appointed under the presidency of Mr. Donald, the Finance Member of the Government of Bengal, to look into the recommendation of the Retrenchment Committee. The new Committee also did not support amalgamation of the two services. But it recommended that the number of the Deputy Collectors should be reduced to 153, and the number of the Sub-Deputy Collectors should be increased to fill the void. It also recommended that the pay of the Deputy Collectors should be to some extent reduced and the pay of the Sub-Deputy Collectors should be to some extent increased and these latter officers should be given charge of some small Sub-Divisions. These recommendations were in variance with the ideas and policy of the Government on the subject. They were consequently shelved and nothing has been heard since, about them.

It was for long the practice that 35 per cent of the vacancies in the Provincial Civil Service should be filled by promotion of the selected Sub-Deputy Collectors. As, however, the two services were manned by officers of the same education and training and with the experience of the same nature of duties, it was rightly demanded that they should be amalgamated and in case this amalgamation was absolutely out of the question, it was contended that the higher service should be recruited exclusively by promotion from the

lower body. This point of view was pressed upon the Government by the Sub-Deputy Collectors in their memorial to the Chief Secretary submitted in May 1919. But the Government refused to accede to this demand which however appears to all right-thinking people to be reasonable and just. In the Resolution which they issued in the middle of the following year, they did not budge an inch, in this matter of promotion, from the *status quo*. This attitude of the Government rather unnerved the supporters of the claims of the Sub-Deputy Collectors. They thought it wise to lessen the demands and on the 4th of August 1920, Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt moved in the Bengal Legislative Council that "fifty per cent of the vacancies occurring in the Provincial Civil Service be filled by the promotion of officers from the Subordinate Civil Service." Even this modest demand was opposed by the Home Member, Sir Henry Wheeler, who in course of his speech discussed the arguments for and against recruitment by promotion. The advantages of this system were that it made available to the Government officers of proved merit and ability and also stimulated the work of the lower service. Among the disadvantages was the tendency that when a man was recruited by promotion he was usually somewhat old and as such incapable of adapting to new conditions. If, on the other hand, promising juniors were promoted over the head of old seniors, discontent among the latter was the result. The arguments thus put forward against any increase in the rate of promotion certainly sounded very cogent to the uninitiated. But the major premise with which he started was itself invalid. It is not a fact that the Sub-Deputy Collectors when promoted to the higher service have to work under conditions with which they are unfamiliar. The duties they have to undertake after promotion are of the same nature and character, as those they have discharged in the lower service. The question of adaptation to the new sphere of work did not therefore arise at all.

Disappointed in most of their demands, the Sub-Deputy Collectors continued still to press them home and it cannot be said that years of persistent efforts for improving the

conditions and status of their service did not bear any fruit. Towards the close of 1925, the Government were persuaded to change the nomenclature of their Service. It was henceforward to be known as the Bengal Junior Civil Service and came also to be recognized as a Provincial Service. The difference in status between this body and the Bengal Civil Service was thus further narrowed down. In matters of promotion also, the Sub-Deputy Collectors did not cease to press their just demands. In November 1927, some of them went on a deputation to the Member in charge of the Appointment Department and the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal and pleaded that 75 per cent of the vacancies in the Bengal Civil Service should be filled by promotion from among their number. The Government now appreciated to some extent at least the justice of their claims and the reasonableness of their demands. In December 1928, they issued a Resolution to the effect that they had decided to fill henceforward fifty per cent of the vacancies in the Bengal Civil Service by promotion from the lower service. So at present half the vacancies in the higher service are filled by direct recruitment and half by promotion.

When we analyse the work actually done by the two services, we cannot but conclude that the distinction in status and conditions of service between the two bodies is wholly artificial and cannot be justified by any canon of public administration. The Government have of course deprived the Sub-Deputy Collectors of any chance of exercising first class magisterial powers and characterized the executive work they perform as of minor responsibility and importance. But on an analysis it will be found that this attempt to relegate the Sub-Deputy Collectors to minor executive work has failed and could not have been taken seriously. The work of these officers is as responsible and as important as that of the Deputy Collectors. About half the Sub-Deputy Collectors are employed in circle work. The Government of Bengal have indeed found it convenient to characterize this function as of a minor importance. But we shall soon see that this characterization is far from true. Of the other half of

the Sub-Deputy Collectors, some are employed in Butwara work, some in the Land Acquisition Department, some as Khasmahal officers, a few in Cess Revaluation work, a good number in Settlement operations, some in the Court of Wards and some as Magistrates with second and third class powers. In all these departments the Sub-Deputy and Deputy Collectors work side by side, discharge the same responsibility, and exercise the same powers. As to magisterial duties, the Sub-Deputy Collectors are indeed no longer given first class powers. But it is not to be understood that only the cases involving the exercise of higher powers are dealt with by the Deputy Magistrates while all the cases of a minor character are disposed of by the Sub-Deputy Magistrates. Most of the cases dealt with by the Deputy Magistrates are in fact of this latter category. So the nature, character and kind of magisterial duties performed by the two sets of officers are in most cases the same. Nor is it to be understood that the Sub-Deputy Magistrates are debarred from first class powers because of any lack of ability on their part. They are shut out from them only as a result of a deliberate policy of the Government unconnected with any question of ability or efficiency. Those who can exercise second and third class powers to the full satisfaction of the High Court and the Government, are not expected to break down in the exercise of higher powers. The Deputy Magistrates have had the same education, the same training, and passed the same departmental examinations. If they can be given after three or four years of service full powers under the Code of Criminal Procedure without any disaster to the cause of justice, there is absolutely no justification for the Sub-Deputy Magistrates being debarred from this jurisdiction. The Sub-Deputy Magistrates who exercised first class powers for some years between 1911 and 1921 were never accused by the Government of inefficiency. They really did their work with as much credit as the officers of the higher service. The question whether magisterial powers should continue to be vested in the executive officers or should be taken out of their hands and placed in a separate body of judicial officers with proper legal training and experience

should be set at rest at the earliest convenience. But so long as the criminal jurisdiction remains vested in the executive officers, the Sub-Deputy Magistrates will be as good at it as the Deputy Magistrates.

Next we examine the nature of circle work in which half the number of the Sub-Deputy Collectors are engaged and in which no Deputy Magistrates are employed. The fact that no officer of the higher service has any share in this work, has made it easy for the Government to characterize it as of minor importance and responsibility. When political education of the people in the villages is developed and their public spirit and conscience are fully awakened, the duties of the Circle officers may change considerably in nature. Under the existing conditions, however, these officers are expected to perform a very delicate and highly responsible work. So far as Bengal is concerned, the old traditional self-government had died out altogether in the village. It is only since 1919 when the Village Self-Government Act was passed that an attempt has been made to build up democratic institutions for local purposes in these areas. They are now in an infant stage and the people have not yet been fully accustomed to, and enthusiastic over, their work. It is the Circle officers who are expected to inspire the people in different localities with an enthusiasm for these institutions and create in them an earnestness for public work. It is these officers who are expected also to act as friend, philosopher and guide to the village boards and their Presidents, in the execution of their duties. The Circle officers are not merely travelling inspectors and auditors who examine the accounts of the Union Boards, keep a watch over their financial position and see whether they act up to the provisions of law. They are something more. They have to acquaint

themselves with men and things in every locality and study the moral and material position of as many individual citizens there as possible. A certain portion of the membership in every Union Board has to be nominated by the Government and this nomination is made on the recommendation of the Circle officers. A good deal of discretion, judgment and knowledge is required to fulfil this part of their duties. The Circle officers are again expected to be very much tactful in guiding the work of these village institutions along right and proper channels. They must lead but not dictate. To characterize this work of the Circle officers as of minor responsibility is really to betray a lack of imagination and sense of reality. Those who are engaged in the delicate task of developing village democracy cannot but be looked upon as discharging one of the most important and responsible public functions.

The case for amalgamation of the two services is thus clear and unanswerable. The members of the two services have the same educational and social antecedents, are given the same administrative training, and engaged in the same or similar kind of duties. To maintain the existing artificial distinction in status and conditions of the service between them is only to give cause for unnecessary but inevitable heart-burning in a class of responsible officers which every Government would do well to remove. The emoluments of the Sub-Deputy Collectors have been considerably increased since 1921 and they have been proved (*Vide MODERN REVIEW* for March 1932) to be quite reasonable and fair to any administrative officer in a country like India. The Retrenchment Committee which is now sitting will be well advised to recommend the amalgamation of the two services on the basis of the salaries and allowances now given to the Sub-Deputy Collectors.



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Mr. Jayaswal on the Udaypur temple of Malwa

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's paper on "The Udaypur temple of Malwa" published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1932, is unfortunately marred by some historical inaccuracies. Says Mr. Jayaswal: "Udayaditya was the son of King Bhoja. He says in his inscription at the Udaypur temple that he retrieved the fortunes of his house and fondly, with just pride, records the greatness of his late father. Evidently to mark the memory of his father, and his own service to his house, King Udayaditya raises this monument to the family deity Siva."

Mr. Jayaswal evidently refers to Udayaditya's inscription published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, page 233ff. The inscription does not anywhere mention Udayaditya as the son of Bhoja. It simply records that "When that devotee of Bharga (Siva i.e., Bhoja) whose brilliancy resembled that of the sun, had gone to the mansion of the gods, the earth, like Dhara, was filled with dense darkness, his foes (and) his hereditary warriors became infirm in body. Then arose King Udayaditya, another sun, as it were, destroying the dense darkness, the exalted foes, with the rays issuing from his strong sword, (and thus) gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour. (*Ibid.*, p. 238, verse 21).

This translation of Mr. Bühler appears to be amenable to improvement. A better translation would be—"the earth like Dhara as well as his hereditary servants were overcome by the weight of the darkness of his foes."

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Jayasimha, whose known dates are Sam. 1112=1055 A. D., and Sam. 1116=1059 A. D., (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. iii, page 46; Ann. Rep. Archaeological Survey of India, 1916-17 part I, page 19). The Nagpur stone inscription, dated Sam. 1161=1104 A. D., states that "When he (i.e., Bhoja) had become Indra's companion (i.e. died), and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign (i.e. Jayasimha) was submerged (i.e. died), his relation (*Bandhu*) Udayaditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession of by Karna, who, joined by the Karnatas, was like the mighty ocean, this prince, did indeed act like the holy boar." *Ep. Indica*. Vol. II, p. 192, verse 32.)

The above inscription makes it clear that Udayaditya was not the son of Bhoja, but his

relation. The recently published Jainad inscription throws further light on the question. It tells us that Bhoja was the paternal uncle (*pitribya*) of Udayaditya's son Jagaddeva. (Ann. Report. Arch. Dept. H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, 1927-28, page 23). From this it would appear that Udayaditya was the cousin of Bhoja.

We know from another source that Udayaditya belonged to a different branch of the Paramara family, who ruled, apparently as a subordinate of the Imperial House at Dhara in the Bhilsa district, (J.A.S.B., Vol. IX, page 549). The same authority narrates that Udayaditya built the temple of Udaypur in Sam. 1116=1059 A.D. He went into the interior of Malava and regained the superiority of his family. Udayaditya did not build the temple of Udaypur certainly as a sovereign of Malava, because in 1059 A.D. Jayasimha was its ruler. There is another definite evidence to support the above statement of mine. Karna, the adversary of Udayaditya, as mentioned in the Nagpur *Pasasti*, has hitherto been identified by the scholars as the Kalachuri Karna (A. D. 1042-1072). But I have tried to prove in my monograph *History of the Paramara Dynasty* (now in the press) that the Karna referred to above was the Chaulukya king of Gujarat, successor of Bhima I. This is not the place for an elaborate discussion on the subject. But I shall only point out a verse in the *Prithviraja Vijaya*, (Sarga V. verses 76-78) which conclusively supports my assertion. It lays down that Udayaditya obtained the sovereignty of Malava, having defeated the Gurjara Karna.

Karna ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1063-64 A.D. As the Paramara Jayasimha was killed by Karna in battle, he must have been on the throne of Malava at least up to 1063-64 A.D. Udayaditya evidently defeated Karna and wielded the sovereignty of Malava after that date. This proves beyond doubt that Udayaditya built the temple of Udaypur a number of years before his accession to the throne of Malava. In view of all these, I am afraid, Mr. Jayaswal's remark, that the temple at Udaypur was built as a memorial to Bhoja and to record Udayaditya's own service to his family, cannot be maintained.

D. C. GANGULY

INDIANS ABROAD

By N. A. P.

Indian Traders in Japan

There are only about three hundred Indians in Japan. Of this, the majority resides in Kobe, an up-to-date modern town where most of Japan's foreigners reside. Kobe is a business centre, situated about thirty miles from Osaka, the industrial metropolis, popularly known as the Manchester of the East. There are also a few Indians in Tokyo, the capital and in Yokohama which is very near to it. Though most of our people are traders there are also about a dozen of them who are working as teachers, stenographers and accountants in the firms of foreigners.

It is stated that the Indians began to establish business in Japan as long ago as fifty years but it is difficult to know at present the name of the first Indian who had gone there. But among those who went there earlier, the names of the Tatas, the Sassoons, and the Wassaimul Assumals stand foremost.

Now, among the three hundred Indians are the Sindhis who are in large numbers, the Gujeratis (both Hindus and Mahomedans) the Punjabis, Madrasis, Parsis and the Bengalis. They all live in harmony and their mutual relations are indeed very cordial.

BUSINESS METHODS

The Indian merchants who come to Japan for establishing import and export business must have with them a substantial amount of money and until this amount is deposited with any European, American or Japanese bank as the choice may be, it is very difficult to start on smooth lines. The banks while accepting a deposit from an intending business man require him to produce evidence relating to his business standing in India, his good character, etc. These furnished, the banks will count him as one of their depositors. If you invest 20,000 yen in the bank, it allows you a "limit" in the matter of purchasing your documents.

The Indian business man then will have to establish an office where streams of manufacturers' representatives call with the latest samples of their firm's products. And you have to enter into a sort of contract with them to obtain your needs. These representatives receive your order and undertake to furnish you with the desired goods within a certain period and at prices

agreed upon at the time of making the contract but if the prices go up—business or no business—few Japanese business men, some friends told me stick to the terms of the contract. Still, everything depends upon the manufacturer with whom you are dealing and the way you do it.

The goods are however delivered to you and the manufacturer is paid for according to the contract. And then you have the task of shipping the goods. Generally it is safe to ship these thousands of yens worth of articles with an insurance policy to cover their value, in order to see that no damage is done to them while in the process of transportation.

The task of shipping the goods is undertaken by people known as "shipping agents" whose duty it is to see that goods are loaded and the proper receipts obtained for them.

Now the Indian export merchant prepares his draft to his customer to be conveyed through the bank. That will be attached to the steamship company's receipt and the insurance papers. A calculation will be then made out as to the price of cargo, insurance, freight charges, etc. and these papers will be presented to the bank. Now that the bank has allowed you a "limit" upto 15,000 yens (if your deposit is 20,000) the value of documents you present must not exceed that limited amount. This rule is very strictly observed by European and American banks in Japan, while the Japanese banks might perhaps allow you to sell those documents to the extent of 16,000 or 17,000 yens. That is all.

The goods reach the port of destination in due course and the banks there after realizing the amount specified in the document from the customer, allow him to take delivery of the goods he ordered. However the day you hand over the documents to your bank the amount specified in it will be credited to your account, that being done in good faith.

BANKING FACILITIES

Before I left for Japan I saw in the papers that the Indian business men had certain difficulties with the banks. After a very careful study of the Indian trade conditions in Kobe, I have no hesitation in saying that the allegations were generally unfounded. At the same time I do not deny that individually the Indians have some difficulties and that, when an Indian comes

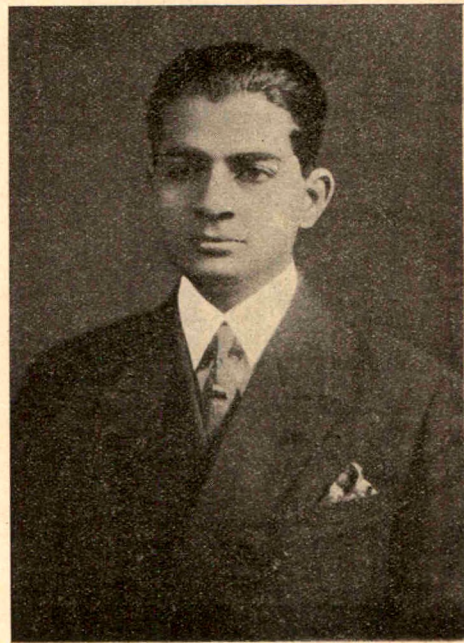
to Japan to commence export business without the necessary money, the banks will not agree to take him as a customer who would be entitled to sell documents to the bank. "Look at the Japanese! Even if they have no money, they can begin export business with the aid they receive from Japanese banks. The British banks do not allow us such a chance. If an Indian bank were to be here etc. etc. Some Indians who commenced business on a small scale pointed out to me. As for the Japanese banks helping their own people, that is nothing strange to explain. Institutions like the Japan Industrial Bank receive aid from the Government in order to help Japanese exports abroad. Only lately the Japanese have turned their attention towards Abyssinia, Turkey, Persia and to other Near Eastern countries as possible markets for Japanese goods. As such, the Japanese banks welcome prospective Japanese exporters to these countries assuring them financial support. Thus the Government backs up every Japanese exporter and such encouragement is only natural. But can our countrymen expect the same sort of privileges at the hands of the Japanese? Well, if the Japanese realizing the amount of labour and capital Indians have put in Japan to encourage Japanese trade allow them some privileges (which I have no doubt they allow at present to a greater extent than European or American banks) that will be to the mutual advantage of both the Indians and the Japanese. The British businessmen in Japan on the other hand are just like the Indians a race of foreigners and all that the British banks consider is whether a man was reliable and honest—be he an Indian, Chinese or a Japanese. If an Indian was honest in his dealings with these banks, I believe that he receives all facilities in these British banking institutions.

"Why should we," a British bank official asked me, "help Indian traders here? The Indians are exporting Japanese goods to compete with the Manchester products." This was only a by-the-way argument, but to be frank, I really found the British banks playing their part well with the Indians, irrespective of any discrimination.

Then comes the question of an Indian bank. Can an Indian bank be of service to Indians in Japan? Is there any possibility of such a bank being established? Will it prove successful? Will all Indians in Japan wholeheartedly patronize it? Yes, the establishment of an Indian bank will certainly be useful to Indian interests in Japan, but I am afraid that no Indian bank could be successfully run there at the present moment for various reasons. If an Indian bank were to open business in Japan, a very large amount of money, possibly a few millions of yens should be deposited with the bank of Japan and further, the Society of Bankers should willingly take you in their association. These

formalities are rather difficult to undergo and even then, the necessary patronage by customers cannot be fully assured.

The so-called "present difficulties" of Indians (if any) in the matter of banking are due to the small number of our business men in Japan and a majority of that number only do business on a small scale. Our capitalists have not come to Japan in large numbers and if they do, it will be perhaps easier for an Indian bank to extend its operations up to the Far East, so that the Indian community will have no further difficulty. Until such time, our business men have to thank their stars for what facilities they enjoy at the hands of the foreign banks.



Mr. A. M. Sabay, Secretary to the Japan branch of the Indian National Congress

SHIPPING

Indian business men could ship their goods to any port of the world by whichever steamer they liked. The freight charges on all vessels are just the same, although different shipping concerns offer various kinds of rebates with a view to obtain big business.

EXPORTS TO INDIA

Silk is the biggest of all business handled by Indian traders in Japan. Both pure and artificial silk goods are exported to India in large quantities. In the month of March 1931 alone India bought silk goods to the value of 1,990,222 out of a total of yen 3,534,288 worth of silk sent to 35 other countries, during the same period.

IMPORTS FROM INDIA INTO JAPAN

The chief imports into Japan from India is cotton. For the first time Indian cotton was brought into Japan in 1895 after a Japanese mission consisting of officials and spinners visited India in order to make enquiries regarding the Indian cotton market. Many years before that the Japanese grew cotton in their own country but the cultivation was brought to an end owing to severe cold weather conditions and their inability to produce a sufficient quantity. Subsequently a few Indian firms were established to import cotton into Japan regularly. The Tatas were the first to come. They assisted the Nippon Yusen Kaisha steamship line to open a direct steamer service to India in the interests of cotton trade between the two countries.

I am told that out of the 56 lakhs of cotton bales annually produced in India Japan consumes 25 lakhs. She also buys lakhs of bales from Egypt and eight lakhs of bales from America.

Messrs. Tata have now closed their business in Japan and the Sassoons are doing business on a smaller scale than they did before. But there are other Indian firms which are engaged in the cotton imports business. The Japanese have their offices in the principal cotton producing centres in India and about 95 per cent of the imports into Japan is being handled by the Japanese business men.

Among other things from India imported into Japan are the following commodities :

Rough rice, wheat, Indian corn, small bean, peas, ground-nuts, wheat flour, sesame seed, mustard seed, linseed, castor seed, cotton seed, fruits and nuts, tea, coffee, cocoa, salt, tobacco leaf, furs, hides, and skins, sole leather, animal bones, tusks of elephants, hoofs, sinews, shells of mollusca, olatile voils, stearin, paraffin, wax, tanning materials, India rubber, shellac, quinine, drugs, cotton in seed, cotton, ginned, hemp, jute, etc., vegetable fibres, gunny bags, iron-ores pig iron, etc., etc.

The offices of Indian traders in Japan are managed by either the proprietors themselves or their appointed attorneys. And among the staff, Japanese are employed in large numbers. For instance, I noticed that Messrs N. A. Thanawalla and Co., one of the biggest firms of exporters with their offices in Kobe, do not employ a single Indian on their staff. When I questioned about it, Mr. P. M. Master one of the managing proprietors explained : "Why should we bring down Indians all the way from the mother country when we can easily obtain the services of Japanese at a far lower salary ? The cost of living of an Indian is much higher than that of a Japanese and, therefore, the former should be paid more. In addition, we have to pay his passage both ways. Considering these points we are obliged to employ Japanese staff in the interest of sheer economy."

Further, the Japanese staff is all the more

necessary to Indian traders since all dealings with the Japanese business men must be done through letters written in the Japanese language. In fact a working knowledge of the Japanese language is essential for every Indian trader in Japan. The more he knew it, the better he gets on with the Japanese manufacturer with whom he has to deal daily. At present most of our business men speak the language of that country fairly well.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Indians living in Japan occupy "foreign style houses paying a rent of anything from fifty yens upwards. Japanese maids are engaged to cook and these servants will work for twenty-five Yens and up per mensem. Food stuffs such as rice, dal, ghi, etc., are imported from India.

In Japan there is a large area of land under rice cultivation but the local rice is unsuitable to us, since it contains much starch. I was told that for an Indian with a wife and two children, the living costs would be as much as two hundred yens per month. That is the moderate scale !

There are only a few Indians who live with their families in Japan. Their ladies do not seem to live in any higher style than they do in India except that they wear woollen garments in winter. They do not generally worry about household affairs since Japanese amah-sans are entrusted with them. Therefore, our ladies' duty is to manage the home and in their spare hours do needle work, read books or periodicals, or go out shopping.

Every year the Indian ladies organize an exhibition of handicrafts worked out by them. I was conducted to view last year's exhibition and I came away with the impression that in artistic Japan our womenfolk are successful in picking up the art of making beautiful table decorations, embroidery pieces, etc.

Indian babies born in Japan learn to speak the Japanese language first because they grow in the arms of Japanese nurses. When they reach their school age, these children are sent to India for educational purposes.

The earning capacity of Indians living in Japan depends upon the sort of life they lead. If one is careful, he could save a good deal but on the other hand, if he falls a victim to such places of amusement as the café, dance hall, etc.; there can be no possibility of any saving. Indeed he will lose himself. I was told that the majority of our people do save fairly large amounts of the money, a few no doubt succumb to the lure to spend it in gay Japan. In cities one could of course hardly remain without some sort of amusement or other but what is regrettable is that some take to extremes. This should be avoided.

In the record of crimes Indians do not figure prominently. There has been no murder case among them during all these fifty years our people have lived in that country. There were, however,



Indian Muhammadan Traders of Kobe celebrating the *Id* with Russian and Turkish Moslems as guests

one or two cases of suicide due to business depression, losses, etc. There were also one or two cases against Indians for cheating or embezzlement. But generally our people are a decent class of citizens in Japan.

INDIAN INSTITUTIONS

For the sake of recreation Indians have various clubs or associations which they have founded. Of these, the India Club of Kobe is the chief. Here, members can play billiards, bridge or tennis. They also spend their leisure on outdoor sports, picnic parties or movie nights.

There are many other similar institutions. They are the Indian Social Club of Kobe, an organization mostly of the Sindhis, the Indian Ladies' Club, the Yokohama Silk Merchants' Association, the Kobe Silk Merchants' Association, the Indian Traders' Association, the Indian Sports Club, the Parsee Club and the Japan Branch of the Indian National Congress of India with offices in Kobe and Tokyo. These institutions exist for various activities suggested by their names.

Of all these, the India Club is the oldest, established in 1904 under the title of "Oriental Club." There was also another institution known as the Indo-Japanese Society but no trace of it is to be found at present.

WANTED AN INDIAN TRADE COMMISSIONER

The British Ambassador and his Consuls in many cities are supposed to look after the welfare of Indian residents in Japan. I have seen references being made in the Indian Press that the British Consular Service does not help our people in any way. That is far from the truth. So far as I could see no Indian ever sought any help from the Consular Service nor when approached aid was refused. I do not know any

specific instance, but it is probable some individual trader would have failed to obtain relief when he needed it from the Trade Attaché to the British Consulate. The British Trade Attachés are looking after the interests of Manchester even in industrialized Japan. Then, how can they like the idea of assisting Japanese goods to compete with Manchester, especially in the export of cotton goods? At the same time, I wonder whether the Trade Attachés ever help any other British subjects from Canada, South Africa, or New Zealand. Apart from all these considerations, I feel that it is high time that the Indian business men got an official to whom they could freely express their needs. The British Consul is not the proper person for this purpose. The Government of India should send to Japan an Indian Trade Commissioner with powers as possessed by such Indian Commissioners in London and Hamburg. Such an appointment is absolutely essential.

CONGRESS WORK

There is a branch of the Indian National Congress in Japan with its chief office in Kobe. This body holds regular meetings. During the salt *Satyagraha* campaign in 1930 members of the Japan Indian Congress Committee offered their services in the cause of the country and went to jail. The Committee also remitted a handsome amount of money for National work. The object of this body is to spread correct information about India and to counteract false propaganda against India.

The Congress Committee also publishes a monthly newspaper called the *Voice of India* which is ably edited by my friend Mr. A. M. Sahay who has done much good work in the interests of our countrymen in Japan.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Way for India's Salvation

The *Calcutta Review* has published the Convocation address of Sir C. V. Raman delivered at the Allahabad University. Every son and daughter of the motherland, having the good of her in his or her mind, should pay heed to the concluding portion of the speech. It runs :

Let me look forward to the future. He would be a bold man who would seek to prophesy. But none the less, sometimes it is desirable to try and lift the veil of mystery that hides the future from our eyes. You, my young friends, I am sure through your hearts surges a feeling of pride and devotion to your motherland. Which of us is not a patriot today in India ? But let us ask ourselves what is it that you intend to make of India. I would like to suggest to you, my young friends, that this problem of India's future which interests you and others deeply is one that needs most careful pondering over. We live to-day in an age and in circumstances far different from what we lived in even a hundred years ago. You all remember that Japan in the middle of the last century shut herself round by a wall of isolation. She found herself compelled by the guns of the American Navy to throw aside those walls of isolation and to knock them down, and she was forced to find herself in the stream of modern civilization. What is going to be our attitude towards that civilization ? Shall we regard it merely as something unpleasant, something brutal, forced upon us from outside ? I do not think that that way lies India's salvation for the future. Let us not forget that though India slumbered for fifteen centuries, nevertheless there was a time when she was also in the van of human progress, when her sages and her scholars were not bookworms, when they sought by their own effort to understand something of nature, when they dreamed philosophy, when they constructed theories and made observations and invented new materials of progress. India discovered arithmetic and algebra, she made great progress in astronomy, in chemistry, in engineering and many of the practical sciences like medicine and so on. Shall it be said that the slumber of fifteen centuries has sent us altogether to the region of complete obscurantism ? Shall we not rise from that slumber and show that once again we can assert our age-old spirit and take part in the great advance of knowledge ? We may like it or not—we may approve it or not—knowledge and all that it means will continue to advance. I put it to you that it is no use trying to hide yourself away, to screen yourself away from this great flood of light and new knowledge that is coming on to us.

We in India seek to find our place in the sun. If we in India wish to be recognized as one of the

great nations of the world, we can only do so if we are prepared to pay the price of that achievement. Please let me tell you what I regard the proper price of that achievement. That price is to be prepared to work—it is labour, it is courage, it is dauntless enthusiasm, it is the determination to go through countless efforts, countless hours of toil, countless sacrifices in order to reach the goal. It is upon us, it is upon the spirit with which we face the new conditions about us, that the future of India depends. Do not imagine that mere assertion, that mere hope will achieve what you and I want to achieve. If India is to find her place in the sun, it will be through ceaseless toil, through suffering and sacrifice of her sons. Remember that I am telling these, I am not preaching to you what I did not try. Allow me to assure you that it is our mission to see that India shall no longer be regarded merely as a decrepit old nation which can never rise out of the slumber of the ages. I have laboured for twenty years in the cause of science and if I have done anything to try and obtain recognition for India in the field of science, it is not as a personal effort, it is as an effort, on behalf of my and your country ; it is an effort, on behalf of the memory of our great forefathers ; it is an effort to justify the existence of our people on this earth. If we do not progress, if we cannot hold our own with the foremost nations of the world, it is better that we disappear from the face of this earth. Let us reach the heights or let us go down to damnation. It is the message that I wish to give you this evening.

The Y. M. C. A. and its Work

The services rendered by the Y. M. C. A. to India are many. In the south and elsewhere it does much useful work in the village and for the village-folk. It is a corporate body. Its members imbibe *esprit de corps* from the work they have got to do in co-operation with others. Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi emphasized this point in his address given at the Y. M. C. A. at Madras. We make the following extracts from his speech as published in *The Young men of India, Burma and Ceylon*.

Let us observe further the Y. M. C. A.'s method of making life. It builds on the individual and does not break him. It seeks not to separate men of different creeds and races but to bind them into greater unity. Its method is that of co-operation. Co-operation is the means by which individuals without ceasing to be individuals are built up into the community. People who are impatient of evolution try to break the past in order to build the future. Such was the scientist of the 19th century who pursued the chimera of the energy of atomic disintegration. He sought to break the atoms, in order to

build man though man himself had been built of atoms. Such also is the Communist of the 20th century who seeks to break the individual in order to build the community though the community itself has been built of individuals. May I say that the energy with which life is built is the energy not of atomic disintegration but of atomic integration and that, indeed, life is atomic integration? In using the energy whether of bacteria or of men, we shall be using the energy of atomic integration. Co-operation is one form of such integration—the integration of human atoms. The Y. M. C. A. then not only makes life and gives it but also does not break life in one place in order to make it in another. It cannot do so with matter. If you want to add material wealth in one place, you have to take it away from another because the sum of matter is constant. But life can reproduce itself and add to itself. The sum of life is not constant. The logic of life is not the logic of matter. The Y. M. C. A. is wise in choosing to give the gift of life rather than of matter.

Organization and Service are the joint mechanism of the evolution of life. The activity of the Y. M. C. A. gives us a miniature model of such evolution—by cultivation, by engineering, by integration. Agriculture evolves life out of the Earth's matter. Industry or engineering converts that life into man's life. By integration or co-operation of man, humanity will coagulate into a mass of mind as big as the Earth—perhaps the mind of the Earth itself, its brain and nervous system. Agriculture, industry and co-operation—these are the processes by which from the Earth's body there tends to develop an Earth's mind. That is a dream that I have dreamt of evolution.

Awakening of Indian Womanhood

Indian women to-day are playing their part bravely and well in different spheres of life. Those who have striven for the cause of women's progress deserve our praise. Dr. Kalidas Nag gives in *India and the World* a resume of the activities of both men and women in this direction:

It is not an accident that the harbinger of the renaissance of modern India, Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1774-1833), made *women's cause* along with the *spiritual unity of India*, the key-stone of the arch of national reconstruction. To him the "woman's cause was man's" not merely from any consideration of national utility, noble as it was, but because, according to the universal revelations of the *Upanishads* and the *Valanta*, woman was the perfect equal of man both in the fulfilment of human responsibilities as well as in the attainment of the superhuman prerogative of immortality. Ram Mohun's epoch-making fight for the amelioration of the conditions of India's womanhood not only forms one of the noblest legacies to the subsequent generation of Indian national workers, but marks an era in the history of modern Asiatic Renaissance. The programme of Ram Mohun was pushed forward in diverse fields of woman emancipation by our great national leaders like Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, Pundit Iswar-chandra Vidyasagar, Keshabchandra Sen, Mr. Justice Madhab Govind Ranade and others, till at last the *equality of men and women* was promulgated in unequivocal terms in the constitution of the Brahmo Samaj as early as 1870-71. Creative artists of modern

India through their writings, invariably championed the cause of the progress of our womenfolk: and the passionate love for our mothers found its grand literary apotheosis in "Bande Mataram" (Hail! Mother India) by our literary pioneer, Bankimchandra Chatterjee. The first women's college in India, the Bethune College, was founded at least twelve years before the establishment of our first University in Calcutta in 1858, and the first woman graduate of the University was accorded, so the story runs, with a salute of guns from Fort William and an ode of appreciation from the leading poet of that period, Hemchandra Banerjee. Two timid daughters of Bengal, Aru Dutt and Toru Dutt, visiting Europe, gained reputation as writers, both in English and French, and one of them has left an unfinished novel in French. Women doctors, educationists, editors of newspapers and social reformers have already proved their worth as perfect equals of men, even before the first Indian National Congress held in Bombay in 1885, with Mr. W. C. Bonnerji as the President, when there was a large gathering of the fair sex.

The case for social reform in modern India was mainly the case for the reform of women's status and the Congress Presidents from the very beginning had to take full account of the "mature opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing social questions of the day" (First Congress, 1885, Object C.). In the 8th Congress held in Allahabad in 1892, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, President for the second time, had to offer an explanation for not making social reform the chief plank in the Congress platform and at the same time had to admit its vital importance by recounting the history of the first conference on the subject during the first Congress where distinguished social reformers like Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao of Madras, Justice M. G. Ranade of Poona, Mr. Narendranath Sen of Calcutta and others exchanged their ideas freely. Towards the end of that century, Mr. A. M. Bose in the Madras Session of the Congress in 1898 paid the most glowing tribute to India's womanhood by adding a veritable Mother Cult to politics through his concluding peroration on the *Motherland*: "After centuries of darkness, the dawn of a better day has now opened for her, and the golden light has already begun to stream over her fair face. It depends on us, *Brothers and Sisters, fellow-citizens* of this ancient land, it depends on us, on our own sense of duty, on our spirit of loving sacrifice and earnest effort, whether the streak of that light shall broaden and grow unto the lovely day. The land where, after ages, the sundered streams of Aryan life unite once again in the present day, that land, Brother-Delegates, deserves all our love. Love her the more, cling to her the closer, for her misfortunes of the past, for the shadows and the clouds that have hung over her in the times that have gone."

Thus, the equality between men and women before God preached by Ram Mohun Roy towards the beginning of the 19th century led naturally to their equality before the Motherland, proudly recognized by the Indian National Congress towards the end of that century. Indian women had already started to enquire about their sisters in other parts of the Orient as well as in the women movements throughout the world. For, a few noble representatives of Occidental womanhood have already come forward to champion the cause of their Oriental sisters. Madame Blavatsky and Mrs. Annie Besant of the Theosophical Society Sister Nivedita and Sister Christine of the Rama-

krishna, Vivekananda Mission and Mrs. Foster of Honolulu, a loyal friend of Buddhist revival, amongst others have found their permanent place in the heart of the Indian people. No wonder, therefore, that while England and several other Occidental countries were ridiculing and often actively opposing the cause of the women's progress with most reactionary measures, a daughter of the nation of Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Annie Beasant was unanimously elected the first woman-President of the Indian National Congress of 1917 in Calcutta. That it was not a mere spectacular move but a genuine and inevitable culmination of a century old evolution was proved by the election in 1926 of another noble and Muse-inspired daughter of India, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, as the second woman President of the Congress, in one of the very crisis of our national history.

Free Will

The Aryan Path has opened a forum for the discussion of free will from the point of view of Eastern and Western philosophy. Prof. C.E.M. Joad started the discussion and gave the viewpoint of Plato and Schopenhauer. Prof. G. R. Malkani gives the Hindu view on the subject of fate and free will in his "Free Will in Indian Philosophy." He says in part:

It is often thought that freedom involves creativeness. Creativeness means in general "bringing something into being which did not exist before." In a sense, all forms of higher activity in which a choice is made after a dispassionate consideration of the principles involved, are creative. One is conscious the freely bringing something into being. But creativeness is often understood in a more radical sense. It is the sense in which blind and unconscious will was supposed by Schopenhauer to be creative and God is supposed in Christian tradition to have created the world. But even then one thing is certain. The divine act may be truly creative; but what is created can never have a real and independent existence. The act is free, but not what it brings about. The latter can only have a dependent existence. What the will can make out of its freedom, it can also unmake. It is free both to put forth as well as to withdraw. It is wrong to attribute one-sided activity to it. It creates and also destroys. It is this dual activity that truly proves the freedom of the spirit. The latter is not bound by what it has once created. It can also destroy. Hindoo philosophy thus attributes to Deity not only the creative function, but also the sustaining and the destroying functions, thereby demonstrating its complete freedom in respect of the world which it itself has made.

The freedom of the will must be distinguished from the freedom of the spirit. What is truly and absolutely free is the spirit. The exercise of this freedom under certain limiting conditions is what we understand by the freedom of the will. These limiting conditions can ultimately be traced simply to desire. It is evident, that will is not desire, though desire is certainly implied in it. We may desire something, but not will it. But when we will we certainly also desire, with will is associated the notion of "power to bring about what is desired." In a sense power is inalienable from reality; and will is simply the actual functioning of this power. The exercise of this power

in the case of the individual, is dependent upon the circumstances in which he finds himself placed and in which there is a call for him to act. The supreme spirit is not thus externally determined. It is not conditioned by any circumstances outside itself. It makes its own circumstances. Still it is determined from within in that, that there can be no occasion for the exercise of its power unless there is desire. "I want to be many," "I want to show myself forth," etc., these are some of the forms of divine desire. The freedom of the will is thus necessarily conditioned freedom. It is not absolute freedom which belongs to the spirit only. The exercise of freedom is bound up with a thinking appreciation of things. There must be thought and there must be evaluation. Where both thought and values are transcended, there can be no scope for the exercise of freedom. The spirit is freedom itself. The freedom of the will is subordinate to it; it is the lower freedom that in the words of Hindoo thought has scope only within the realm of *avidya*.

Racial Problems in South Africa

Mrs. Josephine Ransom discusses the racial problems in South Africa in *The Theosophist*. She says:

Some theosophists are convinced that the best work, thought and effort of those members so disposed should be given to accelerating the growth of understanding between Briton and Boer. With those two strong and self-reliant groups united more closely than at present, they think the future would show a more rapid advance, especially in solving the delicate and subtle problems presented by the whole racial question. Such a closer union is most desirable and would bring to birth a people competent to contribute to the Commonwealth a fine addition: the qualities of strength and idealism, largely motivated by the desire for service to countless numbers of the "backward" races, essaying the first stumbling steps into a civilization that is somewhat a strenuous upward climb for them.

The outermost fringe of these two leading races consists of the "poor Whites." They are mostly of Boer origin. They are so feckless often that they are the despair of all who work for their improvement. Curiously enough many of them are the grandchildren of those magnificent "voortrekkers" whose indomitable courage made possible the settlement of the country. When they settled they had enough for all their needs. They paid little or no attention to the education of their children. There was hunting enough, plenty of slaves, women to marry, children to beget—among whom their lands were divided and divided yet again by their grandchildren, till at last they were too small to support a family. They were not usually trained to any occupation other than farming, and manual labour was despised as "Kaffir's" work. So these poor descendants lived and live miserably, forlorn and uninspired. They cluster in towns, breeding freely yet poverty-stricken. Farming settlements have been made for them with varying success. As education is free and compulsory, maybe the tide will turn for them and a better type emerge. They present a curious case of how the neglect of culture brings in a low brand of intellectual and moral qualities. Many are learning to work on the roads, and at first were jeered at by the Kaffirs for

so doing, but that is actually the first step along the road of their regeneration.

Between these and the natives are the "coloured" people. On the "White" side parentage is Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, and all sorts of other Europeans. Jews, Hindus, Muhammadans, Arabs and Malays have also contributed their quota. On the "native" side parentage is Hottentot, Bantu, Fingo, Basuto, Zulu, Swayi, and all the many other tribes as the "Whites" met and miscegenated with them—without compunction. Such miscegenation is now unlawful; but some of it still goes on, as is witnessed in the native areas of any town where fair-haired, red-haired, more lightly-coloured children play with the natives unconscious of the unhappy future that awaits them. For the "coloured" person is aware of strains of desire and of possibilities, and yet is forced either to consort with natives or with his own "colour." The Whites will have nothing of them, and ban them socially almost as completely as the native is banned. It is a cruel situation for many of them, particularly the "near White." In Cape Town and may be elsewhere in Cape Province, these coloured people are growing into a very self-respecting community. Many have the vote, that was arranged long ago; there is a tendency to try and take it from them, for some resent that the "coloured" people should vote upon matters affecting the "White" man. The Dutch gave the unhappy name of Bastaard to these folk, and for a time they took and used it with some fierceness of pride. Some of them, under a capable leader named Adam Kok, trekked away to found settlements of their own, with varying success.

Those theosophists who have the welfare of the people at heart would like to see them have more than their present place in society, and a more efficient education. There are missions among them of course, and they are mostly Christians, but they need some central *alma mater* where they could find themselves, and evolve their own notions as to what should befall them, and learn to live their lives without bitterness. They must of course have their dignified place in the South African scheme of things, and be given a chance to prove themselves, to search their own hearts and know what life should offer them. Many a student of the racial problems in South Africa wonders if the future of the country, *i.e.*, the Union, and maybe even beyond its borders, will be that of a "coloured" people. I am told that in Portuguese East Africa the Portuguese, even those in important Government positions, sometimes marry native women. Should White people visit them they permit of no question as to the courtesy due to their wives.

A Plea for a College of Rural Economics

The Christian mission has done much for the cultural education of the people. Mr. S. K. Roy, M. A. has advanced a plea for a Christian College of Rural Economics at a central place in India. Because he thinks it is the most needed thing at the present hour. He says in *The National Christian Council Review* :

There is no college, Christian or otherwise, in India which can provide this at present. Further, extension work would be most effective if it could be carried out in relation to a faculty. The need for one (central)

Christian college in India at least, which will devote itself to the rural problem entirely, or at least by having a strong faculty of rural economics, may be further illustrated by quoting from Dr. Butterfield's report. He says : 'One of the most amazing situations in India is the army of unemployed intelligentsia. For two generations universities have been graduating with the B. A. degree men whose chief ambitions have been to get into Government service, or, *failing to do so*, to become lawyers ... Few universities pay much attention to the rural problem, either as material for research or as an aspect of the course of study'. 'At first thought, the attempt to correlate the agencies and the forces that may be utilized in the development of rural India, *i.e.* the task of rural organization or reconstruction, may seem quite outside the territory of Mission service or college education. It is in some respects the crux of the whole Christian enterprise, because it is at this point that the impact of the spiritual and moral leadership of the Church has its most significant application, for it is here that one begins to comprehend the great end—a Christian rural civilization—and to appreciate the fundamental need of demonstrating the application of the Christian spirit at its point of greatest difficulty and potentiality, that of the local community' The significance of these words may be summed up in the words of Sir George Anderson and Dr. Whitehead in *Christian Education in India*. 'Owing to the rapid growth of the Christian Church, especially in the villages, during the last fifty years, a new objective has loomed on the horizon'. The writers then proceed to quote the Lindsay Report : 'There are now all over India, and specially in the south, colleges whose manifest duty is, in the first place, to the Christian population round about them, and in these special attention must be given to the care of the Christians. It is fully recognized nowadays that there is nothing that matters so much for the future of Christianity in this land as the health of the Church, which is chiefly in the villages. I cannot conclude my plea for a Christian college of rural economics or for strong faculties of rural economics in one or two of the Christian colleges in India, better than by quoting Dr. Butterfield again : 'The Christian college in India has a unique opportunity. From the Christian colleges, if from any-where, should be coming a stream of young men and women consecrated to village work, versed in village problems, trained in village technique, and ready to sacrifice—true missionaries of the new day for rural India India'

Mr. Ray also suggests the following course of study :

A. Fundamental Subjects:

1. *Principles of Economics* (General).
2. *Indian Rural Economics*. Including agricultural statistics of India; relation of Indian agriculture to external and internal trade of Indian agricultural produce; village banking and marketing conditions and facilities.

3. *The Sociology of Indian Rural Life*. Structure of village community, past and present; the influence of caste tradition, custom and law on the social organization of the village; the family group and the individual; hindrances and aids to full and free development of the family and the individual; social welfare work—methods, movements and institutions that help or hinder. (Scouting, play, recreation and clubs.)

B. Subsidiary Subjects :

Any three of the following :

1. *Agriculture*. Fundamentals in relation to soils, crops, animal husbandry, plant-breeding, fruit-growing and agricultural economics, with extension methods.

(The aim being not to turn out scientific or professional agriculturists, but to give sufficient basic knowledge, so that the student may be of help to the villager and get for him the expert help needed.)

2. *Co-operation*. A basic method for the carrying out of village welfare and solution of economic problems—credit, marketing and stores ; its principles and history in India.

3. *Rural Education*. The organization of the educational programme for rural schools ; the problem of compulsory and free primary education. New forms of teaching (project method, etc.) and supervision. Adult education—its methods and aims. The library and reading-room movement.

4. *Village Sanitation and Health*. Public health department, maternity and child welfare ; preventable diseases ; segregation and other means for prevention ; different foodstuffs used in India—their nutritive value ; an adequate dietary for an Indian village ; normal rules of health and digestion. (The aim again here is not to turn out medical experts, but, to give sufficient basic knowledge so that the student may be of help to the villager, and obtain from him the expert help when needed.)

5. *Methods of Propaganda*. The use of lectures, music, charts, lantern, cinema, radio, library, newspaper for teaching and inspiring.

The Political Impasse

Every right-thinking person cannot but feel concern at the uncertain state of affairs that obtain here today. The powers that be are adamant and appear to be unwilling to effect a compromise between themselves and the Congress. The editor of *Shri Dharma* also shares the public concern. She says :

The Civil Disobedience Movement has now been on for over four months. The cause of ordered progress, economic reconstruction and social amelioration has suffered a check. Disappointment and suspicion reign all round. Though the British statesmen still swear that they have only the good of India in their hearts, few believe these utterances. There never was a greater gulf between the governed and the governors in our country than at present. The economic depression has hit the people hard indeed, not to speak of the dislocations caused all round in the country by the political agitation. The forces of cohesion among the people are weaker than ever before. The Muslims and other minority groups are hardening in their claims for protection and are making demands incompatible with the ideal of a robust Indian nationalism. The Princes, never believers in popular governments, are anything but helpful in the solution of the All-India problem. Need we say that the policy of delay and drift adopted by the British Government is not a little responsible for this unhappy state of affairs ?

Lovers of peace see nothing helpful in the recent utterances of Sir Samuel Hoare. The policy of crushing the Congress and preparing for the reforms has been tried and stands condemned to-day. The most

popular section of the country has been put behind prison bars, and the repressive measures have provoked strong resentment even from supporters of Government. The effect of this is sure to be felt in the future as well. Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Willingdon can afford to rule with *lathis* and ordinances, but not so the future Indian Government. The coming reforms will have no chance of success if Congress is not brought into the field of co-operation. We wish the liberals and other non-Congress parties realize this fact. They cannot work the new constitution without Congress support. The reforms will be worth nothing if they are ushered in, with the Congress repressed and embittered. A great responsibility, therefore, rests on those who are not of the Congress and who are looking forward to the reforms. Will they come forward and state unequivocally that Indian nationalism as represented through the Congress must be respected and satisfied ?

We earnestly hope that the situation is not yet hopeless. We wish the British Government realizes the unwisdom of its policy, and returns to the path of conciliation. To conciliate the Congress will be in the best spirit of British tradition. We appeal to the non-Congress parties to take a more serious view of the situation. They cannot for ever sit on the fence. May be they were not responsible for the quarrel ; but the country is on fire. And no Indian who wishes well by the country can keep quiet. There is no sacrifice too great to make to bring about peace and settlement of the present quarrels, so that we may secure that atmosphere which is necessary for the fulfilment of our national ambitions.

Economic Nationalism an Evil

Economic nationalism is considered as an evil. The sooner we give it up, the better it is for us, and for the world. Mr. J. R. Cassells reproduces the views of Einstein and H. G. Wells on the subject and suggests a remedy. He says :

What then of the world, which is in the throes of this evil—economic nationalism. Is Geneva, which stand for Internationalism to fail ? It is to be allowed to work only in the abstract, without the active aid and co-operation of the nations that deliberate at its repeated sessions ? The world slump is staring everyone in the face and the remedy is yet to be found. There are many plans in the air to solve it. Of these there are two which deserve attention. One of these is that of Einstein, the great mathematician of Germany. They are briefly set down as follows :

The world depression is not caused by (i) Production exceeding the demand, or (ii) Debtor nations; burdened with reparation payments, dumping exports on creditor nations, or (iii) The loss of the Chinese and Russian markets, but by machinery destined to relieve the world of some of the work necessary for its maintenance. The cure lies in preventing the buying power of the masses sinking below a certain minimum point measured in merchandise value. This can be done by (i) Community control of supply and demand but this must be managed so as to allow the individual freedom for his initiative and avoid rapid change from private to public ownership, since this would be disadvantageous to production. (ii) Shortening the

working week to eliminate unemployment. (iii) Fixing the minimum wage so that the workers buying power will correspond to production. *This will result in striking a balance between production and consumption without too much restriction of individual initiative and eliminating the disproportionate superiority of owners of the means of production over the workers.*

Another theory is that of that far-famed socialist writer, Mr. H. G. Wells. He writes in his new work *Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*: "One dominating influence can be indicated in a sentence: in an industrial world both trade and money seek to be international in their movements, while at the same time we have no international machinery, either physical or mental for dealing with them."

"There is no authority to-day trying to promote world trade, or empowered to enquire whether the maximum quantity of desirable goods is produced and consumed. There are only partial governments trying to secure for their own nationals some opportunity, not of enjoying goods, but of making a profit which might otherwise have fallen to the citizens of a different country, whether or not this adds to, or subtracts from, the volume of their trade as a whole or even contributes to the real comfort and welfare of the nations concerned."

"Economic nationalism, we say, is at the root of this, the greatest slump the world has ever known."

What is the remedy? A broader outlook and a wider control of nations is necessary. Such control is necessary if civilization is to be saved: How is it to be evolved? Is the League of Nations a possible solution? Can it function until trading between nations ceases to be other than dumping? Can the idea of one set of nations governing another set of nations be considered compatible with the civilized nation of equality as between nations? Is the liberation of subject nations from political control—which helps to economic control—to be impeded at a time like this? These are questions that are not touched upon by Mr. Wells but they lie at the surface of this subject. The happiness of mankind lies in the political integrity of nations as such. Recognize equality first in the political field; and then equality in the economic field will follow. The League can then function as a true League and the question of armaments will cease to be the great bogey of the great nations that it is today.

Workmen's Compensation

A new bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act 1923 has been on the legislative anvil for the last few months? *Insurance World* offers the following editorially observations on the proposed bill and its provisions.

The workmen in India are ignorant and uneducated. Consequently, while the chances of accident are very great, they being unaware of the provisions of the law, find it difficult to realize compensation from the employers. Therefore we welcome the measures which imposes statutory obligations on the employers to report all accidents, so that the proper authorities may help the employees in realizing their dues.

It is proposed to make payment of compensation compulsory in all cases of fatal accidents, even if such accidents are due to misconduct of the employees. The Royal Commission suggested these new provisions on the ground that it is extremely difficult in the case

of fatal accidents for dependents to rebut evidence that the accident was caused by the deceased's misconduct. "This is specially true," the Commission reports, "where the employer's defence is that workmen disobeyed a safety rule e. g., a rule against cleaning machinery in motion. Of the exceptions this is the one, most commonly invoked and there is reason to fear that this defence has resulted occasionally in the rejection of equitable claims."

The employers' opposition to those provisions is based on fears for which we find no justification. Adequate steps are not always taken by employers of India for the prevention of accidents. While some employers have tried to educate the workers to regard rules of safety "there are other employers who themselves need education."

There is another important factor to be considered. The industrial centres are often notorious for the consumption of intoxicating liquor. The Dhanbad subdivision, an important colliery centre had in 1928 about 55,000 male persons employed in coal mines. It is estimated that in the same year the total expenditure on drink and drugs was over Rs. 10,00,000.

The influence of these intoxicants naturally increases the chances of accident and so long as this evil allowed to continue it is necessary to have the risks of death of the employees properly covered. In some advanced countries the principle of compulsory insurance of the employees has been recognized from the standpoint also this new provision in the workmen's compensation law deserves support.

The Royal Commission in making their recommendations remarked, "We wish to emphasize the fact that many of our recommendations, while designed to benefit labour should equally benefit employers. In India minerals and especially coal are so disposed that a large output per head should be possible. Such output is not obtained, nor can workers with a low standard of life be expected to produce it. Improvement in the standards and efficiency of the workers will solve many of the difficulties of the mining employer and must be secured by better health, shorter and more regular hour and more mechanical assistance. We are convinced that our proposals and better organization will bring about a substantial improvement in the economic position of all engaged in the industry."

There is no reason to fear that the provisions of the proposed law would throw very heavy financial responsibilities on the shoulders of the industrial concerns in India. The employers may on payment of a very small premium have their liabilities under the law insured. The rate of premium for the existing Act varies from 4 as. p. c., in cotton mills to 60 as. p. c. in certain collieries (Premium is calculated on the salaries of the employees.) If all the provisions of the new bill are passed into law the rates are likely to be enhanced by about 20 to 25 p. c. Even then the employers in most hazardous occupations will be saddled with financial responsibilities not exceeding 5 p. c. on the salaries of their employees. This is a very small cost and considering that the employers in India are not required to make any contribution on account of national health insurance or unemployment insurance, we do not find any reason why they should grudge this small contribution for the benefit of their employees.

Garrison, the Liberator of the Negroes

Prof. R. P. Sabnis gives the story of Garrison, the Liberator of the Negroes, in his "The Depressed Classes: An American Example" in *The Indian Review* :

Garrison (1809-1879) is the highest type of a social reformer. He was conscience incarnate and an embodiment of all the virtues that a reformer must have—perfect purity and disinterestedness, courage that falling heavens could not daunt, an inflexible will, an unalterable devotion to the cause he had once taken up. Garrison gave up the career of a prosperous editor and press-owner which was within his easy reach and made up his mind to wear a crown of thorns and to lead a crusade against slavery—a satanic institution which a so-called freedom-loving nation was sinful enough to maintain. The first number of his weekly paper—the *Liberator*—which was going to advocate immediate and unconditional emancipation of Negro slaves bought and sold like cattle, treated by law, not as human beings but as dead inanimate things—was published on the 1st of January, 1831. It contained that classic declaration which will ring down for all time to come :

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice, I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

It seemed an empty boast for a journal which seemed to have hardly a dozen readers in the whole nation. But he was determined to go on till he had bread and water to live on. For thirty-five years he continued to point it and ceased its publication not until—but at the moment when—slavery was abolished. In 1832, he founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society—to endeavour by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States, to improve the character and condition of free Negroes, and to obtain for them equal civil and political rights. No power on earth could deflect him from the purpose which he had set before himself. He was tarred and feathered, and led through the streets with a rope round his neck, he was persecuted, his press was smashed, he was in imminent danger of losing his life at any moment, his meetings were broken up by ruffians and gentlemen who became ruffians for the moment. Gradually hundreds of Anti-Slavery Societies were spread over the Northern States, and some of the richest and most cultured Americans were won over to the cause. "Do you uphold slavery or do you condemn it?"—was the question he asked of every individual

and every institution. In the first case he would wash his hands clean of that individual and that institution, and in the second case he would at once extend the hand of cordial friendship. He condemned the Bible for sanctioning slavery, he denounced the Church for grovelling before the rich, slave-owners, he burnt the American constitution—which allowed property in slaves—publicly after branding it as a covenant with death and an agreement with hell, he became an uncompromising advocate of woman's rights, because he found women very helpful to him in anti-slavery work. But Garrison was extremely jealous of keeping the movement on a purely moral plane. He stood up against abolitionists organizing themselves into a political party, for he knew that it would bring in its train corruption and selfish hunting after honours and jobs. He was equally stubborn in not allowing his movement to be tainted by violence.

The ceaseless toil of Garrison at last bore fruit. The conscience of the nation was awakened. A powerful political party was formed—pledged, not indeed to the abolition of slavery, but to putting it "where the public mind might rest in confidence that it was in the course of ultimate extinction." Providence intervened when timid politicians were wavering and quaking in their shoes at the threat of secession. Lincoln, the one politician who had unbounded faith that right makes might was elected President, though he was the most obscure among the candidates of his party. The insolent Southerners began a civil war but were beaten into the dust after, as Lincoln said, "all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil was sunk," and "every drop of blood drawn with the lash was paid by another drawn with the sword." An amendment to the Constitution of the United States was carried in 1865 for ever abolishing slavery.

The life-work of Garrison was over. Such was the purity of his aim and character that at the moment the slaves were freed he ceased the publication of his paper and retired from the leadership of the Abolitionist party. In the last but one number of the *Liberator*, he said, his heart being full of joy and gratitude :

"Rejoice and give praise and glory to God, ye who have so long and so untiringly participated in all the trials and vicissitudes of the mighty conflict! Having sown in tears, now reap in joy. Hail, redeemed, regenerated America! Hail ye ransomed millions! No more to be chained, scourged, mutilated, brought and sold in the market, robbed of all rights, hunted as partridges upon the mountains in your flight to obtain deliverance from the house of bondage, branded and scorned as a connecting link between the human race and the brute creation!"





FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Negro Republic

The Republic of Liberia was established about a hundred years ago by freed Negro slaves from the United States. The affairs of this Republic have not been proceeding smoothly of late and has necessitated an international enquiry. *The New Republic* writes :

There can be few unhappier spots on the face of the globe than Liberia, the Negro republic on the west coast of Africa which was first established, a century ago, as a refuge for former slaves from the United States. The Liberian government consists of a little handful of American Negroes, who rule the native population in the back country with the same cruelty and injustice which are practised by the white Europeans in in other parts of Africa. The situation has repeatedly been brought to the attention of the League of Nations, but thus far, no improvement has been made. Now the League has approved a scheme drawn up by the Cecil Committee, looking toward an international conference in the near future. One of the parties at the parties at the conference will be the Firestone rubber interests, which by reason of their concession obtained some years ago, virtually control the Liberian finances. Yellow fever and smallpox are prevalent in Liberia today, and money is badly needed for sanitary measures. Meantime, the Liberian "militia" continue to ravage the countryside, slaughtering the natives wholesale.

Kipling in the Post-War Age

There is a very just review of Kipling in the same paper by Edmund Wilson. Alluding to the opinion generally held that Kipling's powers have declined, Mr. Wilson says he does not agree with this view. The real key to the decline of the popularity of Kipling is to be found in the changed outlook of the present generation. As Mr. Wilson says :

"Tis we, 'tis our estranged faces that miss the many splendored thing." We will not look in Kipling's direction any more. He was as much a part of a definite period that came to an end with the War as Theodore Roosevelt was, and he did not, as did Roosevelt, die appropriately when it was over.

The special interest that Kipling had for people in the eighties and nineties and early nineteen hundreds was due to the fact that he expressed for them the special excitement of that period of imperialist expansion as we knew it in England and America. Kipling conveyed it as nobody else did, and its merits and demerits were his. It was an age of brilliant technical

development and of generally dull intelligence. And Kipling was the new poet of these new mechanical techniques and of the ideals of the people who spread them. Out of their language he made a new style and out of their ingenuity a new form. Kipling is perhaps the one really first-rate glorifier of the machine-age in literature and makes the Futurists and the post-war machine fans look like the spouters of old-fashioned rhetoric that for the most part they are. These latter merely whooped and roared in an essentially romantic fashion over the bigness, the power, the speed, of the machines ; but Kipling had mastered in his own art the mechanical efficiency and discipline. ...

Yet Kipling is serious and thoughtful. He has done his best to supply a moral point of view which would dignify and give meaning to the immense cargo of impressions he has shipped. He tried to establish behind the expansion of British capitalism something analogous to the Law of the Old Testament or to the political morality of Rome. But the nineteenth-century British Empire would not live up to either of these ideals. The Old Testament side of Kipling is surely the most tiresome and the phoniest. And though, as in the remarkable school story "Regulus," the Roman idea serves better, Kipling has never quite been able to fit the cars and the cigars of the modern English into a world of Horace and Virgil and Livy. This is particularly striking in one of the stories in this latest volume, "The Church at Antioch," in which Kipling attempting to recreate the provincial administration of Rome on the model of the British civil service, instead of by implication magnifying the British, merely makes the Romans look bogus. He has himself had his moments of doubt—as when, after the Boer War, he wrote one of his few really fine poems, "Recessional." But his doubts have never shaken his convictions. In this latest book, for example, we still read about an India where Gandhi is unknown and where devoted Indian servants pray touchingly for the recovery of George V. . . .

There is almost nothing left in Rudyard Kipling's world today but practical jokes and neuroses. Both have played their part in his work from a long time back ; but they were part of a larger picture. He used neurotic states of mind at first simply for poetry and pathos as in "They," but through "The House Surgeon" and "In the same Boat" they become increasingly more morbid. The most convincing parts of this last book deal with people on the borderline of madness. No doubt the panic and the despair of the neurotic Kipling were always the obverse side of the arrogance and energy of the imperialist. This too was characteristic of his period : behind the glory of the nineteen hundreds the nerve sanitarium always gaped.

And now that the glory is dimmed and the empire passing what has Kipling left to sustain him ? Hysterical laughter over hoaxes, the memory of the heroisms of the War, a half-religious, half-psychical mysticism. Rather depressingly, he goes in for the

Masons, whose fellowship has its appeal for him ; and out of Christianity, the mysticism of the East, telepathy and cosmic waves, he almost gets a kind of religion.

On Having Sons and Daughters

The propaganda for birth-control, daily growing intenser, has prompted the editor of *The Catholic World* to publish an article on the subject. The writer says :

Surely no sight in the world is more extraordinary than the visible ardour with which certain elderly women, middle-aged women, childless women, unmarried women have set themselves to the task of destroying the American family.

From all over the union, their letters reach me—angry letters, imploring letters, statistical letters, urging me to get into the crusade for birth control. Curiously enough it is rarely that a young mother writes, but many girls too young for marriage are agitated on the subject, and often a wife-to-be appeals to me honestly, perplexedly, for counsel.

Propaganda of an insidious and impressive type has reached all of these ; they are afraid. They want to do what is right, and what makes for virtue and happiness, of course. But...

"I am sixteen," writes one spirited girl from Pennsylvania. "Suppose that I marry at eighteen, and have a baby every fifteen or eighteen months until I am forty-eight. That would be twenty or more children, with my husband perhaps earning \$300 or \$400 a month ! It would be sheer madness, yet what is to prevent it ?"

There are eight pages, finely written, of this sort of thing, but the sample will suffice. It would merit no answer at all if it were not typical of the vague, ignorant, misinformed alarm that certain types of propaganda, and certain tables of statistics arouse. This particular girl, who might well show her mother her letters, for a few years, before she mails them, winds up in a burst of reproach.

"Of course you will write me what your religion says about all this," she sputters. "I suppose you are afraid to say what you yourself really think—what you *must* think. How can it be right to bring babies into crowded tenement homes, and slums, and poverty and suffering, when their parents neither want them nor have enough for them ? It is not a question of religion at all, or it ought not to be, but a question of common sense !"

By all means, then, let us leave theology out of it for the moment, and glance at this very important matter simply from the viewpoint of common sense. My own position has never been taken on any other ground ; it is not for me to define the tenets of the Church. From an enormous mail, from a lifetime of studying and sharing the problems, the joys and sorrows of women, I have come to think one way. To me divorce, companionate marriage, re-marriage, contraception all seem to be almost unmitigated evils.

"Almost," note. From a purely spiritual and moral standpoint they are wholly evil. But from a human attitude there are exceptional occasions, there are particular cases. Some separations seem to lead to happiness. Many marriages might be more companionate (in a good sense) and less sexual. Some babies really are superfluous and unwelcome, and come to crowded, dark, uncomfortable homes. Granted :

But even in human and social affairs we cannot weaken the law just because there are times when it demands a certain amount of sacrifice and causes a certain amount of trouble. To remit murder laws because certain folk would be much better out of the way would shake the foundations of society. To sanction theft from persons who have more than they need might really work a benefit, sometimes, but it is never countenanced, even by the crudest civilizations.

My simple contention in this much debated question is merely that, judging from my own observation and experience, for every home to which children come with disheartening quickness, there are two much sadder homes, dark and quiet and sterile, without children at all.

For every desperate mother in her twenties, frantic with the care of a nursery, burdened with house-hold duties, physical fatigue, money anxiety, I know two women who are idle, superfluous, unloved, unnecessary, in their thirties, their forties, their fifties, who have of their own choice refused the glory and beauty of motherhood.

English Rural Life

In view of the decline of village life in India it may not be uninteresting to know what rural conditions are like in England. Mr. J.R.I. Brooke, Director of Rural Industries Bureau, writes in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

Now the village is to some extent a dormitory ; a large part of its population no longer works within the boundaries of the parish ; squire and even parson are not always resident, and the shadow of their greatness no longer looms everywhere. The farmers have been through one of the worst periods that English farming has ever known. Labourers, guaranteed the highest wage that farming can pay, find their children turned off the farms before they have properly learnt their jobs because most of them are not worth the same wages that their fathers got when at 21 years old they begin to earn a "man's money." Some day the scale may be higher, but then the period of apprenticeship will be longer, and agriculture will cease to be the blind-alley occupation which for many boys it has become.

Smith, wheelwright, carpenter and saddler are the only craftsmen left in most of our villages. The object of the village is no longer to supply itself. Smiths still have the shoeing to do, but less of it, not on account of the introduction of tractors, but because less plough land need fewer teams to plough it. The old saying that "the only money a farmer makes is the money he saves" is still an article of faith with many farmers ; thus his horses are shod in front or not at all, and his drags and harrows have blunter tines, for he sends them to the forge to be repaired only when their tines are so blunt that the carter grouses that he can't do his job. Wheelwrights might have lived on repairs if carts and wagons had been sent for repair when they needed it. The oak, ash and elm which the wheelwrights got from the squire, and paid for by work in their trade on the estate, they get no longer, for there is little estate work done. Saddlers hope that every year will make them busier, but enough work does not come. Men are penalized now for their good work in the past, if their workmanship and materials had been less good they would

now have more repairs to do ; but the best of them are still proud of the good work they did, and still put their best into any work that comes to them.

At the same time farmers' bills are not paid, but craftsmen do not like to press for payment. So much money is owed by farmers to craftsmen that they live in perpetual fear of bankruptcies, and are even gravely suspicious of good customers with well-stocked farms. Not long ago a farmer who owned a well-stocked farm of 1,300 acres was sold up, poor devil, and after the sale his craftsmen creditors discovered that out of 1,300 acres and all its stock the only possessions that man had were 20 cull ewes, for bank and the dealers owned the rest. On the other hand one craftsman we know, prevented from working by an accident, was able to keep himself and his family for nearly two years by collecting the money owed to him by farmers. These expensive lessons have induced some craftsmen to let us teach them not only how to keep accounts, but to send in their bills promptly instead of letting these accumulate into sums which the farmer finds it impossible to pay.

The Peasant Problem in the Orient

Dr. Hans Kohn writes in *World Unity* on the peasant problem in the Orient :

The great social struggles which the Orient is confronting are not struggles of the working class industry, but the movement for emancipation of the peasant class. Bolshevik propagandists in China have already perceived that a social revolution in the East must be, to a still greater extent than in Russia itself, a joint movement of the peasant and the working classes. Because of the constantly increasing population in the last decade and the demand for land which this has occasioned, the situation of the peasantry in the East is becoming worse. The burden of taxation in the Orient falls on the poorer classes, and particularly upon the tillers of the soil, since in all oriental countries, with very few exceptions, indirect taxation and land taxes go to make up the lion's share of public revenues. One of the greatest obstacles in the way of agricultural development is the excessive indebtedness of the small farmer. The means for improvement are to be found not so much in the technical perfecting of agricultural methods as in the awakening of initiative in the masses, sunk in lethargy by inveterate traditionalism and centuries of privation. The co-operative movement which has made advances in India and Egypt of late years offers a partial aid in this direction. But this movement, too, can attain its goal only if the peasantry is trained to a more intelligent and more active participation in economic life. The more progressive elements among national movements in the Orient are making this goal their objective. It is a part of that effort towards the elevation of the people as a whole, which every incipient nationalism preaches. Another phase of this effort is the struggle to raise the status of woman and make possible her participation in public affairs.

News in Modern Journalism

Distortion of Indian news by British newspapers is a well-known phenomenon. But it is not generally realized that such distortions are

common in the case of other countries. Distortion of news in the interests of the "policy" of the newspaper-owner has become a familiar feature of present-day journalism. Mr. C. F. Melville writes in *G. K.'s Weekly* on this subject and gives some concrete instances:

The spreading of false information by certain London newspapers regarding the affairs of various foreign countries has recently assumed such proportions that it is no longer possible to pass it by in a contemptuous silence. The effect of this false news upon the newspaper readers themselves (who know little and care less about international affairs) is probably not very grave; but unfortunately there are international repercussions, as the indiscriminating public opinion on the Continent assumes (we are really undeserving of the compliment) that our big daily sheets are powerful organs of opinion, wielding as considerable influence upon policy and public affairs.

Thus it happens that worthy citizens in Central and Eastern European capitals, reading quotations from certain British newspapers about the affairs of their own countries, obtain the entirely false impression that Britain is their enemy. They are not to know that Downing Street is not accurately reflected by Fleet Street. Hence much harm is done, not only to the countries in question, but to the reputation of Britain in those countries.

Two very flagrant examples of the spreading of false information have occurred within the last month. The two countries concerned were Poland and Jugoslavia (the favourite butts of our gutter press). The newspapers concerned were mainly two London dailies, one associated with saving the Empire every week-end, the other with making the country safe for socialism. The technical methods of both are much the same, and both are read by the less intelligent elements of the London *petit bourgeoisie*. In both cases their actual influence at home is disproportionately small compared with the influence attributed to them by foreign public opinion.

Let us take the case of Poland first. This took the form of stories by "Our Special Correspondent" at Danzig to the effect that Poland was contemplating a military *coup* for the seizure of Danzig, and had only been restrained at the eleventh hour by her French ally who had warned her that the time was not yet ripe.

This story was duly denied by the Polish Government, the League of Nations and the German Government. The newspapers in question, however, did not publish the denials, but stood their ground (a fine example, this, of British "fair play")

This story, in both cases, had been fabricated in the first place by the local Nazis elements in Danzig, with a view not only to embarrassing the Polish Government, but also with a view to forwarding the internal Nazis cause in Germany at the expense of the British government. The special correspondents of the two papers in question handled the affairs, journalistically, at Geneva. One of them dashed up to Danzig in time to put a local "date line" on the story. The other did not even bother to do that. But in both instances the stories appeared as by special correspondents at Danzig.

To complete the chain of proof that the stories in question were nothing more than fabrication, it is only necessary to add the following:—

On the morning these reports appeared in the two London papers in question, the German correspondents in London did not wire any reference to these stories to their head offices in Germany, presuming of course, that their editors had already received the news direct from their own correspondents in Danzig. When, later in the day, they received telephone calls from Berlin asking why they had not sent the story they replied that presumably Berlin had got it direct from Danzig. But their editors replied that this was not the case, as nothing was known in Danzig of any impending Polish attack!

The Peace Army

A proposal has been put forward of late that pacifists should form themselves into bands which should be ready to stand between the forces of two belligerents and thus prevent bloodshed or sacrifice themselves. These proposals have been elaborated in a book by Henry Brinton. Reviewing the book, *The Inquirer* writes:

Few people can understand the feelings of the man who thinks it his duty to refuse military service because in his judgment it is incompatible with his religious faith and moral ideals. Statesmen for whom he has a profound respect say that war is necessary; Ministers of religion declare it to be a sacred mission; young men respond to the call and give up their lives with enthusiasm; the whole nation seems united in one great self-denying act of devotion; and he must stand aside. To his neighbours he appears guilty of egotism, spiritual pride and cowardice. Nothing but a firm conviction that he is right can save him from despising himself. To such a man the proposal to form a company of men and women who shall march unarmed into the battlefield, and be shot down in the attempt to reconcile the opposing forces, make a strong appeal.

In this book there is nothing sensational or extravagant. The author gives a clear and logical account of the causes which have produced our present condition, and the dangers which threaten the world today. He speaks with admiration of the heroic and disinterested conduct of the soldiers. He opposes war not on account of the suffering we endure but the suffering we inflict, "No suffering is too terrible if the action itself is right, and the suffering is borne, not inflicted." He gives support to the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conference, and all other movements to prevent war, but he thinks them insufficient: whilst the policy of mere non-resistance is too negative to excite enthusiasm.

The difficulty of this enterprise is not in getting recruits for the Peace army, but to gain permission to put the plan in operation. It may be noted that although the suggestion came from ministers of

religion, the Commander-in-Chief is a Brig.-General, who himself considers the scheme quite practical.

The Drink Evil in India

Mr. Frederick Grubb writes on the drink traffic in India and the Government's relations with it in *The India Review*:

As the liquor traffic figures prominently in Gandhi's campaign against the present methods of government in India, it will be of interest to note a few facts in regard to that question. It would be an exaggeration to say that the people of India acquired the vice of drunkenness from Europeans. Many authorities could be quoted to show that there was some indulgence in alcohol from the earliest times, notwithstanding the pronouncements against drinking found in the Hindu scriptures.

Three facts may, however, be stated:

- (1) That in pre-British days, the habit was confined to small sections of the population.
- (2) That intemperance is a vice of modern growth, which during the last sixty years has infected an increasing number of the inhabitants, and
- (3) That whereas under the old regime the sale of drink was irregular and unrecognized, it has now become one of the most lucrative revenue-collecting agencies of the Government.

Half a century ago the total excise revenue of British India was less than £2,000,000. Today it is £15,000,000 per annum, and the consumption of country spirits alone amounts in the nine major provinces to 6,200,000 gallons. Roughly one quarter of the total provincial revenues is now derived from this source, the proportion rising to 32 per cent in Bihar and Orissa and 33.3 per cent in Madras. This has rendered it all the more difficult for the Provincial Governments, with whom the responsibility for dealing with this problem lies, to give effect to the policy of Prohibition, which is what the Nationalists of India demand, and to which most of the local Governments are also pledged.

These Governments are now reaping what was sown by their predecessors in the old days. The aim of the authorities then was to discover or devise the most perfect system of producing and distributing liquor primarily for revenue purposes. It was maintained that under official control the worst evils of intemperance could be avoided. The drink traffic in India is, substantially, a Government monopoly. The complicity of the State in such a business is regarded with repugnance by every conscientious Hindu and Moslem.

Indian temperance reformers have never abated their demand for ultimate nation-wide Prohibition, although they would be willing to accept local option (over wide areas) or any other instalments of reform which would bring the final goal nearer. Public opinion in India on this subject is much more advanced than it is in England.



NOTES

Agakhanites Want Baksheesh

Some "All-India" Muslim Conference "leaders" sent a letter to the Aga Khan for publication in the British Press. Before publishing it, His Racing Highness made some immaterial change in the attack on the Hindu community which the letter contained. The difference between the original and the amended attack is as great as that between tweedledum and tweedledee.

The letter is in effect a plea, addressed to the British Government and people, in support of the communalist Muslims' claims, which, if conceded, would result in grave injustice to all non-Muslim natives of India and would be the negation of democratic self-government. It tells the British government and people in effect :

"The only friends you have in India are ourselves, who have been consistently and continually loyal to your rule. The Hindus, on the contrary, have been consistently and persistently disloyal and seditious. The perpetrators of all the political murders in India have been Hindus. Non-co-operation, with civil disobedience as the principal item in its programme, and the earlier 'constitutional' variety of political agitation have both been the work mainly of Hindus. For these reasons in the constitution about to be granted to India, you should give us all that we want, ignoring Hindu claims."

From the very tone and drift of this production it could be inferred that it was not the handiwork of nationalist Muslims. But the latter have not left the public in any doubt. The Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League has passed the following resolution :

That the Council of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League expresses its strong disapproval of the misleading and mischievous anonymous manifesto issued in London by some Indian Mussalmans and regrets the mendicant attitude taken up therein for "stronger position than the community is entitled to by political logic," such an attitude being against the dignity and self-respect of the Mussalmans and a source of weakness to the community. The Council further regrets that Muslim claims should be based on "Indian Muslims having fought against co-religionists" of Islamic countries "who are their kith and kin." The Council affirms its firm faith in self-reliance and unity with sister communities and believes in working out the common destiny of the motherland.

Many other Muslims, like Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Mr. Barkat Ali and others have, individually or jointly, condemned the manifesto. From its anonymous character also it may not be unfair to presume that even among communalist Muslims its signatories do not occupy any leading and influential position.

The signatories, whoever they may be, do not appear to possess a logical mind. They say that they have been loyal throughout to the British Government and prefer it to what they apprehend may be the future Government of India, in which, according to them, Hindus would be supreme ; and they also say that they have never had anything to do with terrorist crime, nor have they taken part in non-violent political agitation. But this proves that they have not done anything to show that any change is required in the Government of the country. Therefore, what they ought logically to have demanded in their letter is that British rule should be perpetuated in India in an unchanged form and that self-rule, either with Hindu supremacy or with Muslim predominance or with democratic co-partnership of all the religious communities in India, is not wanted. But what

they seem to say in effect is : "As British rule has been so good as to secure our continuous loyalty and friendliness and to produce contentment among us, therefore the British rulers of India should clear out of the country and leave us masters of the situation !" These communalists could certainly ask for jobs, jaghirs, titles and money as baksheesh for their loyalty. But it is rather queer to tell the British people, "Your rule has been very good, and so we have been loyal ; and hence do please extinguish yourself in India so that we may rule the roast !"

The political movement in India for winning self-rule and freedom has been a creditable chapter in the modern history of India. Musalmans, along with the followers of other religions, have taken part in it. The communalist Agakhanites have, for selfish reasons, disclaimed any such part and thereby sought to deprive the Muslim community of their share of the credit due to them. The disclaimer is true so far as the Agakhanites are concerned. But it is not true to say or suggest that all other Musalmans have been equally servile and ignoble in their conduct.

The Agakhanites have sought to make political capital out of terrorist crimes, which, they point out, have all been committed by Hindus. But the Hindu community as a whole is not responsible for these crimes. Nor is it true to say, as the manifesto does, that "the Hindu Congress Press for several months indulged in systematic glorification of every such criminal when he met his deserts."

Owing to the Muslim and non-Muslim criticism and condemnation to which the manifesto has been subjected, the signatories have been obliged to say that the passage relating to the terrorists being all Hindus and so forth "was never intended to be interpreted as fastening responsibility for these dastardly actions on the Hindu community as such." If that was the case, why was there any reference at all made to terrorist crimes ? And why, especially, was it pointed out that all the criminals guilty of them were Hindus, not a single one being a Musalman ? And why again was it stated that "the Hindu Congress Press" glorified the criminals ? The signatories also assert :

"All that we meant was that the new consti-

tution cannot work, and would most certainly break down, unless we are determined on cultivating a habit of law and order, developing an instinctive aversion to terrorism in all its forms and organizing ourselves against the insidious attack of men with celluloid souls whose one aim in life is the destruction of social order."

Let us take the signatories at their word.

We do not intend to say anything in defence of the Hindu community. The question is not whether the Hindus are all law-abiding and all gentle as doves, but whether they have been guilty of *criminal* law-breaking (as distinguished from *civil* disobedience) to a greater extent than the other religious communities in India. Nor is it our intention to say that all Musalmans are to blame for whatever their fanatical or communalist or gullible co-religionists may do.

It is not necessary to hark back to the days of the Sepoy Mutiny, in which many Muslim and Hindu soldiers and civilians took part. Nor is it necessary to remind the Agakhanites of the Wahabi trials, in which all the accused were Muslims, and of the murder of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman by two of their co-religionists. More recent history will suffice to show that some Musalmans have not been less turbulent than some Hindus. The indefensible Frontier Regulation according to which Habib Nur was arrested, tried and executed in the course of 24 hours for attempt at murder, was not the result of Hindu fanaticism and turbulence. An Anglo-Indian paper has referred to the Cawnpur and Calcutta riots, evidently to prove that the Hindus are particularly turbulent. While it is a fact that in both these places there were members of both the communities among the killed and wounded, the report of no impartial and independent inquiry has been published to show that the Hindus were solely or mostly to blame. So, leaving aside these two cases, the Agakhanites must show that in the Mopla rebellion and in Peshawar, Kohat, Multan, Dacca, Chittagong, Kishorganj, Kashmir, etc., etc., etc., the Hindus showed greater hostility to law and order and more proneness to plunder, arson and bloodshed than fanatical and gullible Muhammadan communalists.

The signatories speak of "developing an instinctive aversion to terrorism in all its forms." As they refer to all forms

of terrorism, they may ask themselves whether in their opinion the murder of Pandit Lekhram, Mahashe Rajpal, Swami Shraddhananda and of the bookseller Mr. Bholanath Sen and his two assistants, was not one form of terrorism. And they may also ask themselves what they have done to develop a reasoned, if not an instinctive, aversion to this form of terrorism.

The manifesto contains the following passage on a cognate matter :

"We believe that if the alternative to British rule were the ubiquitous supremacy of Hindu rule, the mass of our Muslim brethren would prefer the former, not only because of the safe-guard offered by its impartiality, but also because under the alternative system there would be hideous strife between the virile and martial Muslim races and those many Hindus in whom the Congress's left wing has sown the seed of insidious conspiracy and rebellion, blood-lust and lawlessness."

Indian nationalists, belonging to the Hindu, Muslim and other communities have been trying to secure democratic self-rule for India. Such self-rule implies that there would be government by *political* parties, not by religious communities. If during any period the majority of the members of the governing party be Hindus or Musalmans or followers of any other creed in the central government or in any provincial government, they will not be members of the majority party because of their religious creeds but because of their political principles. Hence, it would be incorrect to speak of Hindu supremacy or Muslim supremacy, etc. It would be proper to speak of the predominance of this political party or that during particular periods. In Britain the majority of the predominant party in Parliament always consists of Christians of the Protestant sect. Yet the parties in power in Britain have been known as Tory, Whig, Radical, Liberal, Conservative, and Labour. The Jews and the Roman Catholics there never speak of Christian supremacy or Protestant supremacy, though in that country the Jews and Roman Catholics have been subjected to greater disabilities than either Muslims or Hindus in India under Hindu or Muslim rule, and though there religious bigotry and persecution have been known to assume ghastly forms and proportions unknown in Indian history.

Though the signatories inveigh against

Hindu supremacy, they want supremacy for themselves in those provinces where they are in the majority ! The Hindus would not object to Muslim majorities in legislatures, if the majority of seats therein be sometimes secured by Musalman candidates elected for their ability and public spirit by a joint electorate of all religious communities.

It is unnecessary to examine the certificate of impartiality given by the Agakhanites to British rule ; for they must flatter in order to get some baksheesh. This flattery ought, however, to have been consistent, but has not been so. This very letter of the Muslim communalists contains a complaint that, though they have not joined the Congress and have even been "hostile to the seditionists," they have gained nothing. Is it a proof of the impartiality of a Government from which its loyal supporters and the enemies of "seditionists" do not gain any recognition ? We need not enquire whether there are good grounds for the complaint—it would be easy to prove its baselessness—but here it is :

In the present Congress campaign, the Muslims have been openly hostile to the seditionists on more than one occasion, and fewer Muslims than ever before have been overtly sympathetic with their activities. To claim for special consideration on this ground alone might seem to be priggish ; but for our own part we assert that the Muslims' abstinence from Congress politics has been inspired not by hopes of gain therefrom—for *bitter experience gives us a contrary lesson*—but chiefly because they have equally nothing to gain from the substitution of a Hindu Congress despotism for the present regime, and they recognize that Congress politics only spell the economic ruin of India, Hindu and Muslim alike. (Italics ours. Ed., *M. R.*)

It may be observed in passing that all Muslims have not abstained from Congress politics.

It has been shown above that what Indian nationalists want and hope to secure is not the rule of any particular religious community, but democratic self-government. But let it be assumed, as the signatories profess to fear, that British rule is going to be replaced by Hindu rule and that there is going to be Hindu supremacy. They say, under such rule "there would be hideous strife between the virile and martial Muslim races and those many Hindus in whom the Congress's left wing has sown the seed of insidious conspiracy and rebellion, blood-lust

and lawlessness." This characterization of the left wing of the Congress is not true. But it is not necessary to stress the point. Let us consider only the astounding logic of the Agakhanites. In all climes and ages, it is not the ruling majority who rebel—for being in power they have nobody to rebel against, it is the ruled who do so. But it seems that under Hindu rule, the Hindus who are supreme will conspire and rebel against themselves or the Muslims and become lawless and blood-thirsty !!! It would, of course, be possible for "the virile and martial Muslim races," meaning thereby the Agakhanites, to fight the ruling party of Hindus. In that case, the Hindus—the majority party enjoying supremacy—must, according to Agakhanite logic, be considered rebellious, lawless and blood-thirsty conspirators !

Of the three grounds on which the Agakhanites must get baksheesh, two, namely, their aloofness from the Congress campaigns and their non-participation in political terrorism, have been commented on. The third consists in Muslim army services. But, as shown in four articles in *The Modern Review* for July and September, 1930, January and February, 1931 the excessive recruitment of soldiers from a particular community is due to British policy, not to the lack of men in other communities able and willing to serve in the army. It is a well-known fact that the Sepoys with whose help Clive won his victories were drawn from the Madras and Bengal Presidencies, and that afterwards soldiers used to be obtained from the Bombay Presidency and other parts of the country also. Oudh and Bihar were at one time excellent and predominant recruiting areas. That they and many other parts of the country ceased to be recruiting grounds was due, not to their inhabitants losing martial qualities, but to British policy.

Agakhanite British Empire History

The reading of the history of the British Empire which, by implication, underlies the Agakhanite manifesto, is that Canada, South Africa and Ireland have obtained their all but independent political status as alms or baksheesh from their generous British masters, because the only political endeavour

which these these countries ever engaged in was profuse protestation of loyalty to their rulers, combined with vehement condemnation of the critics of British rule.

"Hindu Position on Communal Issues"

In the course of a letter published in the *Calcutta Statesman* Professor Radha Kumud Mookerji corrects "a widespread but completely unjustifiable statement appearing in some recent letters" of its correspondents and its Occasional Notes "to the effect that the Hindu Sabha is as communal on the constitutional issues as other communal organizations." This is quite contrary to the fact, as we have pointed out and shown quite convincingly more than once in this *Review*. Professor Mookerji writes :

The Hindu Sabha in repeated resolutions and manifestoes issued from different centres has consistently stood for the position (1) that the solution of Indian Minority Problems should follow the international solution embodied in the Minorities Guarantee Treaties to which both India and England are themselves parties in applying them to Turkey and about twenty other sovereign States of Europe ; (2) that the Hindus, even where they are Minorities, as in Bengal and the Panjab, disclaim their legitimate rights to Protection in a manner that is destructive of the democracy which India is out to achieve and England pledged to grant ; which means disclaiming protection by such discredited devices as the communal electorate and all its brood, such as separate, reserved, guaranteed or weighted representation in Legislature and Administration ; (3) that even as Minorities they are prepared to work the coming Constitution in a genuine spirit of democracy with their Moslem brethren in the majority on the basis of Joint Electorate without any reservation of seats or any other protective privileges for themselves as the Minority Community ; (4) that they consider any question of the protection of a majority by statute as entirely out of court ; and (5) that the agreed safe-guards for Minorities in the coming Constitution cannot be allowed to subvert the Constitution itself by their scope and character, which should be strictly consistent and compatible with the character of the promised Indian Constitution as a democracy, Responsible Government or Dominion Constitution. They are also fortified in this position by the Prime Minister's own declaration against Communal Electorates and its destructive effects on the growth of Democracy in India for which England stands by her tradition, history, and official declarations. I may add that this is also the position of the Sikhs in the Panjab, who, though a Minority of 13 per cent, disclaim any reservations and stand only for Democracy, pure, simple, and undefined. I invite a challenge to my statements.

Assassinations in Japan

In recent months there have been several assassinations of very prominent persons in

Japan, notably that of Premier Inukai. There have been bomb outrages also in that country. The Japanese Government is undoubtedly busy devising effective ways of eradicating this murderous tendency. But so far there has not been any wholesale repression, any promulgation of ordinances to deprive the people of freedom of speech, publication and association and to immure men and women for indefinite periods without charge or trial.

On the assassination of Premier Inukai *The Japan Magazine* writes :

The assassination of Premier Inukai is one of the cruelest tragedies in Japanese history. That a party of young officers could attack and shoot to death an old man of nearly eighty years is one of the most dishonourable and humiliating incidents in all our long record. The old man most bravely faced his doom, inviting his assailants to sit down and talk over with him whatever they had against him. The late Premier was one of the most distinguished statesmen of the last half century, and rendered conspicuous services to the nation.

In this *Review* we have dwelt on the kinship of war mentality and terroristic mentality. The following observations of the editor of *The Japan Magazine* show that the same idea has occurred to him :

The assassination of the President of France, and of certain leading statesmen and financiers in Japan, to say nothing of the outrage on the lives of the Japanese leaders in Shanghai, emphasizes a great truth that nations and their governments are only too slow to recognize, much less to act upon, namely, that *war is war ; and war means that the individual no less than the nation will be determined to kill the alleged enemy. It is obvious that the tendency is increasing to see no difference between individual war and international war ; and consequently murder and assassination are on the increase everywhere.* The root of this evil lies in a wrong system of education. Any system of education that does not make true moral and spiritual principles fundamental to human character will lead ultimately to bolshevism and anarchy. If the rising generation is brought up without any belief in a fundamental basis of righteousness, each individual will be a law unto himself, and will do what he likes rather than what he ought. War is the logical method of such mentality. Every man should kill his enemy. In the old days governments silenced their enemies by chopping off their heads. With the extension of Christian principles in civilization, justice began to prevail over brute force and people began to believe in the sacredness of human life. All men are children of God ; and with a common Divine Father, all men are brothers. This faith in the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man has done most to promote a human and peaceful civilization. If national schools fail to teach this faith we cannot wonder if some individuals revert to the old savagery of tooth and claw. The ignorance of true religion, therefore, is the cause

of all the world's troubles. It was this that caused the war in Europe whence the impoverishment of the world has come. The fact that nations neither believe, nor even see, this truth is enough to account for the increasing hopelessness of civilization. The blind are leading the blind ; and both fall into the ditch.

A Non-Bengali on Terrorism in Bengal :

Mr. Mohd. Azhar Ali, M. L. A., of Lucknow presided over the recent session of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union in Calcutta. His connection with politics has ranged over a quarter of a century. He was a close friend of the late Raja of Mahmudabad. He was long intimately connected with the Moslem League. From 1909 to 1919 he was either joint secretary or general secretary of the League. He concluded his presidential address with the following observations on terrorism and its cure, incidentally paying Bengalis a compliment, for which they are grateful, though they are not so wanting in common sense as to take it too literally :

Before I conclude I must ask you to congratulate me on my bravery in coming to the capital city of the land of the terrorists. I am, however, so sorry that the fair name of Bengal should be tarnished by the mad freaks of the terrorists. Terrorism cannot solve any problem, it only excites feelings of horror and abhorrence in all right-thinking men. But at the same time it is the part of statesmanship to find out what is behind the spirit of terrorism. So far as I can judge, it is the sense of deep wrong, rankling sense of bitter injustice which impells morbid and hysterical youths to deeds of violence and to regard murder (however mistakenly) as a means of serving their country, regardless of all consequences to themselves. Therefore, deeds of terrorism are only symptomatic of a deep-seated malady which cannot be cured so far as the fanatical terrorists are concerned unless the root cause is removed.

I must not omit to say that, whatever progress India has made towards freedom within the last 50 years or so is due solely and chiefly to the splendid example set by the Bengalis. The Bengalis are the crown and glory of India, as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan once declared. If India ever wins freedom, the chief credit will go to the Bengalis. Long live the Bengali race !

Who Aided Miss Katherine Mayo

It has been often asserted by Miss Katherine Mayo and her supporters that she acted quite independently, that she did not receive any help from any British officials or non-officials, that if members of the British Parliament got free copies of her "Mother India"—

some getting more than one each, they were the gifts of her disinterested and philanthropic publishers or of herself, and so on and so forth. But it can be proved that British officials in high position did help her to see

things in India. Here is the photographic facsimile of a letter written from Government House, Calcutta, when Lord Lytton was Governor of Bengal. We have omitted the name of the addressee.

20-441



Immediate.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

CALCUTTA

24th February, 1925.

Dear * *

His Excellency has two American ladies staying at Government House who are anxious to study conditions in India and he would like them to see some of the work which is being done in the villages by your organisation. The only time they have got is tomorrow, Thursday, afternoon. Could you kindly let me know by the bearer of this whether you would be able to show them any of the village work being done by one of your societies? If so, where should they go and at what time tomorrow? I should be glad if you could suggest the route by which they should go to the place that you select. If, however, it is inconvenient for you to arrange at such short notice, please let me know and I shall fix up something else.

Yours sincerely,

H. R. Wilkinson.

The day after this letter was written Miss Mayo referred to therein and made the following remarks in its visitors' book :

I see with great interest and sympathy this illustration of the true answer to all Indian questions & a proof positive of patriotism.
Katherine Mayo

Postal and R. M. S. Union

In the course of his able presidential address at the recent session of the All-India Postal and R. M. S. Union in Calcutta Mr. Azhar Ali made the following observations on retrenchment in the Department :

It seems to me that the aim of the Government should be to make the Posts and Telegraphs Department self-supporting; being a public utility department it is not essential that it should always return a profit. Therefore it should not be treated as a purely commercial department of the Government of India. In this view of the matter, retrenchments carried beyond a certain limit—denying a living wage to the hard-worked employees of the Department—are apt to dishearten them, to cause discontent and thus affect their efficiency. However, I understand that your Union is definitely of opinion that if further economies are absolutely imperative in view of the prevailing economic depression, retrenchment should be made in the superior staff, which is still top-heavy and not in the subordinate staff and among the rank and file.

He declared himself quite opposed to communal unions.

Referring to the formation of a separate Union called the "All-India Muslim Postal and R.M.S. Union" he observed that it would be of no good and that all its labours would be stricken with sterility.

It should be borne in mind that the All-India-Burma Postal Union advocates the cause of the entire body of Indian postal employees without distinction of race, caste or creed, and to stigmatize it as a communal or Hindu Association (simply because the Hindus happen to be in a majority) is grossly unfair. It cannot plead the cause of any particular community in regard to "pay, conditions of service, or stoppage of abuses" or take up any other matter concerning

the said community, nor can it deal with the question of retrenchment because in that case it would be trenching upon the domain of politics which is forbidden ground to a Service Association.

He deplored the insufficiency of public spirit among his co-religionists.

I venture to think that, unfortunately, my co-religionists are not so self-sacrificing, so assiduous and persevering, so painstaking, so ardent in their enthusiasms, or so loyal to their allegiance as our Hindu brethren, I am afraid that large masses of my Muslim compatriots are perpetually dwelling in imagination on the vanished glories of the Mogul Empire—instead of opening their eyes to the stern realities of the present-day political situation. They can hardly realize that the times have completely changed, that in the present day the world is ruled by democracies, which means that every question—social, political, economic or fiscal—is decided by a counting of heads.

It is no good therefore licking the dry bones of an extinct sovereignty. It should not be forgotten that the magnificent fabric of the Mogul Empire went to pieces in the space of 7 years after the death of Aurangzeb; nor should it be forgotten that the Mahomedan power had been broken before the British appeared on the scene; and displaced over nearly the whole sub-continent by a revival of Hindu resurgence. These are indisputable historical facts.

What charm, what magic can extricate my co-religionists from the valley of Dry Bones into which they have fallen? Imagination reels before the conception of the magnitude and complexity of the problem. However, before any progress can be made, it seems to me that hard work and hard, hard, hard thinking with cool brain are most essential to come down to the earth from the clouds.

With reference to the unholy alliance between the European Association's R. T. C. delegates and the Muslim R. T. C. delegates, Mr. Azhar Ali said :

Referring to the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference Mr. Benthall in paragraph 8 of his report observes :

"They promised us support and they gave it in full measure. 'In return' they asked us that we should not forget their economic plight in Bengal and that we should 'without pampering them,' do what we can to find places for them in European firms, so that, they may have a chance to improve their material position and the general standing of their community."

Now it comes to this : that our Muslim delegates entered into an unholy alliance with the Britishers (who have made a temporary home in India and after making money will migrate, like birds of passage, to their own native land) and bartered away the "freedom" of their country for a mess of pottage—for a few crumbs of bread from the tables of the European merchants of Calcutta (most of whom, I believe, are Scotch).

Supposing there are 20,000 non-Muslim clerks employed in all the European mercantile firms of Calcutta and they are all dismissed in a body and replaced by Muslim clerks ; what appreciable effect can it have on the material welfare of the 28 million Muslims in Bengal ? And how will the "general standing" of the entire community be improved ? Alas, that a race of conquerors with glorious traditions should be thus disgraced and humiliated and betrayed—and for what ?—for a few bones from the table of the foreigner.

In the Agakhanites' manifesto the signatories have complained that their political passivity has not been duly appreciated by the British people. Mr. Azhar Ali holds a different opinion. Said he :

There can be little doubt that the conduct of my Muslim brothers in Indian Politics in recent years is deeply appreciated by the Britishers, by the Government of India, by the Tories, and by the English diehards. But if my brothers think that their conduct is admired by the Englishmen resident in India—officials and non-officials—they are greatly mistaken. An Englishman (a former resident in India) conversant with the opinions of Englishmen in India, officials and non-officials, has recently contributed an article to the *Manchester Guardian* (vide weekly issue dated 20th May) on the Hindu-Moslem question, in which he makes the following illuminating observations :

"...It is certainly true that most Englishmen in India like Moslems better than Hindus. He (i. e. the Englishman) finds their simple, robust stupidity more congenial than the subtle complexity of the Hindu ; he understands them better."

I do not wish to make any comment ; but I hope the proper conclusions will be drawn by my countrymen.

Hoare-Willington Announcement

The simultaneous announcement made on the 27th June last in London and Simla relating to the procedure to be adopted to bring about constitutional reforms in India, makes it plain that the Round Table

Conference method has been abandoned. This should not ruffle any Indian's temper. The R. T. C. method has brought us precious little good and its discontinuance will not bring us less. We have shown repeatedly that the so-called R. T. C. was not a real R. T. C. and hence it has failed.

It has been definitely decided to introduce a single Bill in Parliament and the Bill will provide alike for autonomous constitutions of the Provinces and for Federation of the Provinces and States.

The Government will first try to solve the communal problem and announce the results this summer. Then they will try to remove the difficulties which confront them in connection with matters affecting the States. Next the Consultative Committee may consult a few individuals in London regarding financial safe-guards. Then the Government will set a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to discuss with Indians definite proposals before they are introduced in a single Bill in Parliament.

The fact is, whether the Conference method be followed or given up, no constitution can work smoothly without the Congress being a consenting party. But the Secretary of State is determined to crush the Congress. He forgets that the Congress spirit cannot be crushed.

No body of "representative" Indians or of "select advisers" chosen from among Indians by the Government, can be properly representative of India unless the major portion of them be accredited leaders of the Congress.

What is An Emergency ?

London, June 27.

During the debate on India Vote in the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare said :

"We have come to the conclusion that there will be on 3rd July an emergency sufficiently grave to necessitate the exercise of special powers. Therefore it is intended to assume by Ordinance the majority of powers that will otherwise lapse. A few of the present powers will not be renewed and no additional powers will be assumed."

Sir Samuel Hoare added that the Government of India desired to restrict the application of the powers to Provinces where they were definitely required. Similarly in provinces powers would be applied only in districts where they were indispensable.

Sir Samuel Hoare said that Government would give the communal decision during the summer.

According to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 'emergency' means "Sudden juncture demanding immediate action" ; and according to the same authority, 'sudden' means "occurring or come upon or made or done unexpect-

tedly or without warning." But Sir Samuel Hoare knows definitely and expects, and must have known months ago, that "*there will be on 3rd July an emergency.*" How can an event which is definitely expected to happen on a definite date be called a "sudden juncture," that is to say, a juncture which would occur "unexpectedly or without warning?"

The meaning of 'emergency' given above is quoted from a handy dictionary "adapted from the Oxford Dictionary," which is England's greatest and most authoritative lexicon. According to this British authority, Sir Samuel Hoare's use of the word 'emergency' is wrong.

Webster's Dictionary is the great American authority. It defines 'emergency' as "an unforeseen occurrence or combination of circumstances which calls for immediate action or remedy." Sir Samuel Hoare foresees, and must have foreseen months ago, that something will happen on the 3rd July next. Therefore, how can that be an "*unforeseen occurrence,*" which is the meaning of 'emergency' according to Webster also?

The present writer remembers in this connection that he once had the temerity to find fault with the grammar of a certain British professor of English in the Muir Central College of Allahabad. When the fact was brought to that gentleman's notice, he is said to have observed that, as he was an Englishman, grammarians must follow him and not he grammarians. Similarly, Sir Samuel Hoare may say that, as he is the *British* Great Moghul, he is not bound to follow the dictionary meaning of 'emergency,' but that, on the contrary, lexicographers must explain the word according to his interpretation and use of it.

In our opinion, which has only theoretical value, if any, when Lord Willingdon promulgated an ordinance on the 28th May last similar to the Bengal Emergency Powers Ordinance, which latter was to expire on the 29th, he exceeded the powers given to the Governor-General by Section 72 of the Government of India Act, which runs as follows :

"The Governor-General may in cases of emergency make and promulgate Ordinances for the

peace and good government of British India or any part thereof, and any Ordinance so made shall, for the space of not more than six months from its promulgation, have the like force of law as an Act passed by the Indian Legislature."

Six months before the 29th May last there may have been an emergency which necessitated the promulgation of an ordinance, which was in force for six months. When this period of six months expired, the state of things which necessitated the promulgation of the ordinance may have remained unchanged. But it could not be *then* called an emergency, for it had not come into existence suddenly, unexpectedly or in an unforeseen manner. Therefore, a fresh Ordinance to meet this state of things could not be legally promulgated on the authority of the above-quoted Section.

Section 72 lays down that Ordinances cannot have force for more than six months. So, if at the expiration of that period, fresh Ordinances substantially identical with the old ones be promulgated, that section is practically set at naught, and the Governor-General can ignore or dispense with the services of the Legislature and rule the country like an autocrat for any length of time. That does not appear to have been the intention of the framers of the Government of India Act. It was intended by the passing of that Act that ordinarily the country would be governed according to laws passed by the Legislature, and that when, on account of an emergency, it would not be practicable to make laws with the aid of the Legislature, Ordinances might be promulgated. The duration of ordinances was fixed at six months evidently on the expectation and understanding that during those six months either the emergency would be over, or, if the state of things did not improve, there would be ample time to get a law passed by the Legislature. The Government of India Act did not certainly intend that the Legislature should be reduced to a nullity. If any one thinks it did so intend, the onus lies on him to prove that its framers wanted to hoax the people of India.

That on the 3rd July next most of the ordinances would cease to have force could be and was foreseen six months ago. Hence, there was ample time to call a meeting of the Legislature and introduce the necessary bill

or bills to replace the ordinances. Nor is it very difficult in these days to get laws passed by the present body of M. L. A.'s. Under the circumstances, if the help of the Legislature has not been and is not going to be taken, the reason can only be that the Government are not prepared to take the least risk of any such bill being thrown out or amended.

Proposed Visva Bharati Colony at Santiniketan

Bulletin No. 17 of Visva-Bharati informs its members that a portion of the land recently acquired near Santiniketan has been set aside for giving lease to members for building purposes. The name proposed for the colony is "Santinibas." The map given with the Bulletin shows that care has been taken to prevent over-crowding and to take full advantage of natural drainage.

The Bulletin states, what is well-known, that Santiniketan is situated in an undulating country in the midst of extensive open spaces. The soil is laterite and the portion allotted for "Santinibas" is considerably higher than the surrounding country. The climate is healthy and largely resembles that of the adjoining districts of Chota Nagpur. The distance from Calcutta is about 100 miles, and from the railway station of Bolpur $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. There is a power-house at Santiniketan which provides electric lights and fans to the different buildings. A dispensary and hospital are at the disposal of the residents. There is also a post and telegraph office. The nearest market is at Bolpur, but Santiniketan has its own Co-operative Stores, which supplies most things. The water-supply from wells is sufficient, except in the month of May, but a tube-well has been sunk which, when harnessed, will completely solve the problem. The cultural atmosphere of the place is attractive and stimulating. The educational institutions of the place, from the primary stage to the research department, are well known to our readers. The Bulletin lays emphasis on the fact that the Sri-bhavana (Girls' Hostel) and the school, college, library, art school, music section, etc., are specially suited for the education of girls. Added to all this, is the advantage of

close proximity to Sriniketan with its many-sided activities connected with rural life and vocational training. Learned professors and noted artists from abroad often visit Santiniketan. Details as to terms, etc., are supplied by the General Secretary, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan P. O., on application.

We think the scheme is attractive and promising. Those who want to give their children the advantage of a good all-round education in the midst of wholesome rural surroundings and can afford the cost ought to purchase plots.

The colony is capable of great expansion, until Santinibas becomes a small university settlement as it were. Of the 725.59 acres of land near Santiniketan and Sriniketan acquired by Visva-Bharati, 450 acres consist of dry upland never yet brought under cultivation and quite fit for residential and educational purposes. That is, of course, our idea or dream—not that of the governing body of Visva-Bharati. Similarly the *khoai* lands, measuring nearly 200 acres, may be converted by the construction of *bunds* and planting of trees into lakes and parks adjoining the university settlement of our dream.

Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Limited

We are glad to be informed that during 1931-32 the Hindusthan Co-operative Insurance Society, Limited, has completed new business for Rs. 1,42,39,250. This, we are told, is an increase of about Rs. 27 lakhs over their business of last year.

Bhikkhu Ottama's Intended Visit to Germany

Paul Dahlke, the distinguished German Buddhist scholar, converted his house into a sort of monastery, containing a library of Buddhist works and other objects valued by Buddhists. Now that he is no more, the house may be sold and the collection scattered. To prevent such a thing happening, Bhikkhu Ottama of Burma intends to proceed to Germany and purchase it for the Buddhist community to be used as a monastery. As the object of his visit to Germany is purely

religious, it is to be hoped that the Government of Burma will grant him a passport. He is prepared even to give an undertaking that, while abroad, he will not engage in any kind of political work whatsoever.

Bengal's Abnormal Condition

Recently the clash between Lieut. Cameron's party and some alleged revolutionaries in a Chittagong village has resulted in the death of that officer and two of the alleged revolutionaries. This shows that the deplorably abnormal condition of Bengal shows no sign of change for the better. Dacoities with or without murder and arson and abductions of women also continue to occur. At Dacca Mr. Kamakhya Prasad Sen, a Special Magistrate of Munshiganj, was shot dead while asleep by some unknown person or persons. The murder was either due to some political motive or was an act of private revenge. In either case, in addition to murder being a heinous act, to kill a sleeping man is cowardly in the extreme. Mr. Sen's murder, too, shows that Bengal continues to be in an abnormal condition in spite of rigorous anti-terrorist measures.

Alleged Suicide of a Detenu

The Government *communiqué* relating to the alleged suicide of detenu Mrinal Kanti Ray Chaudhuri at Deoli is not convincing. It is said that the young man was suffering from the belief or hallucination (of which there is no other proof than the *communiqué*) that he would be killed by his fellow-detenus if kept with them and therefore he wanted to live apart from them. And so he was kept in a cell or room outside Deoli jail. As the *communiqué* also states that he showed signs of tuberculosis, it is not clear whether his segregation was due to his hallucination or this malady. However, it is related that on the night previous to his death he enjoyed good sleep and was cheerful in the morning. He was quite well up to 2-30 P.M. But at 4-30 P.M. he was found hanging from a window of his room or cell. The rules authorizing the use of firearms, swords, bayonets, etc., by sentries to prevent the escape, etc., of the detenus cannot but lead one to infer that strict watch

is kept over them. As Mrinal Kanti Ray Chaudhuri was kept outside the jail, it is reasonable to think that he was still more closely guarded. If so, how is it that at day time no sentry saw him preparing to hang himself? Where did he get the rope from to strangle himself? It is said that an honorary magistrate—an Englishman—held an inquest and pronounced the opinion that the detenu had committed suicide, death being due to breaking of his neck. There is no mention of any post-mortem examination by a doctor, which is usual in cases of unnatural death, nor of the evidence, if any, which the honorary magistrate took. Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A., asked permission to visit Deoli jail with two other M. L. A.'s, to make inquiries. He did not object to officials being associated with them in the inquiry. But permission has not been granted. This is not the way to make the public believe that the Government *communiqué* was quite accurate.

Mr. J. C. Gupta, Barister-at-Law, has received a censored letter from a detenu at Deoli, giving some idea of the terrible heat at Deoli (124 degrees) and of the lack or scarcity of the kind of food to which Bengalis are accustomed.

In the course of the discussion of the Bengal Detenus' Transfer Bill (Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Supplementary Bill) in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. S. C. Mitra told the House from his and Mr. Phookun's personal experience how the minds of many detenus get deranged. He also warned the House that "by passing this Bill they will be digging the grave of the political detenus." We are not sure whether the M. L. A.'s who voted for the Bill ought to feel themselves responsible to some extent for the death of Mrinal Kanti Ray Chaudhuri.

Death in Jail of a "Suspected Terrorist"

Mr. Anil Kumar Das, M. Sc., was suspected to be a terrorist, on what evidence it is not known to the public. He was arrested and kept in Dacca Central Jail. He complained of having been subjected to ill-treatment there. But the District Magistrate said, not of course from his personal knowledge, that there had been no

ill-treatment. On the 16th June the Jail Superintendent wrote in an official document that Anil Kumar Das was feigning insanity. Next day he died. It has been officially alleged that he died of cerebral congestion. His mother prayed that a doctor of her own choice might be allowed to be present at the post-mortem examination. Her prayer was granted. But before the doctor of her choice arrived the Civil Surgen had already finished the work of post-mortem examination. Was the Civil Surgen not informed that another doctor would be present at the post mortem and told to wait for him? Or was he in a hurry? In any case some one had acted in a way in which he ought not to have acted.

An independent inquiry ought to be held into all the circumstances which led to the death of Anil Kumar Das, M. sc.

The official account says that his father died of insanity. But that is no reason why the son should die of "cerebral congestion," and die untimely, too.

Debate in Parliament on India Office Vote

Readers of newspapers have read *Reuter's* summary of the debate in the House of Commons on the India Office vote. We shall make a few comments on some of the things said during the debate.

Sir Samuel Hoare maintained that the charges of excessive use of powers were unjustified. "Regrettable incidents were remarkably few." What he said was not correct. Taking it for granted that he is incapable of making misleading and inaccurate statements knowingly, it has to be remembered that he spoke on the information supplied to him from India, and that this information had as its ultimate source the executive and the police who make use of the powers given them by the Ordinances. They cannot possibly be expected to say that they have made an excessive use of those powers, even if they may have sometimes done so. It has also to be borne in mind that Indian-owned papers are either not read or, if read, not considered trustworthy as purveyors of news, and that those items of news which are likely to be the most damaging to the reputation of the Govern-

ment are either prevented by the censor from being published or are not published by newspaper editors themselves for fear of being made victims of the press laws and ordinances. Every Indian editor knows of such news, and some have seen, without being able to possess or reproduce, photographs of actual occurrences and scenes which would convince any honest man of the incorrectness of Sir Samuel Hoare's assertion. "Unauthorized" news sheets and the "Oral Transmission of News Service" also supply materials to prove the falsity of the Secretary of State's observation.

He further stated :

"Hardly more than one in ten thousand of the population had been prosecuted in connection with civil disobedience, and less than one in twenty-thousand under the Ordinances."

Sir Samuel was, we are sure, prevented from giving even a rough estimate of the numbers of those subjected to *lathi* charges, only because he had not been furnished with the necessary statistics by the Government of India's Secretariat! And that Secretariat also has this to say in defence and justification of this omission that the police do not and cannot count the number of those in the crowds—sometimes big ones—on different parts of whose bodies they use their cudgels.

Moreover, the statistical method in judging of the extent of a movement of non-violent or violent rebellion and of the severity of the repressive measures adopted to crush it, is quite misleading. Let us take a recent case. There has been an armed rebellion in Burma, of which the population is 1,46,65,618. If, to put it down, one in ten thousand of the population had been hanged, the number of those executed would have been 1,466. But even one-twentieth of that number have not been hanged. Does that show that the rebellion is not being rigorously dealt with?

"Pledges"!

Sir Samuel has used the word "pledges," not the expression, "declaration of intentions, not pledges," used by Premier MacDonald! *Vide* the following passage :

Sir Samuel referred to the great sections of the population who stood behind "us," and said that the way to show our good-faith was not to break with the friends nor to take action one day, and

abandon it the next, but to go resolutely on with the programme and to carry out pledges we had made.

Sir Samuel does not say to whom the pledges or promises were made. They are a "great section" indeed! As the British diehards expect to make the Muslim community their tools, they are likely not to think of breaking their promises to any Muslims lightly. So let us see what a Musalman leader says. Mr. M. C. Chagla observes, "At the Round Table Conference in December last the Premier gave solemn promises to Indian representatives, but those promises were written on the sand."

"Indian Representatives," "Co-operation," "Federation," etc.

Sir Samuel Hoare's speech contains the words "Indian representatives," "Co-operation," "Federation," etc. But they are mere words. The repetition of these words has not convinced even the Moderates that India is going to get self-rule. The following are passages from the *Associated Press* summary of Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar's statement on the announcement of His Majesty's Government :

They opine that it is different from that contemplated by the Round Table Conference and the terms on which it was called, and add that by dispensing with a further meeting of the Federal Structure Committee and the Round Table Conference the new plan dispenses with and supersedes the deliberate policy of His Majesty's Government.

With reference to the future procedure adumbrated by Sir Samuel Hoare, they point out that in the absence of the representatives of His Majesty's Government, other British parties and Indian Princes on it, it is impossible for the Consultative Committee to register any agreement on the question of safeguards.

They express approval of the introduction of a single bill, but stress that if the hiatus between the introduction of the provincial constitution and the central constitution is long, they cannot support such proposals.

In conclusion, they declare that if the proviso that before federation materializes the units concerned must prepare actually to federate means that it will be left to the provinces to decide whether they will or will not join the federation, they strongly dissent from it, as it is likely to hold up the federation indefinitely.

Ordinary mortals, who are unlike Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar, think without any ifs that the federation will be held up indefinitely.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri observes :

"The change of the procedure goes to the root of the matter. If experts and people with specialized experience are only to give evidence before the Joint Committee of Parliament, dominated, as it must be, by the Conservatives, the new constitution that will be imposed will not be one to which the progressive parties of India have previously agreed, and all the conditions necessary to perpetuate the present conflict will be maintained."

Mr. Sastri adds :

"No more striking demonstrations could be given to India of her helplessness than the way she is now being made the sport of party vicissitudes in another country. We should never feel safe again unless the constitution is placed once for all beyond the hazards of English politics."

Concluding Mr. Sastri asks :

"With the Congress put out of action in the constitutional field, have the remaining Nationalist elements, like the Liberals and the advanced Mahomedan group, any chance of obtaining from the Joint Parliamentary Committee a constitution conformable to their expectations? The present decision of His Majesty's Government humiliates them in the extreme. They must now consider seriously what their future attitude should be."

So there is at least one eminent Liberal who wants the Congress to be in the constitutional field.

Segregation of Bengal ?

It seems there has been a talk in official circles of treating Bengal differently from the other provinces in the coming constitutional changes. Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement relating to an omnibus ordinance to be promulgated on or before July 3 contains a transparent indication that the Ordinances may remain inoperative elsewhere than in Bengal. It is also surmised that some politicians outside Bengal may agree to Bengal being penalized provided that their provinces are not. They ought not to take this narrow selfish view, which is unpatriotic in the extreme. They should also know from previous experience, such as that of the Anti-Partition agitation, that the other parts of India will not know peace until Bengal has been pacified, which does not mean crushed. We refer to this fact, because there are politicians outside Bengal as well as in Bengal who generally think mostly in terms of their parochial interests. For their consideration one other fact may be stated. Large numbers of non-Bengalis are engaged in lucrative occupations in Bengal. They, along with Bengalis, are suffering from

the present economic depression in Bengal. This depression will continue so long as there is unrest in Bengal. And this unrest requires a different remedy from mere repression.

Sir Samuel Hoare's Challenge

Sir Samuel Hoare will not tolerate the "challenge" of the Congress. The substance of that challenge is that freedom is wanted for India. The Congress may have adopted an unwise method to obtain what it wants. If that be so, the method, namely, civil disobedience, may be crushed. But the craving for what it wants will remain. And as Congressmen and non-Congressmen all desire freedom, the substance of the Congress challenge will remain, notwithstanding what Sir Samuel Hoare and men of his way of thinking may say and do.

Sir Samuel's own challenge is contained in his lofty declaration: "We are determined to take every action in our power to suppress this challenge to our authority." The British people and Government agree to India having real self-rule, that would necessarily mean the extinction in India of British authority. And if British authority becomes non-existent, there would be no need for anybody to challenge it. But if the British Government do not intend to give India self-rule, every true Indian—whatever his political strategy—will continue to challenge in his own way the authority of the British people to rule India. Therefore, display of temper on the part of Sir Samuel Hoare has been quite unnecessary. What is worse, it will not cow down anybody.

Sind Anti-Separation Conference

It has been made clear that, at least for long years to come, a separate Sind province will require a big annual subvention from the Central Government. Sardar Sampuran Singh, who presided at the Sind Anti-Separation Conference, was a member of the R. T. C. and the Sind sub-committee.

He emphatically declared that there was no question of subvention at any time and Sind, if proved to be a deficit province, must be with Bombay and the general taxpayer of India must not be mulcted to create another Muslim province.

Mukhi Govindram, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, observed that

the Hindus and other non-Muslims engaged in trade and industry would have to pay through the nose for allowing the luxury of separation to the Muslim communalists—and all this to bring into being a wretched C3 province which will be a black spot on the map of India and which will stereotype backwardness for half a century.

So, on financial grounds alone, Sind ought not to be separated from Bombay.

Constitution of a Orissa Province

We have all along supported the constitution of a Oriya-speaking province, stating our reasons for the same. We continue to hold the same opinion.

A Boundary Commission for Bengal

The Committee which examined the justifiability or otherwise of including some areas in the proposed Orissa province declared that Dhalbhum and certain parts of Midnapur were mostly Bengali-speaking. That has served to lend fresh support to the persistent demand of the Bengalis that all Bengali-speaking areas on the borders of Bengal, separated from it at the second partition of the province in 1911, should be re-included in it. H. M. the King-Emperor promised such a step in 1911, and the Simon Commission recommended the appointment of a Boundary Commission for the whole of India to deal with such problems.

The King-Emperor's promise ought to be kept and justice done to Bengal. For doing so, no separate province will have to be created, no subvention from the Central Government will be required. Only the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, Chotanagpur and Assam, which formerly formed part of Bengal as a matter of course, will have to be re-included in Bengal.

Allotment of Seats in the Future Bengal Council

It is rumoured that Government has recommended that in the future Bengal Council of 250 members, Muslims are to have 117 seats, Hindus 78 seats, and Europeans and Anglo-Indians and special constituencies the remaining seats. Out of the 78 Hindu seats some have been set apart for the depressed classes. This means that not only has the mischievous and undemocratic device of reser-

vation of seats for different religious communities been sought to be perpetuated, but also that, while neither Hindus nor Muslims are to get seats in proportion to their numerical strength, the Hindus' share is to be much less than their proportional quota than the Musalmans'. It is the so-called "caste" Hindus who have done most to bring self-rule nearer. Moreover, political capacity and public spirit are more developed among them than among others. Yet their usefulness and influence are to be reduced by giving Muslims a disproportionate number of seats, by earmarking some Hindu seats for the depressed classes, and by giving Europeans, Anglo-Indians, etc., a very much larger number of seats than their numbers entitle them to and making them the real masters of the situation.

If Bengal included all Bengali-speaking areas, there would not be the present Muslim preponderance in its population.

But even if the Muslims then formed a majority in numbers, that is not the only thing to be considered. Hindu superiority in cultural, social and economic achievements and in public spirit and political capacity may be an imponderable thing. But the fact that the Hindus in Bengal contribute by far the greater portion of the revenues should be taken into account. "No taxation without representation" is a just principle. It is equally just that, if representation is to be by communities, the community which pays the least should not have the largest amount of representation and therefore the largest share of the power of taxing those who pay most.

"Eed" in Paris

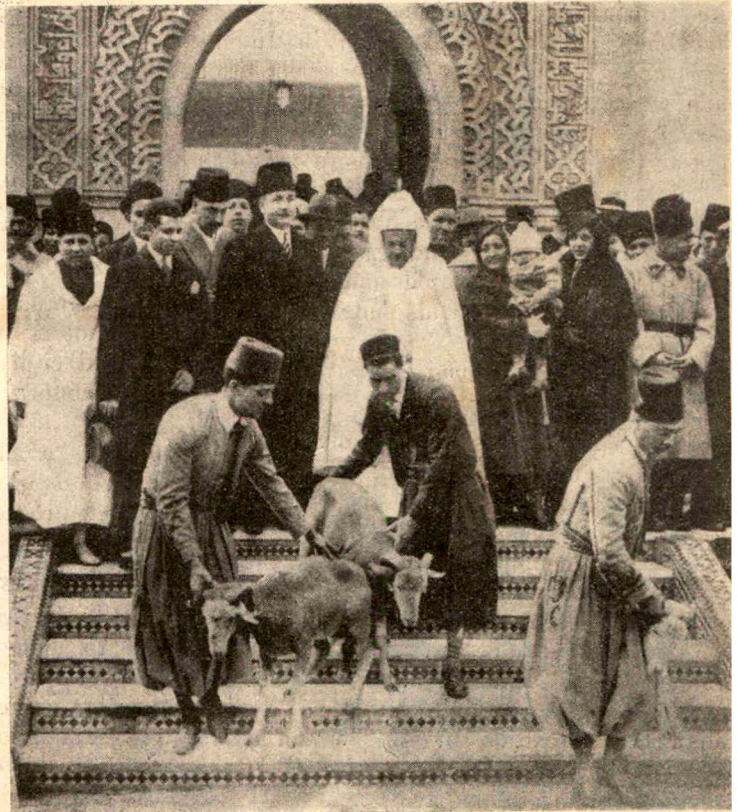
It is very interesting to notice that in Arabia and other countries the Moslems

make sacrifices of goat or sheep on the occasion of *Aid El Kebir*. If the Moslem leaders of India follow this practice, one of the causes of Hindu-Moslem conflict in India may easily be removed. Here is a picture of the "Eed" in Paris, taken from the *New York Times*.

T. D.

German Shipping

After the World War, the Allied Powers tried their best to destroy German shipping and navy. The German people have shown that a nation determined to rise can never be suppressed. They have now the fastest



Rams brought to the mosque in Paris for the Feast of Aid-El-Kebir, observed by all the Mussalmans of the city

steamers, S.S. Europa and Bremen. Their merchant marine is already fifth in the world and is the most up-to-date.

The Germans devised the "pocket-battleship" which is only of 10,000 tons, yet, it is inferior only to the largest dreadnaughts and superior to all other crafts in speed and gun-power. India once surpassed Britain in shipping, but there is no facility for training Indians in ship-building and naval engineering in Indian colleges. Who will lead India to become great in the ocean again as she should ?

T. D.

Civil Aviation in India

American, German, French, Italian and British aviators have achieved great success. In India there is even no adequate facility for training Indian youth to learn flying and master Aviation Engineering. It is foolish to think that the Government of India will take the initiative in aiding the people in establishing Chairs for Aviation in Indian Engineering Colleges. If the people of India wish to hold their own, they must provide the necessary means. The time has come to take the necessary steps to establish a Chair on Aviation Engineering in connection, for example, with the National College of Engineering and Technology of Bengal at Jadavpur. Will the people and leaders of Bengal do their duty in this matter ?

T. D.

Civil Aviation in Germany

By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany is debarred from possessing any airship, aeroplane or naval plane for war purposes. Yet the Germans have surpassed other nations in Civil Aviation. It is the Germans who have zeppelins, which have become "Ocean-liners" of the air. They have developed the largest sea-planes, "Do-X," which have been bought by France and Italy, Germany's former enemies. India should master Science and Technology from all nations. Possibly Indian scholars can do so with German help.

T. D.

Aviation in Japan

We learn from *The Japan Magazine* that Aviation in Japan has taken all the practical steps leading to its present-day prosperity in the last ten years. It was only in the early part of 1920 when the regulations controlling aerial navigation came into force, that the pioneer organizations set about a regular airmail service, and both the Army and the Navy realized a fundamental reorganization of their aerial forces.

Meanwhile, the airplane and aeromotor manu-

facturing corporations made a definite move towards specialization. This industry has now so developed that the greater number of the airplanes in daily use are manufactured in this country, and are equipped with home-built motors. When a military officer almost accidentally hopped for a distance of three kilometers more than twenty years ago, after a successful demonstration of ground-gliding, which was followed a few days later by a flight of a distance of one kilometer by another military officer, who would have imagined Japan would make such phenomenal progress in aviation within only one decade or two !

But in reality the Japanese have now mastered the art of flying to such a degree that, where technique is concerned, there are many aviators and pilots in this country who compare favourably with any of the first-rate Western fliers. Moreover, public enthusiasm for aerial navigation so widely prevails among the young people that students of more than a dozen universities and colleges in the leading cities throughout the country have organized aviation clubs of their own, which are to-day affiliated with the Japan Federation of Student Aviation. Two of these students even achieved a goodwill flight last year from Japan to Europe, where they were enthusiastically welcomed.

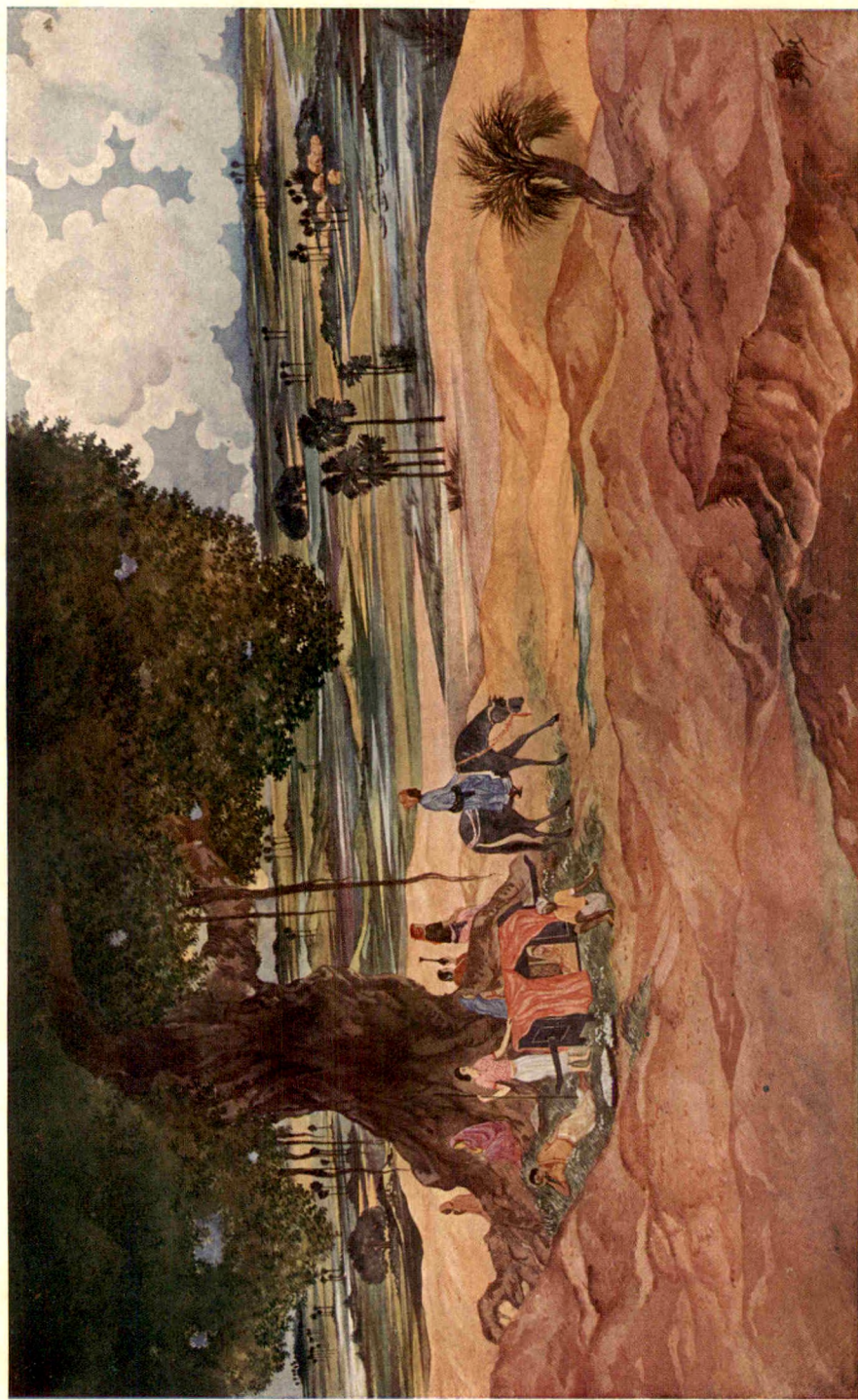
The Japanese periodical writes further :

It is no longer a mere dream to ascend in the air and take a bird's-eye view of picturesque Japan from the blue sky. Aerial lines now radiate in all directions in this country, the total distance of established airways reaching nearly 9,000 kilometers, with the annual commercial flights on schedules alone covering a length of more than 2,000,000 kilometers.

In India the manufacture of airplanes and aero-motors by Indians is not yet even dreamt of, and civil aviation is in its embryo stage. Our country is one of long distances. Yet, unlike the comparatively small country of Japan, "aerial lines [do not] radiate in all directions in this country." Such is the marvellous progress achieved here under British rule.

Conferences of Congresswalas

The last session of the Congress at Delhi led to many arrests. This has served as a reminder to Congresswalas of both sexes to hold provincial and district political conferences, many of which have been already held. Officials have been busy in preventing or dispersing them. These efforts give an unintended fillip to the Congress campaign. At Tehata in Meherpur sub-division, Bengal, the police fired on the Conference crowd, with fatal effect, the reason alleged being that the crowd attacked the police and threw brickbats at them. These stories of *unprovoked* attacks on *armed* police by *unarmed* crowds are hard to believe.

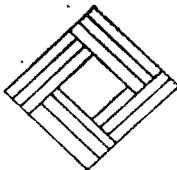


WAYSIDE HALT
By Bratindranath Tagore

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RALPH WALDO EMERSON

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

I

NEAR the middle of the last century two brilliant groups of writers appeared in the English-speaking world,—one in Great Britain and the other in the United States of America.

To the English group belong Dickens, Thackeray, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, Newman, Ruskin, Tennyson and Browning.

The American group is not less illustrious. It contains the names of James Fenimore Cooper, America's earliest novelist—a writer of powerful stories about the American aborigines, and also about adventures on the sea; Washington Irving, the essayist, historian and humorist, who is sometimes called the American Addison; Edgar Allan Poe, a fanciful and striking poet and a writer of weird romances; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, a poet of varied and rich gifts who has attained a world-wide fame, whose poems are said to be read even in England more than those of Tennyson; James Russell Lowell, a poet of distinction and the most eminent literary critic that America has produced; Oliver Wendell Holmes, poet, humorist, novelist and brilliant essayist, author of the famous "Breakfast Table" series of books; John Greenleaf Whittier, "the good Quaker poet"—the best known and most loved religious poet of

America; Nathaniel Hawthorne, America's greatest novelist; Henry D. Thoreau, a very remarkable literary interpreter of nature; Walt Whitman, a poet whose rugged style defies all literary rules, but whose fresh, stimulating and daring thought gives him many admirers on both sides of the Atlantic; Mark Twain (Samuel Clemens), a humorist whose books are read and enjoyed in all lands; and, finally, Ralph Waldo Emerson, the essayist, poet and thinker, of whom I wish here to speak.

When we come to compare these American writers one with another, of course we find no single one superior to the rest in all respects. One is superior in one way and another in another. But I think it is the almost universal judgment that, taken all in all, the first place—the place of greatest distinction—clearly belongs to Emerson. It is true that some other writers are in a way more popular. Longfellow is more widely read; so doubtless are several novelists and humorists. But Emerson is read by the intellectual and thoughtful classes—by those who influence the thought and life of the people—far more than any other author of the New World.

Nor is his influence confined to America. It is greater in England than that of any

other American writer, as probably it is also on the European continent. Into Asia too his writings have penetrated or are penetrating widely. The year before the Great War it was the fortune of the present writer to make an extended lecture tour through Japan, China and India, and, to my surprise and gratification, I was often asked to speak on Emerson, especially in colleges and universities and before literary societies. On one occasion after delivering a lecture on this subject before the Faculty and students of a prominent college in Tokyo, I was interested to be told that for a long time there had been in the college a large and enthusiastic Emerson class, taught by the Principal, a class which at that time contained more than two hundred members. I found Emerson's works in nearly all the important libraries of the Orient. And among literary men, educators and religious teachers I seldom failed to discover a considerable degree of knowledge of the writings of this American thinker and teacher, and almost invariably a lively interest in his thought.

Why was this? Probably it was because Emerson's thought has in it a universal intellectual quality which carries it beyond all national and even continental boundaries; and also because it has an ethical and spiritual quality which makes it peculiarly welcome in the Orient.

Several years ago Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra, of City College, Calcutta, made a visit to America, giving a series of lectures in one of the American Theological colleges and lecturing and preaching in a number of large cities. Before a national conference of Unitarian ministers he read a paper on Emerson which attracted much attention and was published in the *Harvard Theological Review*. In that paper he said: "I recognize a close affinity between the thought of Emerson and that of the Orient. Emerson's teachings breathe a new life into our old faith. They assure its stability, and its progress, by incorporating with it precious new truths revealed or brought into prominence by the wider intellectual and ethical outlook of the modern spirit." If Principal Maitra's understanding of Emerson is correct, it is no wonder that his writings are more

and more attracting attention and growing in favour in the East.

Emerson was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1803, and died in Concord, a village near by, in 1882. His parents and ancestors were persons of intelligence, education and high character, but not of wealth. His father was a Christian minister living in Boston, who died when his son, Ralph Waldo, was only eight years old, leaving a widow and four or five children. The mother was left with little means, and the struggle which she had to undergo in order to support and educate her family was severe. In after-life Emerson often referred to the hardships of those days as among the greatest benefits of his life, because, he said, they taught him industry, economy, resourcefulness, self-reliance, and courage in facing and overcoming obstacles.

Partly through the aid of his mother and partly by his own persistent exertions he was able to obtain a good education in the schools of Boston and in Harvard College.

His aim in life was to be a Christian minister as his father had been. With this in mind he studied divinity for a time with Dr. Channing, the eminent Unitarian preacher and philanthropist, and settled as pastor of a church in Boston. In this position he remained four years; but by the end of that time he had become convinced that his life-work was not to be that of a settled minister of a single church, but rather that of a writer and public lecturer. He wished still to devote his life to moral and religious teaching, but he believed he could do so best through his pen and on the public lecture-platform.

Accordingly, he went out to the little village of Concord, a quiet place, twenty miles or so from Boston, in the midst of sweet New England country scenery, and there made for himself a home, which he occupied for the rest of his life. For many years he continued to preach much, in the various towns and villages in the vicinity of his home, but he never accepted a stated charge; and more and more his writing and lecturing came to absorb his time and strength.

The reason he chose Concord as a place of residence seems to have been partly that this had been the home of some

of his ancestors, and partly that it was a lovely and quiet spot near enough to the metropolis to afford him easy access to the city's activities and privileges, and yet far enough away to give him the retirement and peace of the country. His home amid these rural surroundings was to Emerson much what Rydal Mount was to Wordsworth and what Santiniketan is to Rabindranath Tagore. Writing of his settlement there he says: "I am by nature a poet, and therefore must live in the country." And how truly nature was his companion through all the well-nigh forty-five years of his residence amidst her fields and woods, her brooks and flowers and quiet paths, every reader of his books well knows.

Nature is to every human soul what that soul makes her to be. To the soul that can perceive it, she is an infinite wonder, a teacher whose lessons are new every morning and fresh every evening, a never-failing fountain of joy and inspiration. She was all this to Emerson, else he could never have given to the world such a wealth of poetry and wisdom drawn from nature's heart.

Emerson bought a little farm in Concord. Writing later of his purchase he said:

"When I bought my farm I did not know what a bargain I had in the bluebirds, bobolinks and thrushes, which were not charged in the bill. As little did I guess what sublime mornings and sunsets I was buying, what reaches of landscape, and what fields and lanes for a tramp. Neither did I fully consider what indescribable luxury is our Indian river, which runs parallel with the village street, and to which every house in that long street has a back door through the garden to the river bank... Still less did I know what good and true neighbours I was buying; men of thought and virtue... I did not know what groups of interesting school boys and school girls were to greet me in the highways and take hold of one's heart at the school exhibitions."

Emerson's love of nature was constant and very ardent. Some said it ate up his love of men. But such do not know Emerson well. His friendships were always warm and sincere; his interest in his neighbours, even the poorest, was striking and beautiful. He used often to chat with the farmers at their work; he had personal acquaintance and friendship with the humblest day-labourers; he loved and was loved by the school children; he was a general favourite in the village. Everything that pertained to the

welfare of the community he was interested in. Nor did his love of men stop with his personal friends, and neighbours, and the town where he resided. It reached out far—to all humanity, and especially to all who suffered or were wronged.

Few genuine reforms of the half century preceding his death, from the anti-slavery cause to the movement to enlarge the sphere of woman, failed to receive his support. The reform methods with which he most sympathized were not violent. The ways of Garrison and Wendell Philips and Theodore Parker were not his way. He preferred gentle words to severe. And yet, his position upon the anti-slavery question was not equivocal, and there were times when he spoke words as stinging with indignation and protest as any from the lips of Garrison. Few men of his generation uttered wiser, calmer, more weighty or braver words upon any of the great subjects that most deeply concerned the moral, religious, social, political, or even industrial life of his country and age.

For more than forty years there were few places in America, or in any other land, to which came so many noble spirits as to that simple Concord home. The wisest and best men and women of America were Emerson's friends, and loved to sit down at his fireside. Distinguished visitors from the old world eagerly sought him in his retreat. Few homes were so charming. But it was simplicity itself, as the man was all simplicity. Indeed, its simplicity and genuineness were its charm. Pretensions could not live within its walls. Truth and sincerity, sympathy and love, were the guardian spirits that habitually dwelt there. No wonder, therefore, that men and women, alike the humble and the great, loved to enter.

Emerson's general plan of life during most of his Concord years, was to give three or four months of each winter to public lecturing—the winter being the best season for that work—and devote the rest of the year to quiet study, thinking and writing at home.

His common habit when at home was to spend his forenoons at hard work in his

library or study, and his afternoons out of doors, either alone or with a chance companion, rambling in the fields or woods, rowing on the water, lying on the grass in the meadow or by a brook-side, observing the eternal beauty and change of nature, and studying her marvellous secrets. And what rest, healing and peace he found in nature !

He wrote of himself :

"A woodland walk,
A quest of river-grapes, a mocking thrush,
A wild rose, or rock-loving columbine
Salve my worst wounds."

His distinguished friend and neighbour, Bronson Alcott, once wrote concerning Emerson :

"Fortunate the visitor who is permitted to join the poet in his afternoon walks to Walden, the Cliffs, or elsewhere,—hours to be remembered as unlike any other in the calendar of experiences. Shall I describe them as sallies, oftenest into cloud-lands,—into scenes and intimacies ever new, none the less novel or remote than when first experienced ?—interviews, however, bringing their own trail of perplexing thoughts,—costing some days' duties, several nights' sleep sometimes, to restore one to his place and poise. Certainly safer not to venture without the sure credentials, unless one will have his pretensions pricked, his conceits reduced in their vague dimensions. But to the modest, the ingenuous, the gifted—welcome ! Nor can any bearing be more poetic and polite to all such,—to youth and accomplished women especially. His is a faith approaching to superstition concerning admirable persons, the rumour of excellence of any sort being like the arrival of a new gift to mankind, and he the first to proffer his recognition and hope."

Emerson gained popularity as a lecturer only very slowly. After settling in Concord he gave a series of lectures in Boston each winter for several years, in a hall which he himself hired for the purpose. His audiences are said to have been small. Besides giving these lectures he went wherever there were calls, speaking upon literary, historical, biographical, political or religious subjects,—but always with a high ethical purpose in view, always so treating his themes as to make them alive with quickening thought, electrical with fine feeling, challenges to just judgments, trumpet calls to courageous, manly and noble living.

We are told that to one who wrote in the earlier part of his career inviting him to the distant western city of Cincinnati to deliver a lecture, he replied : "Why, my dear Sir, you have not a hall in Cincinnati

small enough to hold the audience that will come out to hear me." But slowly his fame grew : and for many years he had all the lecture engagements he could fill.

Rather early in his public life he was invited over to England to deliver a series of lectures before various Mechanics' Institutes. Perhaps the class of hearers which these Institutes furnished was not the best adapted to grasp such thought as he had to present. We are told that at one of his lectures two young mechanics were sitting together trying hard to follow him, but with little success. By and by one whispered to the other, "I say, Jim, don't you think that may be we could understand him better if we stood on our heads ?" One does not wonder much at the inquiry. And yet, the difficulty of understanding him lay, after all, perhaps more in the fact that his thought was new than in any want of clearness of expression on his part. If these young mechanics had listened to him a few times, the probability is that before they were aware they would have found his sentences growing strangely luminous, and his thought throwing a spell over them such as they had never known.

If Emerson gained popularity slowly as a lecturer, quite as slowly did he gain public favour as a writer. His first book, *Nature*, was twelve years in reaching a sale of five hundred copies ! Today the works of few writers, outside the realm of fiction, have so large or so steadily increasing a sale, and not only in America, but in England, and wherever the English language is spoken. Of no American writer is it so true, that he "comes to his own," and "his own sheep hear his voice." But the minds that receive him are the best minds. He teaches the teachers ; he preaches to the preachers ; he writes poetry for the poets ; he thinks for the thinkers : and this in every land where his works are read.

Emerson has been called the American Carlyle, the American Coleridge, the American Wordsworth, the American Bacon, the American Goethe, the American Plato, according as men have looked at different aspects of his thought or literary work. He may well remind us of many men ; yet he is

as individual, as thoroughly himself, as any modern writer. If originality can be said to belong to any author of modern times, then Emerson is original.

It is hard to say whether Emerson is greatest as a poet or as a prose writer. Indeed, it is not always quite easy to tell just which of his writings are poetry and which are prose. But whether he writes in verse or prose, his thought is always that of the poet. It is pictured thought. It is thought transformed by a powerful imagination into forms of life. His poetry ranges from the simplest—as simple as anything in Longfellow or Burns—to the most profound—as profound as anything in Wordsworth, or Goethe, or Browning. He is always more intent upon his thought than upon its forms; sometimes therefore his rhymes are somewhat faulty and his metres limp. He seems to have a sort of disdain of poetical rules; the great thing with him always is to make his thought flash and burn, or pierce like an arrow. And yet some of his poems are as simple and as perfect in form as anything in the language. By American scholars, thinkers and religious leaders his poetry is very much prized and quoted.

Turning to Emerson's prose writings, it may be noted that his Phi Beta Kappa oration on "The American Scholar," delivered at Harvard University (then Harvard College) early in his public career, has often been pointed to, and, perhaps, with good reason, as marking an era in American letters. Its effect at the time of its delivery was certainly great. It is hard to point to any other single utterance or production in American literary history that has been so awakening or so influential. I would strongly advise anyone who has not read his works, but who purposes to do so, to begin with this address.

Emerson cannot be regarded as the father of American literature, for many books of considerable worth had been written before his day. But he has been called, and with much truth, the emancipator of American literature. When he came on the scene American writers of both prose and poetry were generally timid, afraid to stand on their own feet. Each writer in the new land

thought he must follow patterns and precedents in England or on the Continent of Europe. Emerson said, "This is bondage; we must break the bonds. Imitation means weakness; it means sterility; it means death. Let us no longer be content to remain children. It is time we were men. Let us begin to see with our own eyes, and to report what we see. Let us begin to think for ourselves, and write what we think. Then will the New World of America begin to produce books worth reading, and the Old World will begin to respect our literature and us." With Emerson's great Harvard address, America's spirit of imitation and bondage began to pass away, and a new spirit of self-respect and of independence, came in its place. If the literature of America for the past sixty or seventy years has been as fresh, as original and as virile as any in the world, the credit is due to Emerson far more than to any other writer.

No one can understand Emerson unless he bears in mind that he is by nature a prophet, a seer, not a logician. His aim is simply to give you his thought, and you are to accept it or reject it according as it seems to you true, or not; according as it meets your need, or not. He will not press it on you; he will not even attempt to prove its value. Of that you must be the judge. He is not a logician; he makes no attempt at logic, he does not care for logic. He wants to show, to reveal, to help you to see for yourself. His method is to enunciate, not to prove; to state, not to argue. He cares far more to flash truth on you, to make you vividly see its reality and deeply feel its beauty and power, than to give you any amount of reasoning about it or any mere logical demonstration of it.

This absence of logic, of formal processes of reasoning, causes his writings sometimes to seem fragmentary, his ideas disconnected. But this is chiefly on the surface. Look deep enough and you find there is a connection, there is a unity, there is a very vital relation between his thoughts, even if not always a logical one.

Growing out of this is another characteristic of his writings,—they are remarkable for their affirmations. It follows that they are

seldom controversial. True, he can deny if there is need for it; his books contain many vigorous negations. But the thing he loves is to affirm,—to affirm without any reference to anyone else's opinion. He never answers his critics or reviewers. Whatever they say about his ideas, he does not turn aside to reply, but goes right on and delivers his next message, and the next and the next. He affirms and evermore affirms his *own* thought, he does not combat *yours*. Thus he does not needlessly offend, and you are willing to receive from him ideas far more advanced than you would receive from a more combative mind. This is one reason, doubtless, why his thought is so influential, why it spreads so widely, why it is accepted in so many quarters where we should suppose there would be only hostility to it. If he more than any other writer is the leader of thought in the Western world, this is an important element in the explanation. Instead of fighting men's errors, he shows men new truths,—truths so self-evidencing and so splendid that in the bright light of them the errors silently creep away ashamed into the dark corners, and are left behind and lost.

If Emerson's place in literature is great, it is also somewhat peculiar. More than almost any other writer he is read for his thought. His style exactly fits his thought, but it is for his thought that he is sought and prized,—the freshness of his thought, its keenness and penetration, its subtlety, its daring; its power to interest, rouse, startle, and inspire; its power to awaken dissent and protest, and yet in the end to compel assent, even against our will; its power to break up our old conceits, prejudices and ignorances and to lead us to enlightenment, sometimes without our quite knowing it; its power to charm us, and by its charm to lead us from lower to higher ideals, whether we will or no; its power to turn the world and humanity and our own ideas upside down, and inside out, and yet to restore all to us again created anew, and more beautiful, more wonderful, more normal and more right than they were before. Such has always been, and still is, the wonderful power and charm of Emerson's thought to thousands.

All of Emerson's writings, both prose and

poetry, are wonderfully full of sententious lines, short, apt, pregnant sentences, which fasten themselves in men's minds and become current coin of quotation. No other American writer, perhaps, no other writer in the English language, with the single exception of Shakespeare, is quoted so much. If Emerson's mind is less many-sided than Shakespeare's, his spiritual insight, his grasp on great moral principles, and his power to condense his thought so as to pack a volume into a dozen striking words, is beyond that of Shakespeare—I believe it is beyond that of any other western writer, living or dead. To make quotations from his works illustrating this is a very easy task. One has scarcely more to do than to open any one of his volumes, prose or verse, at any random page, and read. Here is a little handful of pearls and diamonds, such as lie scattered all through his rich pages. I give them merely as specimens, choosing such as are most familiar and mainly from his poems:

"If eyes were made for seeing,
Then beauty is its own excuse for being."
"The conscious stone to beauty grew."
"He that feeds men serveth few;
He serves all who dares be true."

"To the poet, to the philosopher, to the saint, all things are sacred, all events profitable, all days holy, all men divine."

"So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
The youth replies, 'I can.'"

"Go, put your creed into your deed,
Nor speak with double tongue."

"For he that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in his plan,
Will take the stars out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man."

"Give me breath and a day, and I will make the pomp of emperors ridiculous."

"Reverence God, and where you go men shall think they walk in hallowed cathedrals."

"When a man lives with God, his voice shall be as sweet as the murmur of the brook and the rustle of the corn."

"Unlovely, nay, frightful, is the solitude of the soul which is without God in the world."

"Don't say things. What you are stands over you and thunders so loud that I cannot hear what you say."

"What is Heaven but the fellowship of minds that can each stand against the world."

written by various authors from Machiavelli to Mill, but they have generally confined themselves to the government of a people by their own king or representatives. Machiavelli's book, *The Prince*, is frankly admitted to contain the most pernicious maxims of government, founded on the vilest principles. John Stuart Mill was a distinguished political economist and held advanced liberal views on most subjects. It is worth-while mentioning that he was Secretary to the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. In his essay on "Representative Government" there is a chapter on the government of dependencies by a Free State. Bearing in mind the fact that Mill wrote with intimate knowledge of Indian affairs the significance of the following passage can scarcely be exaggerated :

'The government of a people by itself has a meaning, and a reality ; but such a thing as government of one people by another does not and cannot exist. One people may keep another as a warren or preserve for its own use, a place to make money in, a human cattle farm to be worked for the profit of its own inhabitants.....Armed with the prestige and filled with the scornful overbearingness of the conquering nation, they have the feelings inspired by absolute power, without its sense of responsibility.'

Such empires as the defunct empires of Russia, Austria and China were in reality large kingdoms. The Tsars were Russians, the Emperors of Austria were Austrians, the Emperors of China were Chinamen. The durability of such empires is the same at that of kingdoms. The German Empire was a federation of States with Prussia as the pre-dominant partner, but it did not last for even three generations. William I was the first Emperor of Germany and his grandson, William II, was the last Emperor. To go back to other times, the Macedonian Empire founded by Alexander the Great was a nine days' wonder. The Roman Empire of the Cæsars was ultimately overwhelmed by hordes of barbarians. In India, the Mogul Empire, although established by conquest, became indistinguishable from an indigenous rule, but the bigotry and fanaticism of Aurangzib laid the axe at the root of the Empire and the process of disruption began with the close of his reign. The French Empire under the two Napoleons was like a dream of the night. Of

all forms of government an empire holding dominion over foreign lands and foreign peoples has the shortest span of life.

An unvarying feature of every empire is the boundless arrogance of the nation owning it. The pride of possession and the sense of superiority go to the head like strong new wine. All the gentler and nobler qualities of human nature are spurned as of no consequence. There is a strange family likeness between the ferocity of the untamed savage and the callous, ruthlessness of the civilized owners of empires. There is nothing more insufferable, more really degrading than what may be called imperial boastfulness. Every gesture, every look, every word betray the imperialist. His mind is entirely obsessed by the sense of power, the glory of being a member of an imperial race. In his nature the milk of human kindness becomes dry at the fountain-head. Such things as sympathy, fellow-feeling, forbearance, tolerance are unknown to him. He has an inexhaustible vocabulary of pride and insolence. All imperial races can be easily known by the language they use. They have their own creed and their own shibboleths, and it is immaterial whether their pronunciation is like that of the Gileadites or the Ephraimites. Religion makes no difference, for a Christian imperialist cannot be distinguished from a pagan one. They have the same turn of speech, the same swagger, the same contempt for all other peoples. One will declare that all ways lead to Rome, as if there are not many ways that lead to a less pleasant place ; another will speak grimly of the iron heel and a third will shake his mailed fist in the face of the world ; yet another will boast of the empire over which the sun never sets, all oblivious of the relentless truth that the sun of empires sets early and they perish in the long night that follows.

A common characteristic feature of all imperial races is their self-complacency and their readiness to praise themselves without waiting for others to praise them. They calmly appropriate to themselves all the great qualities which should distinguish a nation claiming to be superior to others. They alone possess the secret of greatness. In the same measure that they exalt themselves they

despise other nations, not only those that have the misfortune to be subject to them, but practically all other nations of the world. They take good care that there should be no mistake about their lordly attitude and other nations should be fully aware that they are held in contempt. 'It has always been a mystery to me,' writes Mahatma Gandhi, 'how men can feel themselves honoured by the humiliation of their fellow-beings.' Yet this is the open mystery of all imperial races and the owners of empires. It is doubtful whether they look upon subject nations and others as their fellow-beings. The humiliation of people who do not belong to their own race is a source of delight to them. All the finer human feelings are blunted; the sense of righteousness, the nobility of compassion, the common fellowship of humanity are all forgotten. An imperial nation when not engaged in humiliating its fellow-beings who have the misfortune of being ruled by it spends its time in praising itself. The Romans did not wait for other nations to praise them; neither do other nations who possess empires at the present day. All men have the weakness that they cannot see themselves as others see them, but this weakness becomes most marked in an imperial race. Who so great, so powerful, so noble, so exalted as the members of an imperial race? When they are not rattling their sabres they are blowing their trumpets. They are not only invincible in their strength but they are also the possessors of all the virtues. There can be no more honourable, truthful and just people in the world. Their speeches, their writings—all imperial races were not literate—are resonant with the paeans of their incomparable virtues. If their own judgment were the judgment of history the imperial races of the past and present would be the most perfect people in the world.

Perhaps it would not be right to maintain that the institution of slavery is a direct outcome of the establishment of empires. Most probably there were slaves and serfs before there were any empires. Originally, slaves were not distinguishable from servants beyond the fact that the occupation of slaves was hereditary and the children of slaves were also slaves. The ancient Aryans in India

had slaves but there is no evidence that the latter were ill-treated or cruelly over-worked. The first authentic instance of real slavery was the bondage of the Jews in ancient Egypt. The Jews were neither prisoners of war nor had they been sold into slavery. Joseph, the son of Jacob, was abducted by his brethren and was ultimately sold in Egypt, but he found favour in the eyes of Pharaoh and rose to high office. Later on, when the Jews multiplied greatly in Egypt the Egyptians treated them as slaves and they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour.' The ancient Egyptians were a great imperial race and their magnificence still fills the world with wonder. In ancient Greece the Spartans were noted for the simplicity of their habits and the severe discipline they imposed upon themselves, but they reduced the Helots to slavery and employed them as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Romans treated their prisoners worse than slaves and every country within the Roman Empire was made to feel the heavy hand of Rome. The Arabs and Moors, who rose to imperial power, not only owned slaves themselves but carried on a systematic traffic in slaves and until quite recently the Arabs raided the African coast and the Negroes captured by them were sold into slavery. Nor was the slave traffic confined to the Arabs and other eastern races. The Christian settlers and colonists of South and North America were habitual owners and employers of slaves. A Portuguese Roman Catholic priest, Las Casas, was the first to introduce Negro slavery into Brazil and thence the slave trade flowed over North and South America. Slavery as an institution was upheld by Christian ministers who wrote treatises in its defence. Bishops and clergymen owned slaves, and following the example of king Solomon, concubinage became quite common. Mulattoes, quadroons, octoroons are the children of white and black parents. In the plantations in Virginia and elsewhere slaves were treated with savage cruelty and they sometimes died under the lash. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, appeared in 1852 and exposed the

horrors of the employment of slaves, and ultimately led to the abolition of the slave traffic in the Northern States of America. No religion confers any immunity against slavery. The followers of every religion in the world, past and present, have probably kept slaves and treated them with cruelty. The habit is ingrained in the instinct of superiority which develops into the imperial complex.

No nation or race which claims to be the proud possessor of an empire can retain the higher qualities of humanity. If the monuments of empire are to be found in its palaces and mausoleums it invariably leaves behind it a trail of cruelty. Here, again, neither religion nor civilization makes much difference. A civilized nation may use finer language to describe its exploits while an uncultured nation may be brutal in its outspokenness, but no empire can be maintained without cruelty. The king of Egypt instructed the Hebrew midwives to kill the male infants of the Jews at birth and the cruel ill-treatment of the Jews by their Egyptian taskmasters drove them out of Egypt. Cruelty was a familiar weapon in ancient Greece. Draco, the Athenian archon, framed laws of which the severity has become proverbial and harsh laws are still called draconian. The Greeks were not a savage nation but represented the height of ancient civilization. No one can question for a moment the culture and civilization of Rome, but the Roman Empire was cradled in and thrived on cruelty. The glimpses of Roman cruelty to be found in the Gospels in the New Testament are sufficient evidence. In Palestine alone innocent babies were massacred, John the Baptist, guiltless of any offence, was beheaded, and Jesus of Nazareth, equally innocent, was crucified. Cruelty is one of the pillars of empire. Gengis Khan and Tamerlane were most powerful emperors and they were also the most terrible scourges of humanity. It is said that Gengis Khan killed two hundred thousand people in the sack of the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara, and he slaughtered five million human beings in all. Timur or Tamerlane put ninety thousand persons to the sword in the city of Baghdad. These figures are not reliable and may be

exaggerated but there can be no question that these conquerors and makers of empire had not the slightest regard for human life and committed frightful massacres without the slightest compunction. Even in the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon Bonaparte overran Europe and thousands fell victims to his lust for empire. Cruelty and utter disregard for the sanctity of human life are inseparable from the winning and maintenance of empire, and no empire can be based upon righteousness.

All owners of empires are perpetually haunted by a sense of insecurity. The mightiest empire in the world never considered itself safe. An empire is an unlawful possession and property unlawfully obtained can never be peacefully enjoyed. No nation has any lawful right to any territory other than its own; an empire is won either by force, or trickery or treachery, or a combination of all these methods. There is a constant apprehension of losing what is not rightfully acquired. If another State somewhere in the neighbourhood of an empire grows powerful, it is regarded as a menace to the safety of the empire, because what is the prize of one nation may be wrested from it by a stronger nation. Then there is the fear of a subject nation rising and throwing off the foreign yoke. The consequence is that the rulers of empires have to maintain extensive systems of espionage to find out the intentions of rival empires and Powers, and a secret police to shadow and follow dissatisfied members of any subject nation. There is no empire that can rest in confidence and security, no matter how powerful it may be. Very often the slightest incident will throw it into a panic. An empire exists in a state of chronic fear, fear from other empires and also fear within the empire. No empire will willingly face the truth about itself. Any outspoken criticism or the blunt truth is dreaded as likely to undermine the foundations of empire. Mendacity is another important prop of empire. The four main pillars upon which the superstructure of empire rests are force, cruelty, boastfulness and untruthfulness. Napoleon's official paper, the *Moniteur* was a characteristic manifesto of empire, but it was more lively and more entertaining than

most official and imperial publications. Scruples have no place in the creed of empire-makers, but Napoleon had the gift of imagination. The *Moniteur* unblushingly disseminated lies and Napoleon's brutal cynicism found frequent expression in it, but he represented the real imperial type. After Alexander and Caesar there has been no greater imperial figure in European history than Napoleon and he has left sufficient evidence behind him to prove that the founder of the empire is not a very noble type of humanity. The higher human qualities can only be cultivated by restraint whereas the possession of empire is a constant incentive to unbridled licence and the unrestrained indulgence of every evil passion. The degradation, decadence and ultimate disappearance of every Imperial race is one of the unchallengeable facts of history.

The lordliness and the dazzling splendour of empires are hollow shams. Can any empire be named whose greed and covetousness were ever satisfied, or which rested content with what it had acquired? Insatiable greed is equivalent to bitter poverty. A kingdom or a republic is usually a self-contained and self-reliant State supplying its own needs and independent of help from outside. An empire, on the other hand, is of the nature of a parasite, a vampire or a leech. Its main feature is extravagant magnificence. It has no use for economy of any kind and revels in extravagant expenditure and waste. Every source of revenue is exploited to the utmost and no attempt is ever made to discourage reckless expenditure. No qualms of conscience or any sense of morality or feelings of decency are permitted to stand in the way of raising the wind. Not only are subject nations cruelly overtaxed, an endless ingenuity being exercised in discovering fresh sources of taxation, but no scruples whatsoever are felt in deriving all kinds of income from other countries. Narcotics and poisonous drugs have been forced upon reluctant nations to add to the revenues of an empire. The people of a country owning an empire often live parasitical and dependent lives. Many of them are dependent for employment in the remote parts of the empire, many industries are maintained merely because there is a

market for them in other parts of the empire. These markets are not created by the natural law of demand and supply, but by artificial and arbitrary methods such as the handicapping and closing down of the industries of a subject nation and compelling it to supply its needs from the country which owns the empire. If on any account these artificial markets are closed there is extensive unemployment in the country of supply and thousands of members of an imperial race find themselves in severe straits for a living. The insolence and arrogance of an imperial race are hardly justified by the actual position of affairs. Those who possess an empire may carry things with a high hand. They may be despotic and they may despise the people over whom they rule, but many of them are dependent for their daily bread upon the very people whom they hold in contempt. A subject nation has not only to maintain itself, perhaps in poverty, but it is further impoverished by finding the wherewithal to maintain large numbers of the ruling race. The economic drain is always on the subject and never on the ruling race. A nation subject to another may be deprived of its liberty and its rights, but it is the ruling race that is really degraded by its helplessness to provide for itself without the help of the nation over which it rules. When a country is called a dependency the reference is to its political status. Economically and in the essential matter of the sustenance of life the rulers are dependent upon the ruled.

This is a phase of the possession of an empire that has not received sufficient recognition. It is a common failing of all men that they cannot see themselves as others see them, but it is particularly so of an imperial race blinded by pride and utterly incapable of realizing its defects. It has a highly exaggerated notion of its greatness and importance; intoxicated with the possession of unlimited authority over the nations subject to its sway it forgets that no nation can have a long lease of life unless it is self-reliant and capable of maintaining itself without extraneous help. A nation which owns an empire becomes dependent for its very existence upon its subject nations. It cultivates habits of extravagance and luxury

for which it needs all the money that can be raised from every part of the empire and from every source of revenue. The moral sense becomes blunted by indulgence, the parasitic habit grows till it becomes second nature, the virility which is the original secret of dominion and empire is sapped by pleasure and luxury, and the final result is the rapid emasculation and submergence of an imperial race. Has not history been a witness to the physical and moral decadence and degradation of every imperial race and its ultimate extinction? The hardships of the camp and the battlefield, the discipline of self-denial and abstemiousness are succeeded by the pleasures of the palace and the possession of wealth. The body and the mind succumb to the seduction of luxury and the siren call of enjoyment. Leaving out of account such early races as the Persians and Medes, the Hyksos, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, Carthaginians and others what can be more tragic and deplorable than the fate which overwhelmed Greece and Rome? Think of little Sparta and Macedonia and their brief dream of magnificence. What can be more pitiful than the fall of Rome, the Roman eagle being struck down by the Gothic and Hunnish vultures? The history of every imperial race is the same. Severe simplicity and a protracted period of struggle to begin with, then success and the insolence and scornful-

ness born of success, next relaxation and dependence, the weak yielding to physical pleasure, the loss of the sense of morality and, finally, decay and destruction.

Of all monarchical institutions an empire is the least stable and has the shortest lease of life. The ambition of empire building is a fever that grows more fierce the more it feeds upon and burns out the nation that owns an empire. The greatest empire is no more permanent than a meteor which flashes through the political firmament and dazzles the eye for a moment. By its very nature it cannot fail to be oppressive and oppression must come to a speedy end. In China there was no foreign domination in the time of Confucius, but in the Ethics of Confucius there is a fine story about an oppressive Government.

"In passing by the side of Mount Thai, Confucius came upon a woman who was wailing bitterly by a grave. The master bowed forward to the cross-bar, and hastened to her; and then sent Tsze-loo to question her. 'Your wailing,' said he, 'is altogether like that of one who has suffered sorrow on sorrow.' She replied, 'It is so. Formerly my husband's father was killed here by a tiger. My husband was also killed by one, and now my son has died in the same way.' The Master said, 'Why do you not leave this place?' The answer was, 'There is no oppressive government here.' The Master then said to his disciples: 'Remember this, my little children. Oppressive government is more terrible than tigers.'"

There can be no empire without oppression.

THE SPIRIT OF BOLSHEVISM

By BHANU

THE magnitude of Russian achievements appears to be at last appreciated, as also the far-reaching nature of the great revolution ushered by Lenin. Russia appears to have at last found its soul, notwithstanding some of the obvious imperfections of the Bolshevik regime, and what system has not got its own defects. The pre-revolution Russia was principally remarkable for its exquisite ballet, its literary artists, the barbaric splendour of the Czar (duplicated far too frequently in our own country) and the vagaries of unchecked autocracy. Lenin's Russia is

characterized by the exaltation of its people, and its achievements in every field of life—art, literature, science and even in that exclusive monopoly of the United States—movies, are nothing if not remarkable. The great experiment, by which the common people for the first time in history have begun to feel that they too have a *raison d'être* and a right to the good things of the world, will undoubtedly stand as one of the most momentous episodes or the great beginning in the history of the world. The astounding efforts of the Soviet regime in the economic field have already produced

a *débauche* in the capitalist markets of the world, and the Five-Year Plan which used to be looked down upon with contempt is now considered as a serious menace to the economic organization of the entire world. The effects of it have already been felt in our own country, where any effective outside competition in the field of agricultural produce was considered beyond the realms of possibility. Despite the primitive technique and organization of our rural economy, we felt ourselves completely safe against outside competition so far as the food products of the people were concerned. And yet since 1930 a new and disturbing phenomenon has made its appearance, which began with the imports of Australian wheat in competition with our own. But the injections of wheat supplies from Russia have disorganized the entire wheat market of the world, not only on account of cheap supplies but also on account of their uncertain quantities. While capitalists run industries including agricultural production and market the goods in a kind of unorganized and haphazard fashion, the Soviet Government pursues its well-organized plans with unflagging and relentless energy. The mechanization of the country, on which Lenin first began even while the very life of Bolshevism was in doubt, is proceeding apace, with the fullest co-operation of the American engineering skill and Russian doggedness. The Bolsheviks have at last realized the fundamental truth that liberty, culture—in fact all the graces of civilization are but empty words, a deception and a snare, if people have not got sufficient to eat. The world is still far from the stage when every human being as such will be entitled to the minimum of food and raiment which make his humanity possible, and so long as such is the case the concentration of the Bolshevik energies on the winning of material goods, on increasing the productive efficiency of the people, is but the perception of the ultimate spiritual truth. For the first time in history, the right of the human being to food and shelter has been recognized and also the obligation of every individual to work. The after-effects of the war have practically put the capitalist system out of

gear, and I take rather a remarkable instance reported in the (American) *Nation* of the 29th July, 1931: Three hundred jobless men marched upon the storekeepers of Henryetta the other day, not to beg for food but to demand. Starving men, even starving Americans, will take the law into their own hands when the society to which they belong denies them adequate food and shelter. But last winter, when the problem was not nearly so serious, many cities and towns showed themselves unable to meet the unemployment emergency. Budgets were strained, deficits were incurred, news of disturbances was suppressed, and hundreds of thousands of people barely pulled through the winter without enough food or clothing. Whatever the system may be—Capitalist, Socialist or Bolshevik—logical reasons have yet to be discovered to justify the starvation of men when others are rolling in needless luxury and luxuriating in an atmosphere of extravagant laziness.

The most remarkable achievement perhaps of the Soviet Republic is the extraordinary awe which it has inspired amongst the capitalist States of Europe and America, and particularly in Asia. Never before were people feared merely because of the particular doctrines that they held and practised. The miracle has happened. The world is not so much frightened of Bolshevik armies as of Bolshevism as such. All the world over capitalists have attempted to stamp out Communists and Communism, and curiously enough the essence of Bolshevism instead of being scotched seems to be making greater headway than ever, for the kernel of Bolshevism, namely, the right of the common man to live, responds to the innermost urge and longing of human beings, and so long as there are societies which fall short of this ideal, this particular contribution of Bolshevism is bound to spread and claim larger and larger numbers to its banner. I shall make use of some observations of that fine scholar, Lowes Dickinson, in the *Political Quarterly* (April to June 1931).

The Bolsheviks, Mr. Dickinson says were confirmed in their view that capitalism was a pitiless and irreconcilable enemy. To meet it they had raised a Red army

of over five million soldiers; for the people that could not and would not fight for Czardom gathered in their millions to fight for what seemed, at last, to be their own country. Those three terrible years had set the seal on Bolshevist idealism: henceforth it was they, with all they could gather in to help them, against the rest of the world. And they are winning, inspired by what is nothing less than a religion, though one that inverts all the dogmas of Christianity. Now, at last, Western Europe is beginning to see what they are achieving. The Five-Year Plan, which it treated with such contempt, may perhaps realize itself in four years, and a new ten-years' plan is being laid down to succeed it. The resistance of the peasants is being broken and State and co-operative farms are extending with extraordinary rapidity. Education in the communist creed is being spread throughout all classes and all ages, with an intensity that recalls the propaganda of the Jesuits. Into every village is penetrating the library, the cinema, lecture-classes, discussions; while people in the West, with their heads in the sand and their rumps in the air, endeavour to pretend that nothing is going on. The impingement of Russian wheat on the western world which, in the paradox of our civilization, is greeted as though it were a disaster, is but the beginning of a movement that, in a few years, may become catastrophic. The more we refuse to help the Russians the more they rely on themselves; and it is becoming absurd and dangerous, as it was always foolish, to refuse to face the situation. What is, for good or for evil, or for both, the most important movement in history, will not be conjured into nothingness by the reports of disgruntled exiles from Riga.

The economic menace of Bolshevism is real, for capitalist organizations find it impossible to contend or to compete with supplies and services which are the result of careful and detailed planning where practically every sort of intermediary who forms such an important link in the chain of capitalist organizations has no place whatever. For a country such as ours the success of the Soviet plan—and this cannot be gainsaid any longer—has an important lesson. The

safety of the agriculturist has for the first time been threatened, and with it his very existence. Tariff walls cannot serve as permanent ramparts of protection, for the latter have to be sought in more efficient production and better economic organization. The rural cultivator is at present strangled by the intermediate agencies which take his produce to the wholesale dealer. As it is, the individual cultivator sells in the wholesale market and buys his needs in the retail market. While this is true of all agriculturists, the position of the Indian cultivator is almost impossible with his irredeemable burden of debt, his primitive methods of agriculture, his infinitesimal resources in the way of capital and the inefficient organization of his markets. A rural economy such as ours has to be drastically modified, in fact, revolutionized, if the people are to exist at all, for while they were hitherto able in some sort of way to manage to subsist, even that has become impossible when entire States are in the process of being organized as a single economic unit. What is happening in USSR—or to give its full title "The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics"—is that the entire people are being regimented to put forth their best efforts by a Government whose sole aim is to increase productive efficiency and to make life for the poor people brighter and more in consonance with the elementary rights of a human being. Communism is an ancient idea, but it was left to the genius of Lenin to make it alive and actual in the life of a great people. Ideas, however good or revolutionary, are effective only to the extent to which they are put in to practice; and Communism, which was not more than a pious wish of benevolent souls who dreamt a millennium, has suddenly become a creed, a religion, for which people are prepared to lay down their very lives.

The common people have for the first time been awakened to the fact of their own existence. A feeling has suddenly dawned on them that they too have certain rights against and obligation to the society. It is no longer a question of unilateral service. It is not an accident that Bolshevism looks askance at all established religions; for these religions did not help the poor

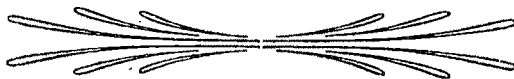
man at all, for poverty was regarded as providential in a pre-ordained society. Social distinctions were tacitly accepted as a part of the natural scheme of things and consequently humanity was content to move on in its accustomed grooves with a kind of blind fatalism. The handicaps of birth were accepted with resignation, and if anybody overcame them, it was accounted to the credit of the society which allowed such a thing to happen. The development of social legislation since the latter half of the nineteenth century has dispelled such notions and it is now recognized that society has certain duties towards its citizens irrespective of the conditions of their birth or their initial status in life. The full implications of democracy are beginning to be perceived and when logic or reason becomes the test by which social institutions are being judged, there can be but little room for mere tradition or vested interests.

Bolshevism has become a kind of bogey which is good enough to explain every kind of *malaise* that happens in the body, social or political, anywhere outside of Russia. While it is undoubtedly a testimony to the intelligence of the Soviet Government, it is but a poor compliment to the intelligence of the people elsewhere. Life everywhere is difficult and the economic blizzard which has swept over all the capitalist countries of the world has made matters worse for the common man, specially the poor agriculturist. Bolshevik propaganda is not required to make him feel that somehow or other the economic organization which gave him bread has unaccountably collapsed and is no longer in a position to administer to his elementary needs or even to guarantee his bare subsistence. It is, therefore, a question of superior organization. Social justice is a better word than Communism and that is what is missing in a more or less degree all the world over. The progress

of mankind is bound up with the recognition of the status of the poor people, for, after all, economic organizations—Capitalist or Socialist—are but the means to the end which is simply man's happiness.

Communism is essentially a doctrine evolved from the conditions of industry as obtained in the middle of the nineteenth century in Europe. The inevitable clash that Marx predicted between Labour and Capital does not appear now in the light of modern experience to be quite so inevitable as he thought. The tendency of all governments, at least those which are in the van of progress and which have the welfare of the people at heart, is to recognize the obligations of the State *vis-à-vis* of the poor and to direct the machinery of administration for the purpose of maximizing the happiness of the people as a whole. Communism as an orthodox doctrine has more or less broken down so far as the peasants are concerned, for, as Prof. Laski has rightly pointed out, "the peasant is interested in revolution up to the point where he obtains the land. Once he has got it, and can work it, the aftermath of revolution does not seem to win his interest. It is probable, accordingly, that communist agitation might go far towards winning the support of the poorer peasants against any system which either divorces them from security of tenure or treats them oppressively."

The contribution of Communism lies not so much in its strategy as in its moral implications. The apotheosis of the common man is the supreme contribution of Communism to modern thought, and so long as the welfare of the people at large remains the deciding factor in the orientation of the government's policy in any country, the Russian brand of Communism has but little scope.



OUR TIMES

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

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ONE wonders what new word can possibly be written on this subject which for years past has been discussed and debated in every part of the civilized world by outstanding statesmen, scholars and men of affairs. As a result, the whole world is living in a state of quite unaccustomed and unfamiliar introspection. As objective values have rapidly fallen, subjective values have multiplied with equal rapidity. States of mind are now seen to be more important for the world's welfare, the world's peace and the world's prosperity, and to have more direct influence upon these, than the price of wheat, of cotton, of copper, of oil, the condition of the banks or the earnings of the railways. There have been times in past history when most distinguished individuals and groups have given themselves over to introspection and have thereby enriched the literature, the art, the philosophy and the science of the world. For the first time, however, in these modern days, when the theory and practice of democracy had apparently been pretty firmly established throughout the whole Western world, we find introspection compelling the attention not only of the few but of the very many. Men everywhere are turning their intellectual gaze inward, to ask what can be the matter with our customary practices, our customary feelings, that they have allowed the world to come to the pass in which it now finds itself. This is a very striking phenomenon and must not be passed over without remark, for it offers a valuable clue to an understanding of what is going on. One thing which it means is that men may easily work themselves into so great a state of dissatisfaction with that to which they have been accustomed as to become steadily less critical of proposals for economic and political revolution.

This is indeed a wonderful age. It is so primarily because it is the theatre for the display of the effects of many and varied forces, long in operation, which are now at work under the wholly new intellectual, economic and political conditions which the twentieth century provides. It is not so long ago that those various organized groups of men which are called nations were widely separated both in time and space; the electric spark has wholly destroyed that separation and brought men, wherever they may be placed on the surface of this earth, close together in almost instant contact. It is not so long ago that foreign trade and exploration were almost interchangeable terms; now the conditions of

foreign trade and of domestic trade are practically indistinguishable. It is not so long ago that the man who had visited another country or who had seen another continent than his own was a rarity; now there are millions of human beings travelling over the surface of the earth day by day and making themselves familiar through personal contact with cities and countries and personalities which were once as remote as Jupiter or Saturn. The fundamental fact of our times is that we are living in a new kind of world, a world of independent, if you please, but also of interdependent nations, no one of which can long prosper or gain influence without the co-operation and concurrence of its fellow-nations. Until men generally get this fundamental fact in their heads they will have no understanding of our times and can make no possible or practical contribution towards the solution of the really appalling problems which confront us on every hand.

It is now beginning to be understood that if, under these conditions of interdependence, modern nations insist upon waging international war on any pretext or for any reason whatsoever, they must be prepared to pay the bill; and also that there is not wealth enough in the world to pay that bill without destroying the world's prosperity for generations. Moreover, we are now learning that nations can fight destructive and costly war with national selfishness, national jealousy and high tariffs quite as successfully and quite as disastrously as with armies and navies and air forces.

It is just over thirteen years and six months since the military hostilities of the Great War were brought to an end by the Armistice, and it is not yet thirteen years since the Treaties of Versailles, of the Trianon and of St. Germain were signed which attempted to record and to settle the issues of that war. The military hostilities ended on November 11, 1918, but the intellectual, the emotional, the economic and the political hostilities are still going on, and these are the fundamental cause of the economic and financial disaster and paralysis which have overtaken the whole world and which justly give us so much concern at this moment here in the United States. This has been said so many times and has been demonstrated so often that one would suppose that by this time every one would understand. On the contrary, there are large bodies of public opinion in this land and in several other lands which show no capacity

whatever to grasp or to understand these facts, and at Washington, as well as at several other capitals, the most incredible nonsense is constantly talked on this subject. To the best of my knowledge and belief, there is no dissent among those who know in any land in respect to this matter, but there appears to be an overwhelming majority of those who do not know, and it is to these that argument and exposition must be directed.

Put bluntly, the specific primary cause of the plight in which our farmers, our manufacturers, our merchants, our railways and our bankers find themselves, is the attempt not only to pay war reparations and so-called inter-governmental war debts, but to pay these across frontiers that are guarded by high and thick tariff walls which do not permit international payments to be made in goods. A quick result has been an unnatural and unwarranted distribution of gold which lies useless and sterilized at one or two financial centres. Gold thereby steadily increases in price measured in goods and services, while this of course causes a simultaneous fall in the price of every other known commodity. That is the most succinct statement which I am able to make of what I regard as the basic fact in the present economic situation. We are calling aloud for a return of prosperity while supporting our governments in precisely those policies which make a return to prosperity impossible.

If international policies had been adopted ten years ago that not only permitted but encouraged international settlements in terms of goods and services, we should have had perhaps a difficult situation but certainly one far less tragic than that in which we now find ourselves. When international payments in gold were substantially insisted upon, it did not take long to make it clear that the whole amount of gold in the world was not sufficient to pay more than a fraction of these enormous reparations and so-called inter-governmental debts. Then a new situation developed, to which Winston Churchill has recently called attention and which would be comic were it not so tragic. The nations that found themselves victorious in the Great War, so far from being able to collect vast sums in reparations from the nations that were defeated, actually loaned those nations the money with which to pay the amounts that the victorious nations have thus far received. Really one would suppose that we were witnessing opera bouffe in all this instead of facing the stern realities of a world that deludes itself into thinking it is practical.

Deflation has gone on to an extent which is without parallel, and every day the value of what we do and of what we own is falling not only in those countries which are without a supply of gold but in those,—France and the United States,—which have gold in superabundance. It is all this which has shaken public confidence,

which has stopped credit, which has enormously reduced traffic on the railways, which has closed down manufacturing establishments, which has left the farmer without a compensating market and which has thrown out of employment millions upon millions of men and women who are able, willing and glad to work. Moreover, this process has gone on so long and so far that it has greatly increased the embarrassment of every debtor. The standard of measurement in which his debt was contracted several years ago has been greatly lengthened by the rise in the price of gold, and in payment of his debt he must now be prepared to offer in goods and services at least some thirty-five per cent more in value than he borrowed. Is it any wonder that every sort and kind of financial heresy is raising its head when such conditions prevail?

In fact, the disaster which has come upon us is quite comparable, whether measured in magnitude or in severity, to the disaster of the World War itself. Today there are more men out of work than there were under arms in the Great War, and the direct financial losses which have been incurred since 1918 have already exceeded the direct financial losses of that war. To the United States alone the money cost of the war is put by our best authority at thirty-seven and one-half billion dollars.

The notion so often advanced here in the United States that we are simply passing through one more natural period of depression and panic from which we shall recover as we recovered from others that preceded it, is wholly illusory. These amazing conditions bear no relation whatever, either in origin or in character, to those which we are accustomed to associate with the years 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893 and 1907. Those ingenious persons who are drawing graphs and making tables to show when business will return to normal and when prices will rise, following the precedents of those earlier depressions, are wasting their time. Unless we remove the basic causes of this present depression, there is no assurance of any automatic check to it whatever until there comes about a complete paralysis of all business activity. In the United States, as in Great Britain, something has been done to deal with some of the aspects of the crisis that are clearly local and internal. It is quite obvious, however, that as yet nothing of any fundamental character has been undertaken to deal with those basic international aspects which are controlling.

Because the Great War turned the United States into the position of a creditor nation, there rests upon our government a singularly weighty responsibility to take the initiative in dealing with the underlying causes of the present situation. It is no use to repeat old and outworn formulas which have long since lost any meaning that they may ever have had; it is essential to look the facts in the face in

a spirit of realism and to deal with these facts in a spirit of human understanding, of human kindness, and human sympathy.

What is needed, first of all, is a quick, drastic and permanent reduction or complete abolition of all existing inter-governmental obligations which arose out of the World War. It is merely a tantalizing putting off of the day of reckoning to propose the moratorium, for a moratorium only postpones the day when the real issues must be definitely faced, no matter how grave they may be. This world crisis is essentially a crisis of confidence, and until the present paralysing uncertainty with respect to the inter-governmental war obligations is ended, world confidence will not be and cannot be restored. Every government concerned would enrich itself and its people by joining in wiping out those obligations entirely.

Of all the outstanding inter-governmental war obligations, of course the most onerous is that of Germany to pay reparations. Recent economic studies by disinterested and open-minded men have made it perfectly plain that, whether one likes it or not, Germany simply cannot now pay the full charges put upon her by the Young Plan and is quite unlikely to be able to pay any considerable amount for some years to come. Of course, the principal European nations which are Germany's creditors on account of reparations are also debtors to the United States. For various reasons, but chiefly due to the prevailing depression, these nations are not now financially able to pay the United States the amounts due unless they in turn receive financial payments from Germany on account of reparations. It is, therefore, a purely legalistic and technical position for us to take when we say that there is no relationship between reparation payments and inter-governmental war debts. There is the closest and most definite relationship between them because it is a relationship not of law but of fact. Our government, in insisting upon a merely legalistic statement of the situation, has persistently closed its eyes to the facts. It is high time that its eyes were opened. These are the reasons why the initiative must be taken by the United States. In refusing to take that initiative our government is simply throwing the weight of its influence on the side of making the present crisis worse and more dangerous.

Moreover, it is quite ludicrous to say, as is said at Washington almost every day, that, if we cancel the so-called inter-governmental war debts, the amount which we might have received in those payments will have to be made up by the American tax-payer. One would suppose that Washington had never heard of the fact that because of the situation arising from these so-called inter-governmental war debts, we in America have lost many, many times over, in shrinkage of capital values and in loss of business, the sum total of what we could ever hope to receive

from this source. The United States treasury received in the last fiscal year some two hundred and forty million dollars on account of these so-called inter-governmental war debt payments, but the losses from the collapse of our foreign trade have been ten times that amount and our federal income tax has fallen off more than five times that amount. We present the unenviable picture of cutting off our national nose to spite our national face.

The language of the Special Advisory Committee on the Young Plan, which sat from December 9 to December 23, 1931, cannot be improved upon. These are the words of the distinguished and skilled body of economists and men of affairs who constituted that committee: "The adjustment of all inter-governmental debts (reparations and other war debts) to the existing troubled situation of the world—and this adjustment should take place without delay if new disasters are to be avoided—is the only lasting step capable of re-establishing confidence which is the very condition of economic stability and real peace. We appeal to the Governments on whom the responsibility for action rests to permit of no delay in coming to decisions which will bring an amelioration of this grave crisis which weighs so heavily on all alike."

Is it not clear then that the world's most competent economists have done all that they can do to make us understand the situation and its gravity? They clearly put the responsibility for a continuance of the present situation where it belongs, namely, upon the governments, the organized political forces of the world. Under these circumstances, the political party in the United States, or the candidate for high political office, that declares opposition to any plan for the readjustment of the so-called inter-governmental war debts to the existing economic and financial situation, merely declares in favour of prolonging the existing depression, with all the sorrow, with all the suffering and with all the distress which that means. Surely this is a frightful responsibility for any political party or for any individual candidate to assume!

In the second place, there must be a quick movement for a world-wide revision and reduction of tariff schedules if industry and trade in the United States and elsewhere are to revive. Any one who has seen the very striking model prepared by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell, which shows present-day Europe and its tariff barriers, will see at a glance just why business is at so low an ebb. The world is calling out for a revival of business: in theory while in practice it is working hard to prevent that revival. The grotesquely high levels of the world's present tariffs and the very bureaucratic and vexatious methods which attach to their administration, have for several years past either impeded, or wholly prevented, the normal flow of products between various countries, have put obstacles

to, or wholly prevented, the normal payment of private international debts and have contributed powerfully as an underlying cause to bring about and prolong the present world depression. It is conceivable that a high tariff may be advantageous now and then for a single country acting alone, but, when all countries simultaneously build such barriers to trade, there can be but one result, and that is loss of trade, unemployment and suffering. The United States just now is one of the chief offenders in the matter of tariff legislation. The existing tariff in the United States, some of whose import duties are alleged to be even greater than one hundred per cent and many of whose duties are completely prohibitive, not only restricts our imports unduly but restricts in equal degree the normal and legitimate foreign markets for our agricultural and manufacturing exports which would be so valuable to us. A nation can not sell when it will not buy. In addition, our tariff has made it exceedingly difficult and almost impossible for debtors in other lands to pay their obligations to us, and it has thereby penalized our American banks and investors. It would not be difficult to trace a definite connection between our tariff schedules and some of the recent defaults on foreign bonds.

As a leading commercial nation and as the world's largest international creditor, it is the United States which should take the initiative in trying to correct the present disastrous tariff situation. Action by the United States alone, or any one-sided action on our part, might easily do even more harm than good. Since the disease is international in character, the cure must be international in method. What is needed is joint and reciprocal action by all the leading nations working in concert. If the American government would begin promptly the negotiation of reciprocal commercial treaties with other great industrial nations, treaties drafted with a view to bringing about very substantial reductions of prevailing rates of duty, great gain would result both at home and abroad. Other countries would with certainty eagerly follow the lead of the United States. A marked expansion of world trade would quickly result, and we should receive back many times over the value of any initial sacrifices which we might make, whether these were real or only apparent.

It is also of importance in this connection that we give sympathy and support to the movements going forward in other parts of the world to build up new economic unions for increasing the area of freedom of trade. The plan brought forward by M. Briand three years ago for an economic union of Europe is sound in principle and, I believe, wholly practical. Steps are now being taken which may easily lead to an important economic understanding and co-operation among the six governments of the Balkan States. Several South American countries are feeling

their way toward creating an economic union in that part of the world. In the United States we have such an economic union of vast area, over the whole of which freedom of trade prevails and must prevail. It would be greatly to our advantage if these new economic unions should come into existence, for trade would be revived and there would hereafter be fewer public authorities to deal with in our various commercial and international negotiations. Moreover, the mere existence of such economic unions, should they prove successful, would tend to bring them together in larger groups of constantly greater significance and importance. It seems quite certain that the existence of such economic unions would increase political stability as well as economic prosperity.

This survey, however brief, would be incomplete which did not mention and emphasize another economic problem of highest importance. This problem also is pretty nearly world-wide in its incidence and in its effects, but it is one which would exist even were there no problems of the sort which have just now been discussed. This is the condition which has arisen, very sharply and very definitely in the United States, because of the multiplication of the power of the people to produce without accompanying increase in their capacity to consume. When agricultural and industrial processes were simple and local, such a condition could not arise. The industrial revolution, however, together with man's greatly multiplied power over the forces of nature, his development of mass production both in agriculture and in industry, and the multiplication of agencies of communication and transportation, have flooded the country with those articles which man most needs for the support and comfort of his daily life. Nevertheless, millions of our fellow-men stand helplessly before this flood of plenty and are without the means to acquire for themselves and their families that portion of it which they themselves most need. Is it not plain that somewhere in our economic organization there is grave structural weakness? It is futile to lay emphasis on over-production where there are literally hosts of men and women anxious to become consumers but without the means with which to do so. Somewhere and somehow there is plainly failure in the distribution of the profits and rewards of industry.

These facts bring us face to face with the most fundamental question which can ever confront organized human society. Shall we retain our historic faith in Liberty and move heaven and earth so to act under the protection of Liberty and the economic, the social and the political institutions which it calls into being as to commend those institutions to the faith and support of the general will, or must we turn our backs upon Liberty and offer allegiance to one of those various forms of Compulsion which are everywhere clamouring to take Liberty's place? A disciplined people, with a conscious

historic background of development and achievement, will wait a long time before undertaking to overturn the foundations upon which its social, economic and political order rests, but, on the other hand, millions upon millions of human beings must not be expected indefinitely to find themselves economically outlawed without grasping at almost any alternative in the hope of relief. The only possible chance that either doctrinaire Socialisms or Communism can ever have in the western world will come from our failure to work the institutions of Liberty in the spirit of social, economic and political justice. The time has fully come for us to put on our thinking-caps. We must be prepared to consider some unfamiliar policies as offering possible relief from an impossible situation. Plans of one kind or another are suggested almost daily, but no man has yet shown himself wise enough to tell us just what may prove to be practicable and quickly helpful.

We dare not content ourselves with denouncing those alternatives to Liberty which Compulsion has to offer without strengthening Liberty against their attacks by proving it can adapt itself to present-day economic and social conditions without breach of fundamental principle. Unrestricted and law-compelled competition for private gain without regard to social service will not serve the public interest. The exploitation of a people's natural resources solely for individual profit will not do. What we need and must quickly find is a way to get new and controlled means of organized effort so to produce and so to distribute the returns from production as to cause consuming power to grow, to keep pace with that of production. We must seek to find a working plan or plans for better industrial organization and development. To do that we must try experiments and be free to do them without legal obstacles.

Russia has chosen her way for a time at least. We see the Russian people turning their backs in this twentieth century upon all the lessons of the

history of civilization and starting once more in an economic Garden of Eden to live over again the history of our race at huge cost and colossal waste of human power and human feeling with entire certainty that when that course has been finished it will end at the same place where the human race now finds itself after thousands of years of effort and experience. We see in other lands, and here and there in the United States, well-organized and sometimes powerful groups of those who are ready to renounce and denounce Liberty in any form and to accept the extreme compulsion of Communism, not only with resignation but with enthusiasm and even hilarity. Surely these are odd sights after all that the human race has gone through and after all that history has to teach. Liberty has certainly had a long and troubled history. Those who abuse its opportunities and its privileges sometimes seem almost as numerous as those who would try to prevent Liberty's growth and progress. Nevertheless, if the history of civilization has any one lesson to teach which is clear and convincing, it is that Liberty of thought, of speech and of action is the foundation on which human nature can build its highest, its finest and its most lasting accomplishments. But if these results are to follow, Liberty must be more than a parade ground for selfish ambition or for the wish and the willingness to trample under foot one's fellow-men. Liberty exists not for one man but for all men. The one man makes the most of himself, judged by the loftiest and most enduring standards, when he has constantly in mind the needs and the interests of his fellow-men. He must not use Liberty to wage war upon his kind but to co-operate with his kind for the advancement of the good of each and all. Let me repeat once more a sentence which I have spoken in more lands than one: "The free man, socially-minded, is the hope of the world."

[In an Interview]

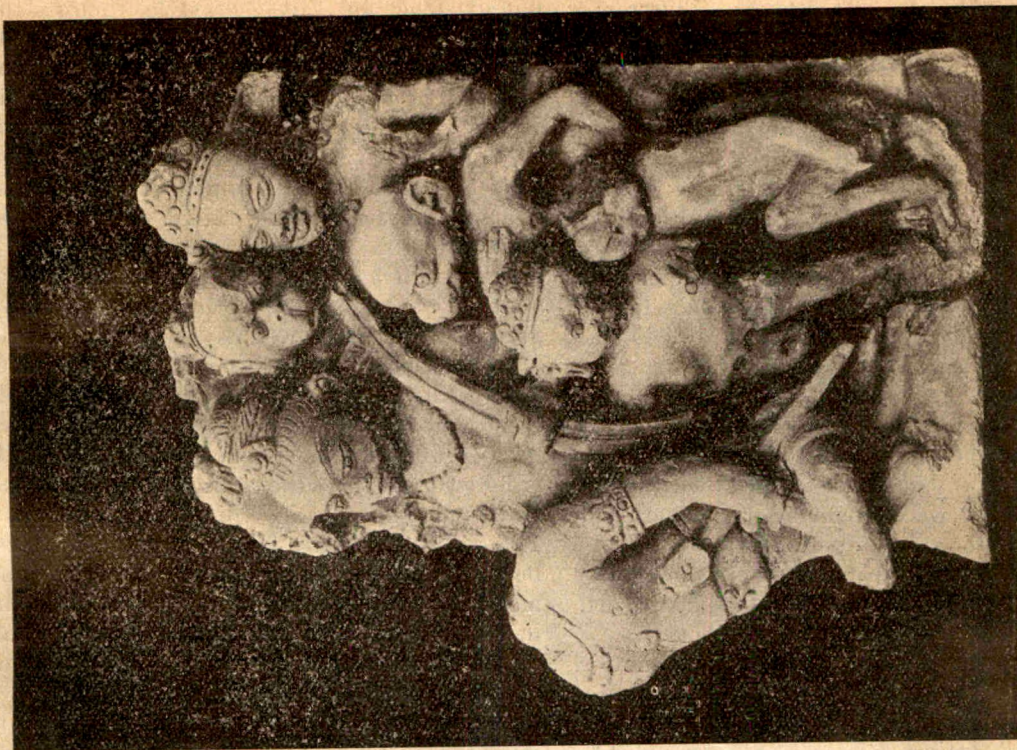
A NOTE ON A TERRACOTTA RAMAYANA PANEL OF GUPTA PERIOD, AND ON SIKHARA TEMPLES

By K. P. JAYASWAL

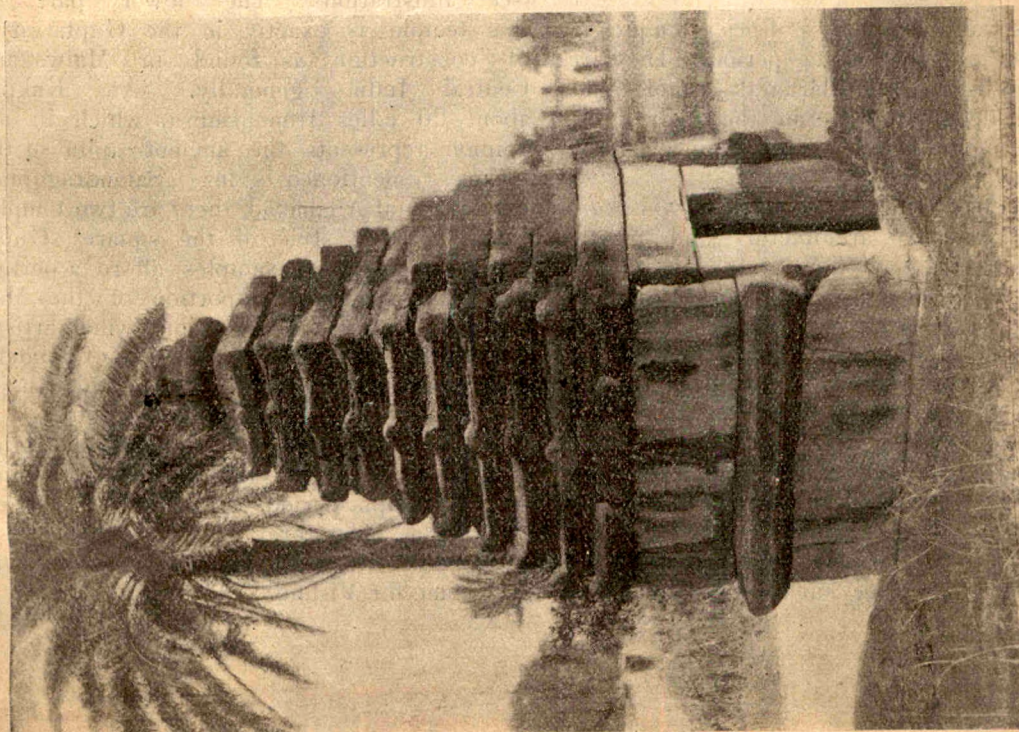
LAST year I deputed Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator of Patna Museum, to acquire and bring some Jaina bronzes (sculptures) reported to have been discovered in a field at Chausa (near Buxar). Along with the bronzes, the curator brought a terracotta panel, 1'—8½" × 1'—3½" (thick 3½").

It is in *alto-relievo*, in burnt clay, resembling a large brick. The figures were carved before the panel was baked.

It gives a Ramayana scene. It is exactly of the same technique as the panels found by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Bhitargaon temple (Cawnpore district) and in the neighbourhood of Bhitargaon, *i. e.* at



A Ramayana Scene in a Terracotta temple frieze of Gupta Period found at Chausa (now at Patna Museum)



Miniature Sikhara Temple at Suraj Man (Later ? Gupta Period)

Sankisa, Newal, etc., which he has illustrated in Volume XI of the *Archaeological Survey of Indian Reports*, plates XVI-XVIII.

In the brick-built Sikhara temples of the Gupta period, panels in terracotta take the place of sculptured panels in stone of stone-temples.

At Chausa the panel was found under a tree and a place was pointed out from where it originally came. A few broken pieces of similar terracotta were traceable. Evidently, a temple stood at Chausa and its bricks and ruins have been used up after its destruction either by man or nature.

In Bihar evidence of this variety of Gupta art is for the first time found in this plane which proves that brick temples with terracotta planes were common to Bihar and Panchala in the Gupta period.

It is not the first instance where the Ramayana story is found in Gupta plastic art. At Deogarh we have a series of them.

Hindu artists had a technical name for the class of *alto-relievo* art represented here. They called it *Ardha Chitra* (See *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IX, pp. 31-32).

There was another class of brick temples in *sikhara* style in the Gupta period. They are illustrated by the Deo-Barnarak temples and the Mahadeopur temple in the district of Shahabad in Bihar. They had plain plastered exteriors.

Mr. Codrington in his *Ancient India* (with reference to architecture and plastic art) in describing the style of Gupta temples (pp. 58-59) fixes his attention on only one style of Gupta buildings. When he says "there is no reason to believe that the *sikhara*... existed before the medieval period," he ignores completely the brick-temples which were built in that age on definite arch and vault principles with prominent *sikharas*. If one looks at the Bodh-Gaya plaque printed on the first page of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, all such idea about the

non-existence of *sikhara* style before the medieval period will be finally removed. The *sikhara* in the Bodh-Gaya plaque has even an arched door whereof the bricks laid in the fashion of Hindu arch construction are clearly visible in the original (Patna Museum). The plaque which is in terracotta bears an inscription in raised letters of the 2nd century A. D.

The *Matsya Purana*, a work of the fourth century A.D., gives varieties of *sikhara* temples, which, as well as the known Gupta *sikhara* temples, prove that for centuries before the Gupta period the *sikhara* style must have been a favourite and must have been practised in Hindu architecture. It is noteworthy that the *sikhara* style and the *Anda* (cupola) style according to the *Matsya Purana* and other Hindu authorities, had been copied from Indian peaks and mountain forms which are named. The inscription of Kharavela (2nd century B.C.) mentions the construction of excellent *sikharas* (*varani siharani*).

At Suraj Man I noticed a beautiful miniature stone temple in *sikhara* style (see illustration). The lower part of this temple is exactly in the Gupta style of construction as found in Malwa and Central India generally. At Kakpur about 20 miles from Bhilsa, which in my opinion represents the ancient capital of the Kakas mentioned in Samudragupta's inscription at Allahabad, there are two temples exactly in the style of the square Gupta temples. All these examples afford a perfect guide for the square portion of the Man temple. The *sikhara* portion, which artistically is unique, is earlier than the Chandella style at the Rahila lake (Mahoba) and Khajuraho, and the temples of circa 800 A.D. I reproduce the Man temple as an illustration of a *sikhara* temple in stone of the Gupta or later Gupta period. It has the suggestion of a nine-storey *sikhara* which was a great favourite of the ancient *Silpa-sastra* as a home for Vishnu.

SIND FIVE THOUSAND YEARS AGO

By RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization marks the crowning achievement of the Archaeological Survey of India reorganized by Lord Curzon thirty years ago. In a speech delivered at the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 7th February, 1900, while foreshadowing the revival of the Archaeological Department, Lord Curzon said:

"Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the 3rd century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldaea and Nineveh, the Pyramids and the rock tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building as old as the Parthenon of Athens; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome."*

No one ever hesitated to assign the earliest Indian literary monument, the Rigveda, a date thousand years earlier. But an impassable barrier intervened between the Asokan and the pre-Asokan period of Indian monumental history. Lord Curzon selected a brilliant young Cambridge graduate with first class in Classical Tripos who had served his apprenticeship in the British school of Athens under D. G. Hogarth and carried on excavations at Knossos in Crete with Sir Arthur Evans to take charge of the archaeological operations in India. No one could be better equipped than Mr. J. H. Marshall (as he then was) to bring to light pre-Mauryan monuments that had so long evaded the explorers. But twenty years' persistent digging all but failed (for the pre-Mauryan stratum of Bhita did not yield anything striking) till in 1920-21 Sir John Marshall directed Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, then Superintendent of Archaeology, to undertake the excavations of the mounds of Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab. Two years later Mr. R. D. Banerji, Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Circle, undertook the excavation of the Buddhist stupa on an old mound at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district in Sind. Rectangular stone seals with the figure of one-horned bull and inscription in pictographic script were first obtained from Harappa by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by him in his Report for 1875. Other specimens were subsequently acquired by

the British Museum and published by Dr. Fleet in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1912. But these seals did not attract the attention of the Sumerologists who were familiar with the bone roll cylinder found at Susa bearing an inscription in pictograph of the same type and first published in *Délégation en Perse (Mémoires de la mission archéologique de Perse)*, vol. ii. A circular press seal bearing inscription in the same Indian (Indus) script and published before the announcement of the new discoveries at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro was found by De Sarzec at Telloh (Lagash), a site in the extreme south of Sumer, which has furnished monuments anterior to 3000 B.C. (Delaporte, *Catalogue des Cylindres, Louvre*, vol. i). It was not till Sir John Marshall published some of the seals and other objects discovered by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni at Harappa and Mr. R. D. Banerji at Mohenjo-daro in the *Illustrated London News* of the 20th September, 1924, that the attention of Sumerologists was drawn to Indian seals discovered outside India. A week later, in the same paper, Prof. Sayce pointed out the resemblance of the Indus antiquities to antiquities found by De Morgan at Susa, and in the next issue, in a joint communication, Messrs. S. Smith and C. J. Gadd of the British Museum pointed out their resemblance to Mesopotamian antiquities assignable to an age preceding 2800 B.C. Confirmatory evidence came to light in quick succession. In *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. xxii, (1925), F. Thureau-Dangin published a small square press seal of steatite of the usual Indian type, probably from Telloh, with an inscription in Indus script and an Indian tiger with head over a manger facing right engraved on it. In the same volume of *Revue d'Assyriologie* Scheil published the impression in clay of a similar seal found at Djokha or Yokha (Umma) near Telloh, with the figure of a bull showing one horn and an inscription in Indus script. The find that proved very useful for fixing the age of the Indus civilization was the Indus seal discovered by Mr. Ernest Mackay near the temple tower of the war-god Ilbaba at Kish in 1923 and published by him in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1925, p. 698. (Fig. 1.). A sixth Indian seal of a different type was found by Mr. Woolley at Ur and published by him in *The Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. viii (1928). It bears an Indus design, a bison with the head lowered as if to charge and a manger below, but the inscription upon it is in cuneiform characters. These Indian and semi-Indian seals with other objects of Indian manufacture found in association with them, in some cases in strata, of which

* *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, p. 57.



Fig. 1. Indus seal found by Mr. Mackay at Kish
(From the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,
1925, plate x, facing p. 698)

the chronological position is known, have enabled archaeologists to determine the age of the cities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and their relations with other centres of civilization with a degree of certainty compared to which the period covered by the entire range of Vedic literature beginning with the Rigveda and ending with the *Aranyakas* appears to hang in the air.

These three magnificent volumes that owe their publication to the enterprise of Mr. Arthur Probsthain embody the results of the excavations at Mohenjo-daro from 1922 to 1927. They bear the modest sub-title, "Being the official account of Archaeological Excavations at Mohenjo-daro carried out by the Government of India between 1922 and 1927." But the book is great deal more than an "official account"; a considerable portion of it is literature. The different areas excavated are described by Sir John Marshall, Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, Messrs. Hargreaves and Ernest Mackay. The indefatigable Mr. Mackay has contributed separate accounts of the masonry structures and the vast collection of antiquities of different classes recovered from these areas, including pottery, figurines, statuary, faience and stone vessels, seals, tools, implements, utensils, personal ornaments and toys. Messrs. S. Smith and C. J. Gadd of the British Museum have contributed a "Sign-list of early Indus Script," prepared with great care and accompanied by pertinent observations. Professor S. Langdon has contributed a suggestive article on the Indus script. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Sana Ullah has written on metallurgy and Sir Edwin Pascoe on minerals and metals. Colonel Seymour Sewell and Dr. B. S. Guha have dealt with the human and animal remains. The most readable portion of the volumes for the non-specialist are the illuminating introductory chapters contributed

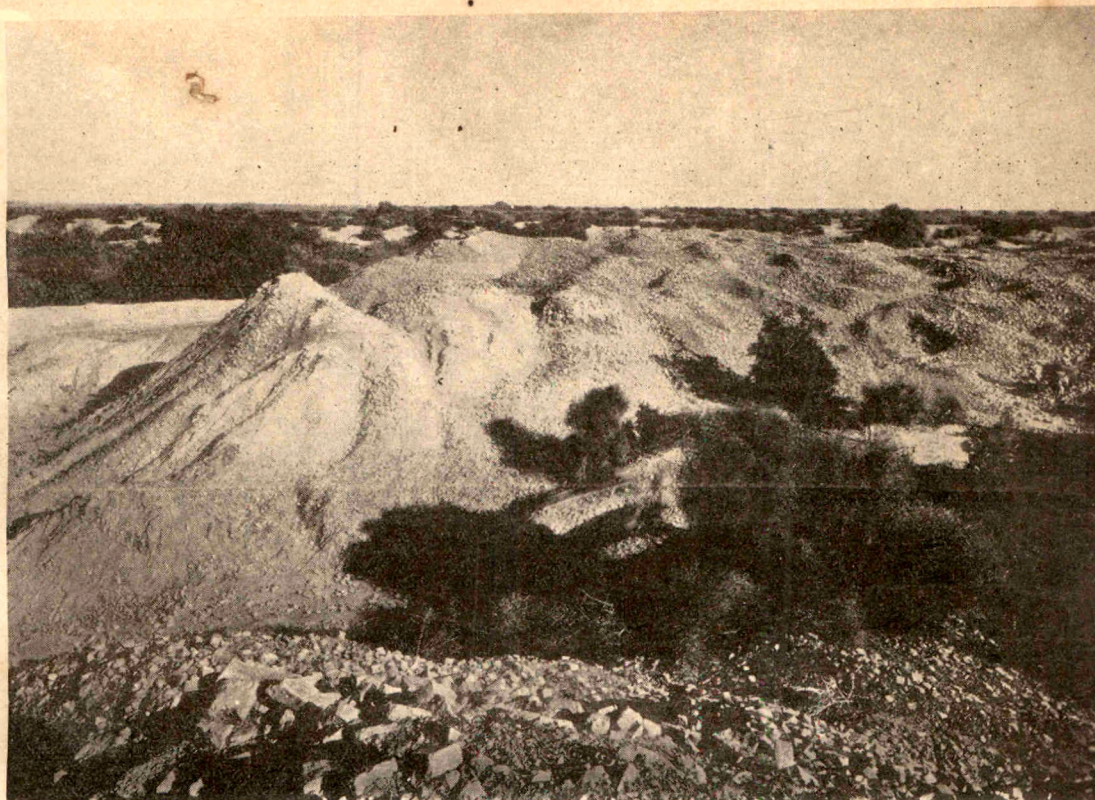
by Sir John Marshall, the editor. He approaches the many problems suggested by the discoveries with an Indian outlook, attaching due weight to Indian tradition in their attempted solution. All the conclusions drawn by Sir John Marshall may or may not stand the test of time; but his method of viewing Indus antiquities, not from the Elamo-Mesopotamian or the hypothetical Aryan, but from the Hindu standpoint, is the one likely to lead to best results.

Mohenjo-daro, the "Mound of the Dead," situated in Larkana District in Sind, stands on a long narrow strip of land between the main bed of the Indus and the Western Naro loop (27° 19' N. and 68° 8' E.). Sir John Marshall writes :

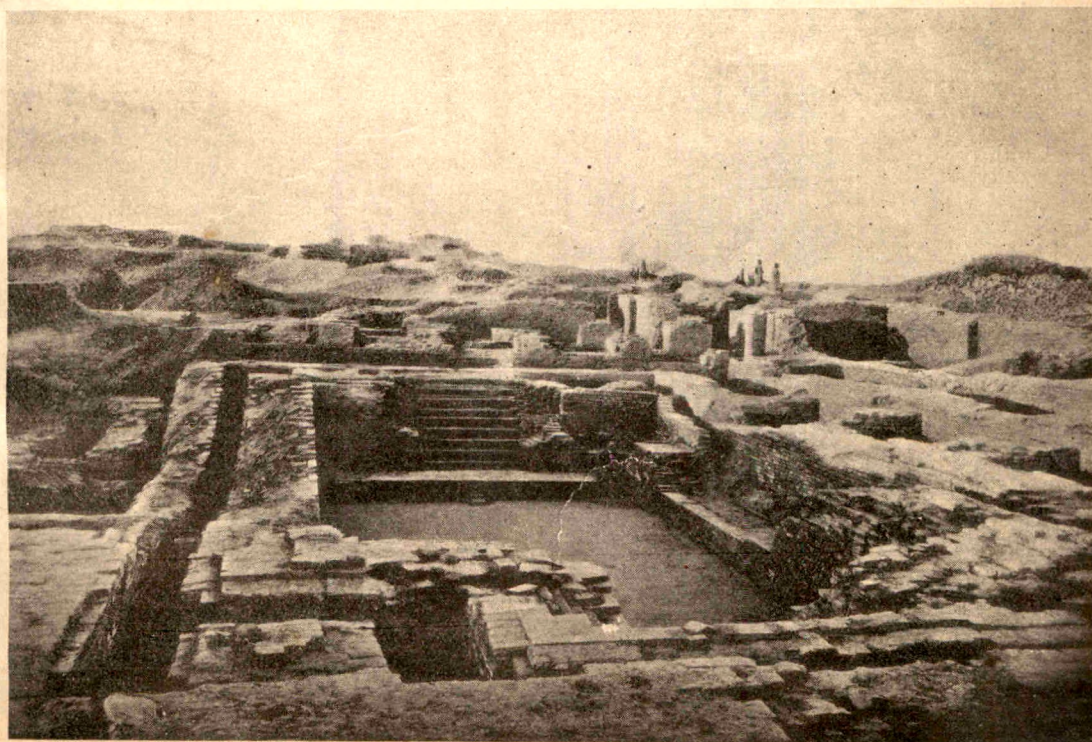
"The mounds which hide the remains of the ancient city, or rather series of cities (since there are several of them superimposed one upon the other) are conspicuous from afar in the riverine flat, the highest of them, near the north-west corner, rising to a height of some 70 feet, the others averaging from 20 to 30 feet above the plain. The actual area covered by the mounds is now no more than about 240 acres, but there is little doubt, as we shall presently see, that floods and erosion have greatly diminished their extent and that the deep alluvium deposited by the river has covered all the lower and outlying parts of the city." (p. 1).

In 1922, the late R. D. Banerji undertook the excavation of the remains of the Buddhist stupa and monastery on the highest mound (Plate I, a.). Coins found in the debris of the monument indicated that it was referable to the early centuries of the Christian era. Immediately below the earliest Buddhist pavement Mr. Banerji found remains of masonry structures constructed with the same type of bricks as used in the Buddhist buildings, but associated with painted pottery and seals bearing designs and inscriptions in pictographic script. "Mr. Banerji divined, and rightly divined, that these earlier remains must have antedated the Buddhist structures, which were only a foot or two below them, by some two or three thousand years" (p. 11). In 1923-24 and 1924-25 excavations were continued by Messrs. M. S. Vats and K. N. Dikshit. Sir John Marshall undertook the supervision of the operations organized on a much wider scale in 1925-26. The work was continued in the following year by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Mr. Mackay. Though the volumes before us are mainly confined to an account of the operations of these first five years at Mohenjo-daro, the most remarkable among the finds of the subsequent years and the most remarkable among the discoveries at Harappa are also noticed in them. The copies of inscriptions on the Harappa seals are included in the Sign Manual.

The level of the plain around Mohenjo-daro was 25 to 30 feet below its present level in the chalcolithic period. In the winter season, when excavations are feasible, the subsoil water comes



a. Mohenjo-daro before excavation : in the foreground is the north end of the Stupa mound.

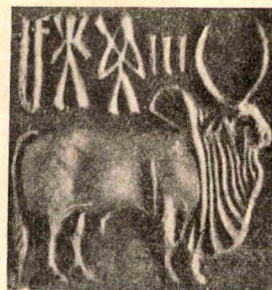




a. Seal from Mohenjo-daro



b. Seal from Mohenjo-daro



c. Seal No. 339



d. Seal with standing deity



e. Seal with standing deity



f. Seal with standing deity and bull



g. Standing deity and bull



h. Seal with standing deity and bull



i. Seal with standing deity and bull

within some 15 feet of the surface. This has prevented deep digging and the final determination of the stratification from the original ground level. But between the level of the subsoil water and the summit of the mounds Sir John Marshall recognizes "not less than seven strata of remains." He writes :

"Of these seven strata, however, we have found that the three latest are distinguished from their predecessors by increasing signs of decadence in the size and construction of the buildings, and that in some areas, though not in all, there is also a well-defined break between the third and the fourth strata from the top, as if the city had been reduced to ruin at the time and remained in that condition for an appreciable period before being rebuilt. Of the seventh stratum only a very small extent has been uncovered, but, so far as can be judged at present the distinction between this and the sixth stratum is more than usually marked. Provisionally, therefore, we have divided these seven strata into three major divisions or periods. The first of these, which we term the "Late Period," comprised the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd strata; the second, which we term the "Intermediate Period" comprises the 4th, 5th and 6th strata; while the third, which we term the "Early Period," is for the present represented by the seventh stratum, though, as the digging proceeds lower, there is no doubt that earlier strata will be unearthed. Thus, 'Late II' corresponds with the second stratum, 'Intermediate III' with the sixth stratum, and so on." (p. 10).

The antiquities recovered from these seven strata are surprisingly uniform. The same sizes of bricks are used in all levels. "The seals from the different levels are so alike in style, material, form, and technique that it is impracticable to distinguish between them; and the same is true of pottery, the bulk of which defies all efforts to arrange it in typological sequence" (p. 103). The only point of outstanding difference between the different strata is that the buildings of the "Late Period" are meaner and more poorly built than their predecessors. Sir John Marshall allows provisionally 500 years for the duration of the occupation of the city of Mohenjo-daro. But even at the initial stage of this period the civilization was fully fledged. From the fact that in this period stone was sparingly used side by side with copper or bronze for the manufacture of weapons and tools, the age is called chalcolithic.

The Indus seals discovered in Elam and Mesopotamia referred to above have mostly been found in pre-Sargonic level, that is to say, are older than the 28th century B. C. Another Indus seal has been unearthed by M. Watelin at Kish in 1931 in the same early stratum and may be as old or may have fallen down from the next upper stratum, and therefore, somewhat younger.* (Fig. 2). This year at Ur, perhaps in



Fig. 2. Indus seal found at Kish (From the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 595)

a much earlier stratum, Mr. Woolley has found a small seal bearing an inscription in Indus script.† Mr. Mackay proposes to date the different periods of the occupation of Mohenjo-daro thus :

Early Period	c. 3250 B.C.
Intermediate Period	c. 3000 B.C.
Late Period	c. 2750 B.C. (p. 334)

The climate of Sind was more favourable in those remote days than it is now. "That the rainfall used to be substantially heavier than it is at present, may be inferred from the universal use of burnt instead of sun-dried bricks for the walls of dwelling houses and other buildings." Another evidence bearing on the same point is furnished by some of the animals engraved on the seals. The tiger, the rhinoceros, and the elephant are commonly found in damp, jungly country. It should also be noted that in Southern Baluchistan the rainfall was much heavier then than now. "At spot after spot in Southern Baluchistan, in the midst of desert wastes where there is either no water at all or only enough to sustain a handful of nomads, Sir Aurel Stein found the remains of large and once flourishing settlements belonging to the prehistoric age." (p. 2).

The physical aspect of Sind as determined by the river system was also then different. Sind is now watered by the Indus alone with its affluents and branches. When the Arabs conquered Sind early in the eighth century A.D., they found another great river flowing through the land to the east of the Indus and named it the Great Mihran. The dry bed of this river is also known as the Hakra or Wahindah. This

* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1931, p. 595.

† *The Statesman*, 6th April, 1932. Mr. Adrish Chandra Banerji, M.A., has drawn my attention to the report on Mr. Woolley's lecture at Baghdad, March 28, 1932.

Hakra is evidently the great river called the Saravati which, according to Amara's lexicon, formed the boundary of North-Western (*Udichya*) and South-Eastern (*Prachya*) India, and which, according to the early commentator of Amara, fell into the western sea (*paschimabdhigamini*). The Sutlej, Ghagghar and Chitang were probably her tributaries, for in Arrian's time the Sutlej did not fall into the Indus but flowed independently into the Rann of Cutch.* This second river of Sind must have been flowing independently into the sea in the Rigvedic period before the holy Sarasvati lost itself in the sands of Patiala. If the Hakra (Saravati) drained part of the water that now flows into the sea through the Indus in the chalcolithic period, "we may visualize the Indus as flowing by Mohenjo-daro in less formidable volume than it does at present—a river that could have been kept in bounds without such vast embankments as have become necessary in recent centuries, and that in normal years could be counted on to rise and inundate, without devastating, the surrounding country." (p. 6).

The chalcolithic culture of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa that are some four hundred miles apart was completely uniform in character. It was not also confined to this narrow zone. Chalcolithic sites have been found all over Sind as far as Gujo in the south and Vijnor on the dry bed of the Hakra on the north-east. Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, who was engaged in exploring the prehistoric sites of Sind up to 1931-32, has discovered a considerable number of them. The same culture probably flourished all over the Punjab. Harappa, on the old bed of the Ravi, is in the heart of the province. Chalcolithic remains have been found at Rupar on the Sutlej just below the Simla Hills. West of the Indus Chalcolithic remains have been traced through Loralai, Derajat, Zhob, Waziristan as far as Bannu in the north.

The painted pottery recovered from different sites shows that the Indus culture greatly influenced the prehistoric civilization of Baluchistan. Sir John Marshall distinguishes three classes of painted pottery; red and black wares which comprise all wares with designs in black, brown, or purplish-brown on a red ground; buff wares comprising all wares with designs in black, grey, brown, red on a buff, cream, grey, or greenish ground; and hybrid wares (p. 97). Fragments of red-and-black wares are found in all the strata of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. An inferior class of red-and-black ware is found throughout Eastern Baluchistan and occasionally in the western districts also, as well as in Sistan. The

buff Baluchi wares predominate throughout the western districts of Baluchistan and Sistan, linking up with the Persian and Mesopotamian pale wares. But the buff wares unearthed by Mr. Hargreaves from Sohr Damb (Red Mound) near Nal in the Jhalwan District in south-eastern Baluchistan is of great importance. Sir John Marshall writes:—

"Though emanating from the Jhalawan and Nundara areas, the Nal ware belongs essentially to the western group of pale pottery and has scarcely anything in common with the red-and-black pottery of Eastern Baluchistan. Some specimens of it, it is true, are executed in red and black, but these are exceptional and doubtless due to contamination. The bulk of it is pale or dark buff, straw-coloured or of greenish hue, with designs applied in brown or sepia or black and filled in *after firing* with blue, green, red, yellow, or white, certain of its linear decoration showing a marked resemblance to the Susa I pottery" (p. 99).

Sir Aurel Stein's observations on sites in Nundara, district south-west of Jhalwan, led him to the conclusion "that this ware belonged to a relatively late period—late, that is, as compared with the Mehi ware or the typical red-and-black ware of Zhob Loralai." But Mr. N. G. Mazumdar "has discovered at Amri and other sites in Lower Sind clear evidence of two distinct periods of occupation, the upper and later represented by the red-and-black Indus pottery, the lower and earlier by pale and polychrome ware closely akin to those from Mehi and from Nal." (p. 100, note 1). Nowhere in the Indus Valley have pale Nal wares been found mixed up with the characteristic red Indus ware in the same level. Therefore the conclusion that in the Indus Valley pale wares antedated the red-and-black pottery is unavoidable. Jhalwan district in Baluchistan, in which Nal is situated, is separated from the Larkana district in Sind by the Kirthar range. "Nowadays great numbers of the people of Jhalwan winter in Sind and work at Karachi and other large centres."* The population of Jhalwan must have had as close connection with their neighbours in Sind in the chalcolithic period as they have now.

No cemetery has yet been found at Mohenjo-daro. The lower stratum of the cemetery at Harappa has yielded some remains of complete burials and more may be expected in future. But "these burials are somewhat later than the Indus period as represented at Mohenjo-daro." (p. 81). The few skeletal remains recovered at Mohenjo-daro were evidently buried in Late I or Late II Period in unorthodox fashion. Therefore, as yet we have no material to determine what the authors of the Indus civilization were physically like. Among the twenty-four skeletons or portions of skeletons referable to Chalcolithic age Colonel Sewell and Dr. Guha recognize

* *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 23, 179, quoted in Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, Vol. II, p. 385.

* Hargreaves, *Memoirs*, A. S. I, no. 35, p. 38.

four distinct ethnic types, *viz.* the Proto-Australoid (now represented by the Kols, Bhils etc.), Mediterranean (like the modern long-headed Hindustanis), Alpine (like the modern broad-headed Gujratis, Marathas, Bengalis) and the Mongolian. These skeletons, therefore, indicate that in the Late Period the population of Mohenjo-daro was ethnically as mixed as the present population of India. It cannot be expected that the population of the Indus Valley was more homogeneous in the Early and the Intermediate Periods of Mohenjo-daro.

The civilization of the seven levels of Mohenjo-daro was contemporaneous with the early Sumerian civilization represented by the relics recovered from the royal graves of Ur and from the ruins of A-anni-padda's temple at al-Ubaid. The first six dynasties ruled Egypt about the same period. The Indus civilization was ahead of the contemporaneous Sumerian and Egyptian civilizations in certain respects. The ordinary townspeople of Mohenjo-daro were better housed and with their wells, baths and elaborate system of drainage enjoyed a greater degree of comfort and luxury than the population of the other parts of the then civilized world (Plate I, *b.*). The seal engravers and the sculptors of the Indus Valley surpassed their colleagues in Sumeria and Egypt in skill, and their masterpieces attained a degree of perfection unknown before the rise of Greek art. Sir John Marshall deals with the examples of Indus art as a connoisseur, and his analysis of the artistic merits of the masterpieces is illuminating. I cannot resist the temptation of reproducing his remarks on some of the seal engravings :

"Of the seal engravings the best are those that portray such living animals as the artist had an opportunity of studying ; notably the humped bull, the buffalo, and the bison. Perhaps the most remarkable of all is the humped bull on seal No. 337 [Fig. 3], a replica of which is



Fig. 3. Seal No. 337

stamped on the cover of these volumes. Its engraver has obviously made a careful study of his subject and given us a faithful rendering of it, but he has done much more than this ; he has tempered realism with breadth of treatment and restraint, and has brought out the dignity

of the animal in a way that only the eye and hand of a true artist could have done ; nor has he scrupled to portray the two horns as if seen from the front, mainly no doubt for the sake of the balance they gave to the whole composition, but partly perhaps because of the special significance attaching to pairs of horns.

"Sometimes the animals are frankly realistic and spirited. Such are the buffalo and bison on Pl. cx, Nos. 304-6 and 308-25. The attitude of the former, with the head raised in the act of bellowing, is a peculiarly characteristic one, and the way in which the head is turned slightly to one side so as to show the full sweep of the great horns is very effective [Figs. 4 and 5]. So, too, is the drawing of the bison on seal 318, [Fig. 6], with powerful arched shoulders and relatively small hindquarters." (p. 43).



Fig. 4. Seal No. 304



Fig. 5. Seal No. 306



Fig. 6. Seal No. 318

Far more surprising than the figures of animals engraved on the seals are two small stone statuettes found at Harappa. One of these statuettes is the fragment of a standing male figure of fine red stone of which the head, the arms and the legs are lost (Figs. 7 and 8) ; the other is the figure of a male dancer of dark grey slate of which the head, the arms the left leg and the right foot are lost (Figs. 9 and 10). The torso of the standing male figure "was unearthed by Mr. M. S. Vats among remains of the third or fourth stratum in a part of the site where no objects whatever of the historic age have appeared. The dancer was discovered by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni in the fourth or fifth stratum in a different part of the site, but, again, at a spot where none but prehistoric remains have come to light." (p. 45). Of the red stone statuette Sir John Marshall writes : "This is work of which a Greek of the fourth century B. C. might well have been proud" (p. 46). Are these statuettes prehistoric ?

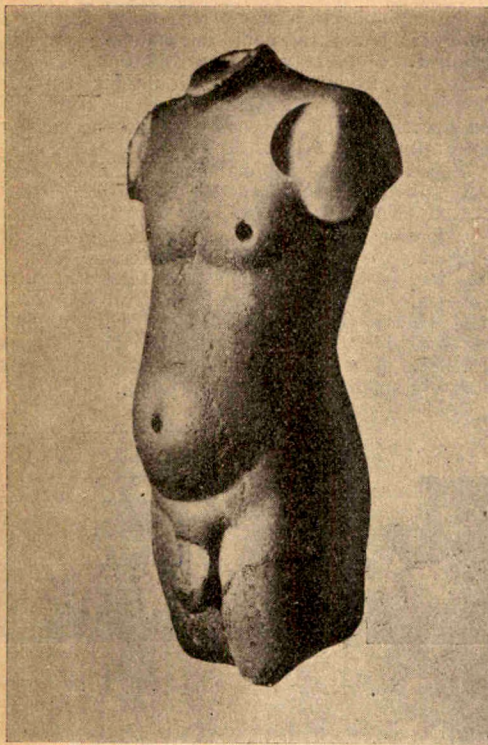


Fig. 7. Statuette of red stone from Harappa
Front View

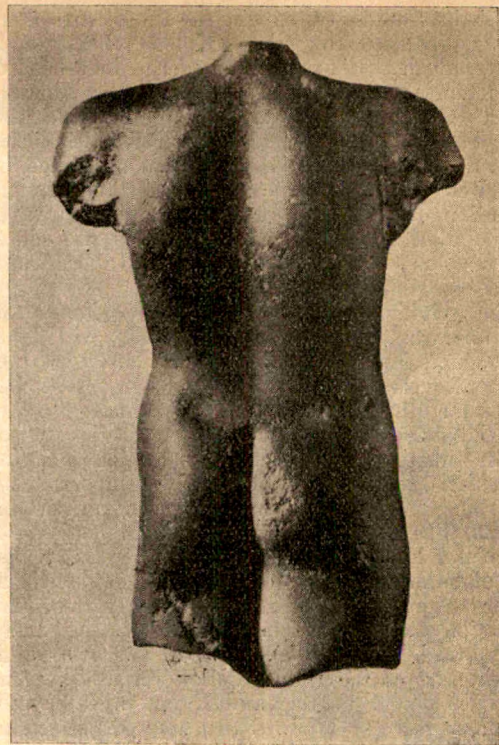


Fig. 8. Statuette of red stone from Harappa
Back View

Or are they Indo-Greek (historic) works that have accidentally found their way to the prehistoric levels at Harappa? Sir John Marshall's reply to this question is very instructive:

"But they (Indo-Greek sculptors) miss altogether that characteristic genius of the Greek which delighted in anatomical truth and took infinite pains to express it convincingly. Now, in these two statuettes it is just this anatomical truth that is so startling; that makes us wonder whether, in this all-important matter, Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far-off age on the banks of the Indus. We know definitely that the Indus engraver could anticipate the Greek in the delineation of animal forms; and if we compare the statuette of Pl. x. [Figs. 7 and 8] with, for example, seal 337, we must admit that there is a certain kinship between the two, both in the 'monumental' treatment of figures as a whole and in the perfection of their anatomical details. Experienced sculptors whom I have consulted on the subject take the view that an artist who could engrave the seal in question could have had little difficulty in carving the statuette; archaeologists will probably take another view and prefer to wait for further discoveries before committing themselves." (p. 47).

The religion of the Indus Valley in the Chalcolithic period appears to include many elements that ultimately developed into Hinduism. Our main source of information for the religion

of the Indus folk is the magnificent collection of seals recovered from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. As the inscriptions on these seals have not yet been deciphered and interpreted, we are dependent on the designs only. An overwhelming majority of these designs consists of figures of animals. But it would perhaps be as much a mistake to suppose that the religion of the Indus people was mainly animal-worship or worship of gods who were conceived as animals, both real and imaginary, as to suppose that the religion of the Buddhist laymen and monks who erected the carved railing of the *stupa* of Bharhut and the gateways of the great *stupa* of Sanchi was mainly tree and serpent worship. The backbone of the religion of the builders of Bharhut and Sanchi consisted of the worship of the Buddhas or human beings who had attained perfect knowledge, and of efforts to gain that knowledge by practising *dhyana*, meditation, and *samadhi*, rapt concentration, both different stages of *Yoga*. There is no definite evidence to show that the Indus religion had advanced as far as that; but there is ample evidence to show that it had already begun to move along the same line.

Yoga or religious meditation is the common element of all historic Indian religions with the exception of Vedic ritualism. All Indian sectarians

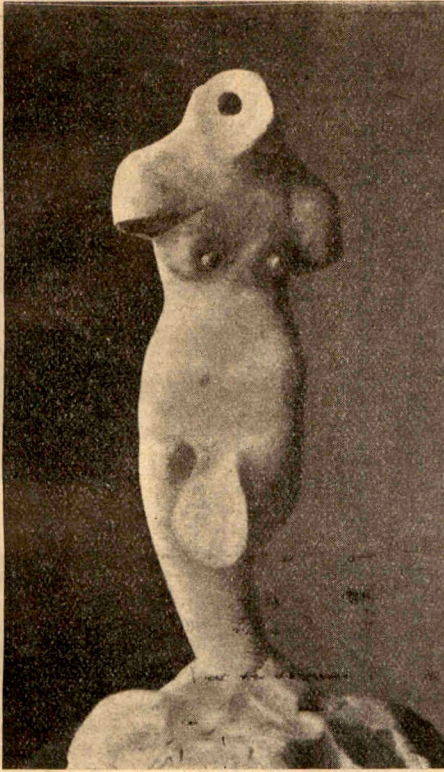


Fig. 9. Statuette of grey stone from Harappa
Front View

recognize that for the performance of *Yoga* it is absolutely necessary to sit (or stand) in a suitable posture (*asana*). Posture is the outward manifestation of *Yoga* exercises. According to the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* (II. 8) sitting, holding the three upper parts of the body (chest, neck and head) erect, is the essential element of the *Yoga* posture. To this the *Bhagavadgita* adds (VI. 13) another element, "fixing the eyes on the tip of nose and not looking around." In his commentary on the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* (II. 8) Sankara gives a long extract from an unnamed text in which fixing the eyes on the tip of the nose is insisted on. In the Buddhist texts, both Pali and Sanskrit, Gautama Buddha is said to have practised *dhyana*, and to have advised others to practise the same, seated in *paryanka* or *palyanka* (Pali *pallanka*) posture. Kalidasa in his *Kumara-sambhava*, Canto III (stanzas 45-47) gives a vivid description of Siva then sitting in the *paryanka* posture. I shall reproduce the stanza that refer to the pose of the eyes :

किञ्चित्प्रकाशस्तिमितोयतारैः
भूविक्रियायां विरत्प्रसंगे ।
नेत्रै रविस्पन्दित पद्ममालैः
लक्ष्मीकृत्वा ह्यमत्रोमयैः ॥

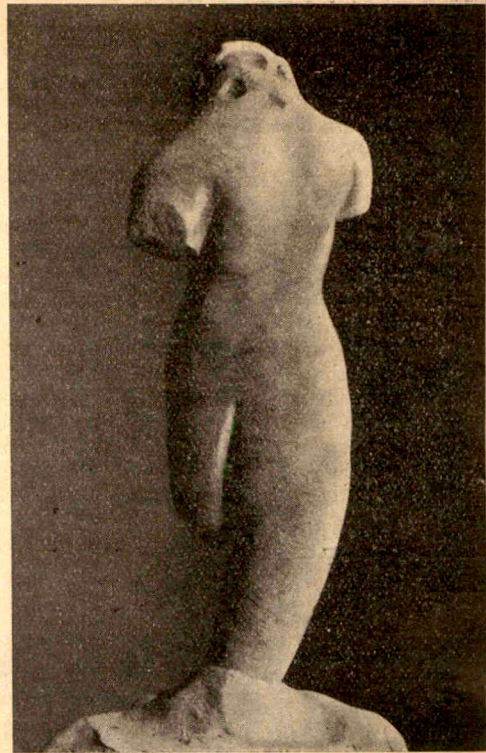


Fig. 10. Statuette of grey stone from Harappa
Back View

"Gazing on the tip of the nose with slightly opened eyes with stable and bright eye-balls, motionless eyebrows and eyelids, and downward rays."

Mallinatha in his commentary on this stanza quotes a verse from the *Yogasara* which enjoins the same pose of the eyes for one engaged in meditation (*dhyana*). Patanjali in his standard work on the *Yoga* system devotes only one *sutra* (aphorism II. 46), wherein it is said that the posture should be stable and easy. Vyasa in his commentary on this *sutra* names several *asanas* for the performance of *Yoga* and Vachaspati in his sub-commentary defines them. In the Digambara Jaina text, *Adipurana*,* Book XXI, devoted to the exposition of *dhyana* there is an instructive account of the *Yoga* postures. Regarding the pose of the eyes it is stated here (XXI, 62)

नात्युन्मिषन् न चात्यंतं निमिषन्

"Neither keeping the (eyes) wide open nor totally shutting them up."

Relating to the merits of the different *Yoga* postures the author of the *Adipurana* writes (XXI, 71) :

* *Adipurana* published with Hindi translation by Pandit Lalaram Jain, Indor, Vikrama Samvat, 1973.

वैमनस्ये च किं ध्यायेत्तस्मादिष्टं सुखासनं ।
कायोत्सर्गश्च पर्यंकस्ततोऽन्यद्विषमासनं ॥

"With the mind distracted, how can one practise *dhyana* (meditation)? Therefore the easy postures (*sukhasanam*), *kayotsarga* and *paryanka*, are desirable; other postures are painful."

The Jaina definition of the *paryanka* (cross-legged) posture is of course identical with the Brahmanic and Buddhist definition. The *kayotsarga* (dedication of the body) posture is peculiarly Jain. It is a posture, not of sitting, but of standing. In the *Adipurana*, Book XVIII, *kayotsarga* posture is described in connection with the penances of Rishabha or Vrishabha, the first Jina of the Jainas. Here we are told that Rishabha stood on a wide and level piece of land placing the heels of the feet four digits apart and the great toes twelve digits apart with the two arms hanging on two sides (XVIII, 3-5). The pose of the eyes is thus described (XVIII, 8):

अश्रुभङ्गमपापाङ्गव्रीक्षणां स्मिमितेक्षणां ।
विभ्राणाः

"Without contracting the eyebrows, without casting side-long looks, (and) with unmoved eyes."

It is not possible to keep the eyes unmoved unless they are fixed on a certain point. The nearest point on which the eyes can be fixed with ease is the tip of the nose. Therefore, in most of the texts it is distinctly provided that the eyes of the *Yogi* engaged in *dhyana* should be fixed on the tip of the nose.

It was this trait of the stone head from Mohenjo-daro, illustrated in Fig. 11, that led me to identify it as the image of a *Yogi*, and to conclude that *Yoga* was practised and images in *Yogi* posture were worshipped in the Chalcolithic period in the Indus Valley.* Seals with figures of gods in human form subsequently discovered at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have confirmed this conclusion. Two of these seals from Mohenjo-daro are published in these volumes.

1. Rectangular tablet of faience (1'3" by 0'6" by 0'35"). "On the obverse is a seated figure on dais flanked on either side by a kneeling worshipper. Behind each worshipper is a cobra in vertical position" (Plate II, a.). Mr. Mackay adds in a footnote, "The position in which this figure is sitting is typically Indian." (p. 395). Sir John Marshall recognizes the position as the posture of *Yoga* and writes, "Whether this deity is three-faced or not the sealing is too defaced to show, but it is noteworthy that on another seal lately found at Mohenjo-daro a deity is portrayed in the same posture with one face only." (p. 54). Here we have a deity seated in a definite *Yoga*-posture with joined soles of the feet. In the *Kalpasastra* of Bhadrabahu it is said that the Jina Mahavira reached

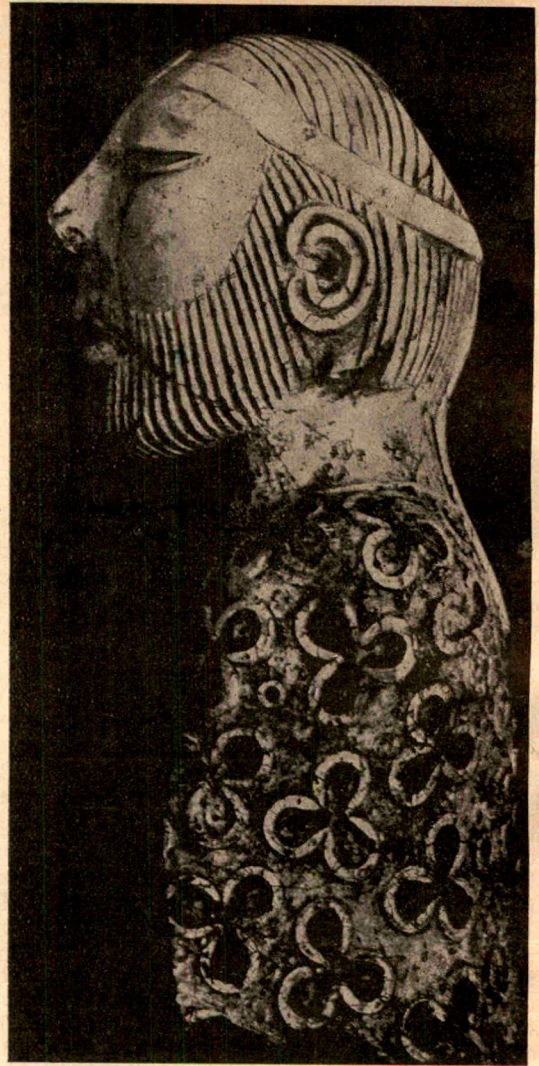


Fig. 11. Stone head from Mohenjo-daro

the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala* while engaged in *dhyana* in a squatting position with joined heels.* Vachaspati in his description of the *Bhadrāsana* (in his sub-commentary on Patanjali's *yogasutras*, II, 46) says that the soles of the feet should be brought near to each other close to the scrotum. He also says in connection with the *Samasamsthana* (even arrangement) posture, "the two feet are contracted and pressed against each other at the heels and at the tips of the feet."

2. A square seal with the figure of a three-faced deity (Plate II, b.). He is seated on a throne with chest, neck and head quite erect and feet

* *Memoires*, A. S. I., no. 41, p. 25.

* Jacobi, *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxii, p. 263

crossing each other. His arms are outstretched, his hands, with thumbs to front, resting on his knees. The posture is pervaded by the same spirit of concentration as the later *pariyanka* (cross-legged) *asana*. On two sides of the figure, evidently indicating the four cardinal points are engraved four animals, elephant, tiger, rhinoceros and buffalo. Below the throne are two deer standing with heads turned backwards. Sir John Marshall rightly recognizes in this three-faced (or, with an invisible face on the back, four-faced) deity the prototype of Siva Pasupati (Lord of the beasts) who is also called the great *Yogi*. A sign of the Indus script, four-armed standing figure, no. CCCLXXXIII of the Sign Manual, seems to me to lend indirect support to this brilliant hypothesis. All the great Brahmanic gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are four-armed, or commonly shown as four-armed. I, therefore, propose to recognize in this sign an equivalent of *deva*, god. In twelve out of seventeen inscriptions reproduced in the Sign Manual (PL.CXXIX) this sign is followed by the commonest terminal sign (Plate II, c.). One feels very much tempted to read in the combination an equivalent of *devasa*. Seal No. 482 (not copied in the Sign Manual), wherein this sign alone occurs, shows that it is a pictograph and not a letter. But whether this sign (four-armed figure) is a pictograph or not, its occurrence among the signs of the Indus script indicates that four-armed deities were included in the Indus pantheon. If the Indus folk recognized four-armed deities like the Brahmanic gods, belief in a god like Siva is not beyond the range of possibility.

Not only the seated deities engraved on some of the Indus seals are in *Yoga* posture and bear witness to the prevalence of *Yoga* in the Indus Valley in that remote age, the standing deities on the seals also show *kayotsarga* posture of *Yoga* described above and point to the same conclusion. Sir John Marshall has published five such seals on Plate XII and another is reproduced on Plate CXVIII, Fig. 7.

1. The deity is standing erect with two arms hanging on two sides of the body and three matted locks of hair standing on the head within an arch decorated by leaves (Plate II, d.). Sir John Marshall takes this arch to be a tree "conventionalized into the form of an arch, surrounded by leaves, in which the deity is framed." It may also represent the painting on the screen on the back of the earthen image (called *chali* in Bengal) or engraving on the back slab of the stone image in relief.

2. The deity in the same posture without any symbol on the head and framed in a nearly similar arch (Plate II, e.).

3. In the upper register of this seal, to the right, the deity is standing between two branches of a tree in the same pose with a matted lock of hair hanging on the back, crescent or two horns on the head with a prong in the middle; to the right (i. e. in front) of the deity is the half-kneeling

figure of a worshipper, also with a matted lock of hair hanging on the back and horns on the head with the addition of a leaf spray in the middle; behind this suppliant is a bull with human face and horns resembling those of a goat gazing on the deity. In the lower register seven figures appear to be moving in procession. Each of these figures shows one matted lock of hair (or the crest of a turban) on the head, a matted lock of hair falling on the back and a tunic reaching to the knees. The heads of these figures are in profile and the representation of the eye bears a striking resemblance to the representation of the eye of the figures on the early Sumerian cylinder seals. (Plate II, f.).

4. The deity is standing in the same posture in an arch decorated with leaves; in front is a worshipper and behind the worshipper a bull of the same type in the same attitude (Plate II, g.).

5. The deity is standing in the same posture between two *pipal* trees; in front a bull of the same type standing in the same attitude; behind the bull a half-kneeling worshipper with horns on the head; behind them all a vase on a stool (Plate II, h.).

6. In the upper register a line of six standing figures; in the lower register, to the right, the deity standing in the same posture on a *pipal* tree; in front the bull; behind the bull the half-kneeling worshipper (Plate II, i.).

A standing image of Jina Rishabha in *kayotsarga* posture on a stele showing four such images assignable to the second century A. D. in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura, is reproduced in Fig. 12. It will be seen that the pose of this image closely resembles the pose of the standing deities on the Indus seals. Like other Jaina and Buddhist images of the Mathura school of the Kushan period the eyes of Rishabha, though half-shut, are not accurately shown as fixed on the tip of the nose. Among the Egyptian sculptures of the time of the early dynasties (III-VI) there are standing statuettes with arms hanging on two sides.* But though these early Egyptian statues, and the archaic Greek Kouroi show nearly the same pose, they lack the feeling of abandon that characterizes the standing figures on the Indus seals and images of Jinas in the *kayotsarga* posture. The name Rishabha means bull and the bull is the emblem of Jina Rishabha. The standing deity figured on seals three to five (Plate II, f, g, h.), with a bull (?) in the foreground may be the prototype of Rishabha. Pushing back the beginnings of philosophical religions like Saivism and Jainism to the Chalcolithic period must appear a bold hypothesis to some. But unless one is ready to make even the bolder assumption of an impassable gulf between the historic and the prehistoric Indus Valley, the inference that the close resemblance of the postures of the sitting and the

* Cambridge Ancient History, First Volume of Plates, p. 80 (c) and p. 82 (c).

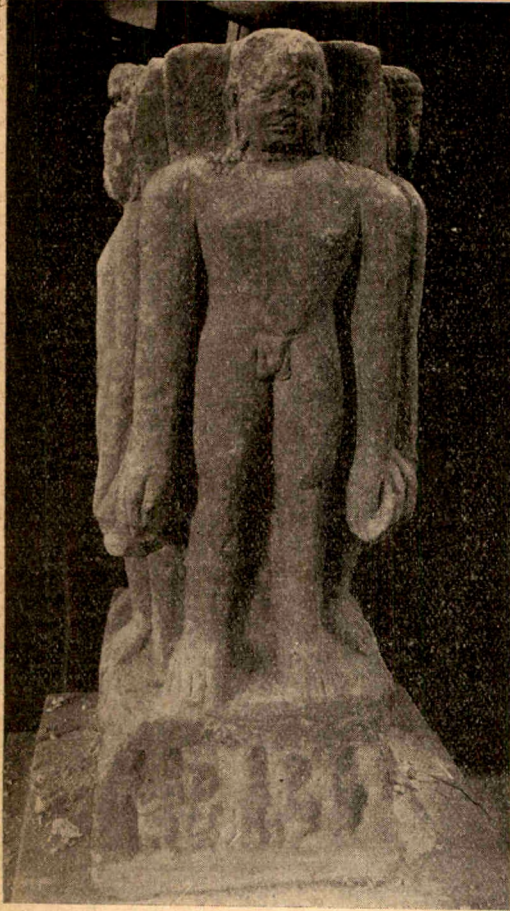


Fig. 12. Jina Rishabha of the Kushan period (Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura)
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standing deities on the Indus seals indicates the prevalence of the practice of *yoga* in that remote age has to be accepted as a working hypothesis. It is not possible to practise *yoga* or concentration of the mind on things spiritual

without arriving at metaphysical concepts. Sir John Marshall writes :

"In view of these facts, is it not reasonable to presume that the peoples who contributed so much to the cultural and material side of Hinduism, contributed also some of the essential metaphysical and theological ideas so intimately associated with it ?" (p. 78).

After Sir John Marshall's chapter on religion, the chapters (xxii and xxiii) dealing with the Indus script are the most interesting contributions in these volumes. Space will not permit the review of their contents in detail. The Archaeological Survey of India began excavations at Mohenjo-daro in 1922-23. In the following year the Herbert Weld (for the Oxford University) and Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago) expedition to Mesopotamia undertook excavations at Kish, and the joint expedition of the British Museum and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia undertook excavations at Al-Ubaid and Ur. During the last decade the discoveries of one region have been complementing the discoveries of the other. The universal financial depression has not interfered with the excavations at Ur and Kish. But in India the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and the exploration of the prehistoric sites in the Indus Valley have been stopped. But unless these operations are resumed early, the progress of knowledge of the prehistory of civilization that has made such phenomenal progress during the last decade will be greatly hampered. To the present writer the exploration of one area appears to be very urgent. Chalcolithic remains have been found at Ruper in the Ambala district in the Punjab. It was on the banks of the Sarasvati and the Drishadvati that in the Rigvedic age the rival Rishi clans, the Vasishthas and Visvamisras, lived, and the powerful Kshatriya clan, the Bharata-Tritsus, held sway. Remains marking the transition from the prehistoric to the Rigvedic civilization may be expected on the dry bed of the Sarsuti and the Ghagghar in the Ambala district.

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THE END OF THE JOURNEY

By SANTA DEVI

THE great Kumbha Mela was about to be held in holy Prayag. The news had spread to every corner of India, and pilgrims were flocking to Allahabad, in spite of the terribly cold weather. The Railway Companies were hard put to it, to supply an adequate number of carriages for the passengers, but even after commandeering goods trains, they failed. A few special trains were running to and from Allahabad for the last few days. There were many who could not pay railway fares, but they were not to be deterred for this. They had started on foot for Prayag, in the biting cold of January. They knew that untold suffering awaited them on the way, but the urge of getting rid of their earthly sins, led them on. They would attain supreme merit and pay for it with suffering. Even to a remote village of Bengal, the call had penetrated. Tarapur was a small hamlet, but from here too a band of pilgrims was getting ready to start for Allahabad. No *Pandah* had come here to collect pilgrims. A few widows had made up their minds to go, and they had appointed an old gentleman of the village as their guide, and guardian. They felt nervous at times, but the yearning for attaining supreme merit, held up their courage.

Mandakini was a young childless widow. She had none to call her own. She lived with a widowed sister-in-law. This lady, too, felt the call of the sacred occasion. She went to her old uncle and requested him to take her along. She was getting old, and such an opportunity might not occur again. She might die with all her sins upon her. "Then may not I, too, go?" thought Mandakini to herself. She confided in her sister-in-law. The sister-in-law was poor, and was depending upon her uncle to take her. She felt rather diffident about asking him to take Mandakini too. After all she was not really a relative. Yet Mandakini would serve her hand and foot, if she were taken along. But where was the money to come from? So she tried to put the girl off. "You are too young," she said. "You will live to see many Kumbha Melas yet. Go when the proper time comes."

Mandakini did not know how much money it would cost. She had saved up thirty rupees, during the course of her young life. This she now made into a small bundle and sent it to Nidhu Pandit, the old gentleman who had become the guide of the village people. She sent him a few lines too, in her childish handwriting,

asking him to be kind enough to take her along too.

Nidhu Pandit was a very distant relative. He appeared in person to plead Mandakini's cause at their house. Of course, he had the legitimate desire of saving a few rupees for himself, out of the girl's savings. So he gave the widowed sister-in-law a good lecture, and finally it was decided that Mandakini was to go.

Mandakini's knowledge about the world was very defective. She knew only her own village Tarapur and the next one, called Talbani. But being a Hindu woman she had, of course, heard about holy Benares, and Allahabad, and other places of pilgrimage. But she had no further knowledge of them, not even imaginary pictures. They were gates of Heaven to her, and nothing more.

They started in bullock-carts, as the nearest railway station was nine miles from Tarapur. Most of the pilgrims had never seen railway trains. Mandakini heard a lot about this huge iron monster from her fellow travellers. It took no account of human lives, and disdained their joys and sorrows completely. Her heart nearly failed in dismay, when the train came rushing along the platform. It looked like a huge dragon, breathing smoke and fire, and roaring like thunder. She felt a curious sensation, as if she were standing on the brink of another existence;—it might lead her to hell, or to heaven, she did not know. She was swinging between life and death. She was at last standing face to face with the thing, about which her young imagination had been so terribly busy, these few days. She drew down her veil completely over her face, and holding her bundle tightly in the left hand and the hand of her companion, in her right, she hurried forward with the other pilgrims. She called upon the goddess Durga in her heart incessantly, to take her under her divine protection. They tumbled inside a third class compartment somehow. The benches were overcrowded. The pilgrims looked at these with awe, and squatted down on the dirty floor very gratefully. It was littered with refuse of every kind. Mandakini felt quite sick, but she consoled herself on hearing Nidhu Pandit saying, "one cannot observe any rules on the way and on a car."

The train gave a jolt, and slowly steamed out of the station. Mandakini gave a sigh of relief, she was actually on her way to holy Prayag. The train stopped at every wayside station, and stood aside on every siding, making

way for more important trains. So its progress was rather slow. But to Mandakini it seemed to be rushing along like a meteor. She kept on thinking. She never knew before that the world was so large, and so full of mysteries. Where was Mandakini of Tarapur being carried to by this iron monster, whose roar was like thunder and whose speed was that of a cyclone? Did the world really harbour so many people? And were there so many fields and forests in it? Poor Mandakini began to feel more small and insignificant than she had ever done before. Human life was a great thing after all. Man, who had created so many strange things, can never be an insignificant creature. Mandakini began to think of the village people with a good deal of scorn. They were just like animals. Because she had come out of the village, and seen great and strange things, she began to feel superior to them. So many conflicting thoughts crowded into her mind, that she began to lose her bearings. Her brain had never been accustomed to so many.

After two days, they finally arrived at Prayag. The pilgrims streamed out of the train, with sighs of relief. As soon as they had alighted, the platform began to resound with the clamour of *Pandahs* and coolies. Some shouted and some pulled the pilgrims by their arms. The *Pandahs* soon decided which pilgrim belonged to whom by consulting their books. Nidhu Pandit's party was taken charge of by a *Pandah*, who guided them out of the platform.

Mandakini, with her party, arrived at a Dharamsala which was purely oriental in architecture. It had not the slightest touch of the West about it. Its rooms were small like pigeon-holes, with as few windows and doors as possible. The roof was low enough to teach humility to anyone, and the floor was covered with the dust of the feet of generations of pilgrims.

The *Pandah* brought them in, but after that ceased to bother about them. The building had about fifteen rooms, in which nearly two hundred people had already taken shelter. The sun had not yet risen, and the pilgrims could hardly see anything in the half light. Nidhu Pandit peeped into every room; but found every one of them full of quilts made of Lucknow print, *Lal Imli* blankets, thick coarse sheets, and dirty bundles of bedding. Not an inch of floor space could be seen. The cold was terrible and the sleepy pilgrims had covered up even their heads. A few brass utensils could be dimly seen reposing by their sides. Nidhu Pandit did not dare to set his foot inside any room for fearing of stumbling over some one. "Revered Sir," he called out to the *Pandah*, "there does not seem to be an inch of space anywhere. I have so many women with me, you must secure a room for me, please."

"You cannot have a room now, for a lakh of

rupees," said the *Pandah*. "You sit on the terrace with the ladies. Let the pilgrims get up, then I shall try to give you a room."

The pilgrims were dead tired. They had not been able to stretch their limbs for two days in the train, and had scarcely had anything to eat. So they flung themselves down on the open terrace, exposed to the chill blasts of a severe winter. The women were clad only in their *saris*, over which they had put on thin shawls or wrappers. Their beddings, too, were totally inadequate for the winter of Allahabad. But whatever they had, they now took out to cover themselves with, as they sat awaiting the awakening of other pilgrims.

They got up in good time, but showed no inclination to make room for the new arrivals. The *Pandah*, too, did not ask them to do so. Nidhu Pandit made a tour of the whole place, telling the women to sit where they were. He did not find room anywhere.

The sun rose higher and higher. The terrace now became hot as fire. Mandakini had a red shawl. This was now hoisted up on four poles and made a sort of tent on the terrace. Beneath this covering, the pilgrims cooked, ate, and slept. Mandakini was feeling thoroughly exhausted. She could not eat anything. She had a big quilt with her, and wrapping herself in it, she laid herself down. She scarcely heard the mixed jargon of Hindi, Telugu, Bengali and Punjabi, that went on round her. A sleep, deep as a swoon, had overtaken her.

Early next morning was the appointed time for bathing in the holy confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. The *Pandah* went round telling everybody that unless they rose at 1 A. M. and set out for the bathing ghat, they would not get there in time. The crowd would be too thick. The pilgrims went to sleep early. The party from Tarapur had to spend this night, too, on the open terrace. Everybody rose up at midnight, and the place resounded with the sound of quarrel, call and prayers. Mandakini's sister-in-law sat up, crying, "Oh, sister, sister, are you dead? Won't you get up?" Still Mandakini did not answer. The sister-in-law got up in anger and going over to Mandakini, gave her a push. "Get up, you wretch. Oh lord, she is burning with fever." Mandakini now sat up, drawing down her veil over her eyes. "Now what am I to do?" asked her elderly relative, of the world in general. "I came to worship at a holy place, and here I am saddled with a patient. Did not I forbid the wretched girl a thousand times to come? An ease-loving creature like her is not fit for pilgrimage. Now what a fix! What am I to do with this woman, how to get rid of her?"

Mandakini came out of her sleep. She trembled in fear at the angry aspect of her sister-in-law's face. "Don't fear, sister," she whispered, "I often get such fever. We have come here

to bathe and shall bathe." Her sister-in-law knew, that it was very risky in her state of health. But she was afraid of being defrauded of great merit. She had undergone so much hardship and it would go for nothing. And since the girl herself was offering to go and bathe, she did not feel responsible for her. "Very well," said the old woman. "But don't blame me afterwards. I can easily give up my life in the cause of religion, but others may not be of the same mind."

"Nothing is going to happen," said Mandakini. "Don't be so nervous, sister."

Her sister-in-law shook off all thoughts. The band of pilgrims set out with enthusiasm. "Tie the end of your *saris* together and form a chain," ordered the *Pandah*. The *Pandah* led the way, and Nidhu Pandit brought up the rear. Thus protected, the chain of women advanced. It was a moonless night, and the road was very badly lighted. The pilgrims were swept into a vast concourse of people, which swelled in number as it advanced towards the bathing ghat. Human beings swarmed like insects everywhere, in road side camps, under trees, in canvas and mud huts and in lanes and byways. Small *ekkas* tried to make their way through this solid mass of people with futile jingling of bells, and hackney carriages rode over inoffensive pedestrians with superior airs.

Mandakini was walking along with her companions, but all her senses were benumbed. Very little effort of her own was necessary for advancing, as her companions dragged her forward and the crowd of people pushed her from behind.

The pilgrims from Tarapur finally reached the bathing ghat. As they were about to descend into the holy water, a crowd of yellow clad *sadhus*, carrying huge flags, suddenly rushed upon them from behind. The chain of knots which had hitherto kept the women together were broken, and they were scattered all over the place within a minute. "Hold on, hold on!" shouted Nidhu Pandit and the *Pandah* together, as they were pushed into the water. The women screamed in dismay, but as self-preservation is the first and last instinct of human beings, they fought like trapped animals. They ran the double risk of being suffocated as well as drowned. None could help another. They clasped anything and everything, be it a flagstaff or the leg of a stalwart *sadhu* or the hand of a companion, in a desperate effort to escape drowning. Mandakini had been swept away far from her companions at the terrible onrush of the *sadhus*. She was feeling too weak to resist the violent pressure from behind, but as she was suddenly flung forward into ice cold water, she came out of her stupor with a fearful start. For the first time since she had started for the bathing ghat, she looked about her. She was dripping wet, though she herself

had made no effort to bathe. But strange faces were all around, she could not see any of her companions. Had they gone away, leaving her here? Somehow, she clambered out of the water and stood shivering on the bank.

It was a foggy morning of winter. She could barely see one yard in front of her. A gray mass of humanity seethed all around her. Its roar was deeper than the roar of the real sea, and she could not distinguish any word in it.

Mandakini peered at the faces which stood nearest. She knew nobody. She tried to find out her companions fruitlessly. The mist was too thick to allow recognition, all seemed to be gray apparitions. Mandakini felt ready to faint with fear. "Sister!" she tried to call out, but the sound hardly reached her own ears. Then she stood still in despair. Two drops of tear fell from her eyes, but dried on her cheeks in the chill blast of winter.

But it was impossible to stand at one place, in that raging sea of humanity. She was swept hither and thither, like a wind-driven leaf, till finally she lost all bearings. Her senses deserted her, she forgot who she was and where she was going.

The sun rose at last, and the mist cleared. The crowd had become thin at places by that time and one could see the ground, one stood on. Everyone had finished bathing, and was trying to return home. Different bands of people streamed in different directions. Manda looked up and saw *sadhus* of various sects, advancing by different roads, processions of elephants swinging along, and ordinary pilgrims wending homeward with satisfaction written large on their faces. She began to follow one such band. She had no hope of reaching her dwelling place, and she was too bewildered to cry. She was getting weaker with every step, but the crowd swept her along. She could not sit down, even if she wanted to.

After a while, she found that she was walking along one of the streets of the town. She could see houses on both sides. The crowd had become appreciably thinner and she was no longer pushed and jostled as before. But this, she found, was going to place her in another predicament. In the thick crowd, she had been safe, nobody minded her. But now people came close to her, and tried to peep behind her veil. Manda drew it down still more, in insulted dignity. But she could not see the road before her, so she had to shorten it again. Though bent on washing away all carnal sins, the pilgrims did not seem to have left their desires behind. Their brutal glances tortured Manda like poisoned arrows. She would have sunk into the earth, if she could.

But she could not walk any more. She stood aside on the road and tried to think. Her limbs shook, and she knew she would fall

fainting very soon. Three men, finding a pretty girl, standing thus on the road, advanced towards her. One of them edged up close to her, and caught at one of her hands. The girl started violently, and, shaking him off, began to run like a demented creature. The brutal laugh of the men sounded in her ears like the claron of doomsday.

She did not know how long she had been running. Suddenly a baby's voice fell on her ears, "Mother, look, he is taking my toy!" The very gate of Heaven seemed to open before Mandakini, and, without thinking anything, she walked straight into that house.

The kitchen with a big verandah confronted her. Here sat a stout and fair young woman, cutting up vegetables. Baskets of vegetables surrounded her and gold ornaments shone on every limb. Her hair was loose, but there was a tiny knot at its end. A broad mark of vermilion graced her forehead. But the *sari* she was wearing was dirty and torn, and this, excepting a tight woollen vest, was her only dress. It was difficult to tell her age correctly. Her nose-ring, her round cheeks and large eyes were those of a girl of sixteen, but her huge shapeless body, and overserious mien and manner were those of an elderly woman.

A widow with a shaven head stood in the courtyard, washing some brass utensils. She looked very sour and rough. Inside the kitchen, another elderly lady was busy cooking. The cold winter wind was trying its best to put out the fire, thus, rather upsetting the lady's temper. Half a dozen children, in various fashions and stages of dress and undress, sat round the old lady, playing and quarrelling. They were awaiting their breakfast, as each one had a cup or plate in his and her hand. One of the children came running out to the young woman, and, falling forward on a vegetable basket, began to scream lustily. The young lady shook her head; her nose-ring and her cheeks wobbled and she began to shower blows on the child unmercifully. "I shall teach you manners," she said, "I have tolerated your wickedness too much."

At this juncture, Mandakini advanced through the courtyard and stood near the young lady. The child stopped crying and the mother stopped beating, even the old widow looked up from her work. The lady inside the kitchen got up belligerently and came out. "Who are you?" she asked roughly, "Why do you come in thus? Who gave you permission?"

Mandakini had just got out of the danger that was about to engulf her on the strange road. Her body and mind alike ached and drooped. She fell down, rather than sat down on the ground. The old lady raised her ladle like a bayonet and advanced upon her. "How dare you sit down here?" she shouted.

Manda drove back the rising tears somehow

and said, "I have lost my way. My friends—"

The old widow now joined in. "But is this a police station?" she asked ironically. "Why not go to one, if you have really lost your way?"

"Lost her way, indeed," said the lady who had been cooking. "All this is pure fiction. I know her sort. She had come in with the intention of stealing, seeing the door open. Now that she has been detected, she is pretending to be a fool. She is not the sort to get lost. She can teach us a lot. She is a thief, I tell you."

A small girl had come close up to Mandakini and had been staring at her, all this while. "No, she is not a thief," the child said suddenly. "She is a bride. She has got gold bangles, and her face is veiled."

The young woman left her vegetables and approached the party. "Buni is right," she said, "she has really got gold bangles on. She is pretty too! Perhaps she is really a gentle woman. Somebody must have decoyed her here, then deserted her."

Mandakini began to weep silently. "What an actress!" said the mistress of the house. "Why do you waste your tears here? Go and shed them on the streets, you will get many to help you. This is a respectable house and no place for such as you."

Mandakini could not bear any more. She had never thought that women could be so utterly heartless and callous about another woman's sorrow. She got up and walked out. But her heart was about to fail, in sheer dismay. The strange, open road was full of evil. The world was full of pitfalls and danger; only her home had been safe for her. So she sat down in despair again, on the outside verandah. She did not dare to set foot on the road again. The excitement indoors had not yet subsided. "I wonder, where the girl went," the widow was saying. "Perhaps, she spoke the truth."

"Don't be silly," said the mistress. "She was so brazen. Didn't you see the airs she put on?"

Somnath was the private tutor of the children of this family. He was not keen about bathing in the holy Ganges, but he had got up early in order to see the crowd. He had just got back home from the streets. As he was going to enter his room, he found a girl, sitting, all huddled up, in a corner of the verandah. Her dress was wet and muddy, but her youthful beauty could not be hidden.

Somnath had once studied in the Medical College. He recognized the unhealthy flush on Mandakini's face, and, casting aside all shyness, he approached her. "What is the matter with you?" he asked kindly. "Who are you? You should not lie thus, exposed to the cold wind."

Mandakini looked up, a bit encouraged at the tone of his voice. Her eyes had become blood-shot. Somnath was shocked at the sight of her face. "Let me feel your pulse," he said. The

girl took another look at his face, then extended her hand towards him. Somnath felt her pulse, then said gravely, "Why have you come out in this condition? Where is your home?"

"I have come from Tarapur, with my companions, to bathe in the holy Ganges," said Mandakini.

Somnath did not want to pester her anymore with questions regarding Tarapur and her companions. "Very well," he said, "I shall try to find your friends out. But you should not sit here in this state. Come with me, inside."

Mandakini had already accepted Somnath as her friend. His kind sympathetic words fell like balm on her tortured heart and tears started to her eyes. "I won't go inside," she said. "They have insulted me and turned me out."

Somnath was in a fix. The house belonged to those people who had insulted the poor girl and not to him. But he did not want to admit that to Mandakini. Her large eyes swimming in tears and her pouting lips had disarmed him completely. Unconsciously, he was feeling glad, that she was treating him not as a stranger but as a person over whom she had rights. He was only a paid servant here, but he could not tell her that. But he did not know what to do with her. "Will you go to a hospital?" he asked.

Mandakini raised frightened eyes to his face and asked like a helpless child, "Hospital? Where is that? But I don't know anybody there?"

Her innocence captivated the manly heart of Somnath still more. "If you go there," he said, "you will get well. Then I shall arrange for your return home."

Mandakini put her hot forehead on his feet and murmured, "No, no, make me well yourself. I don't want to go anywhere. I have nobody in this world."

Somnath felt tears starting to his eyes at her whole-hearted trust in him. Poor girl, so helpless and friendless! But he could not keep her here, however he might feel for her. He stood staring at the road for a time. A good many *ekkas* were returning after carrying the pilgrims home. Somnath called one of them and said to Mandakini, "let us go, this house is not mine." Mandakini followed him meekly. Somnath took off his own shawl and gave it to the girl, saying, "Wrap it round yourself." Mandakini obeyed him. Somnath took her by the hand and put her in the *ekka*. As soon as he had got in, the vehicle gave a tremendous jolt and began to trundle along. Somnath pulled down the red hood over the *ekka*, and sat outside, dangling his legs out. He cautioned Manda again and again to hold fast to the post of the *ekka*, but fearing lest she might fall out in her weak condition, he clasped her hand through the red hood. Her head touched his shoulder ever and anon with the jolting of the *ekka*. He could feel

its heat, even through the thick hood. He began to experience a curious thrill.

The *ekka* reached the hospital. Somnath took the girl out and paid off the *ekka*. He got her admitted, then guided her along to her allotted bed, through rows of beds inside a large room. Her fever was on the increase and she scarcely heeded where she was being taken. She laid herself down on the bed, as soon as Somnath told her to do so.

Outsiders were not permitted inside for long. Somnath got up to go. "I shall come again to-morrow," he said to Mandakini. The rest had made Mandakini feel better. She raised frightened eyes to his face and cried out, "You are leaving me alone here?" Somnath stroked her hot forehead, and stood silent for a time. Her whole body shivered at his touch, and she tried to move away at first. Then suddenly she clasped his hand in both her own and burst into tears. Somnath sat down by her side. He could not take off his hand and move away. The nurse in charge looked at him suspiciously and came forward. "You cannot stay any longer Babu," she said. Somnath made a feeble attempt to draw out his hand. He bent down to her ear and whispered, "I must go now, Manda." She pushed away his hand, and pulled the shawl over her face. Somnath could hear the sound of suppressed weeping. Two drops of tear fell from his eyes on her hair, as he left the room hurriedly.

Somnath came regularly every day to see Mandakini. But she could not recognize anyone. Somnath wanted with all his heart to wipe away from her mind all memories of past sternness, with sweet and kind words. But Mandakini could not listen to anything. She did not understand what he felt. Somnath used to sit by the side of the unconscious girl, and think. What if she never got well? Would she thus pass away with the memory that Somnath had been cruel to her? All his efforts for her would be in vain, she would not know. But why did he mind so much. What was Mandakini of Tarapur to him? He had done his duty to a waif, and had nothing to repent about. But thus spoke reason, his heart spoke otherwise. His nature yearned for love and romance. He did not own to himself that whatever he had done for Mandakini had been done out of philanthropic motives. He would sit by her, stroking her hot forehead and dishevelled hair and await the moment when she would open her eyes and recognize him. Perhaps she would turn away her face in anger but even then he would have his reward. His wish was fulfilled at last. After passing a fortnight in a semi-conscious state, Mandakini suddenly recognized Somnath one day, and drew her veil down over her face. Somnath's heart filled with joy and he called out, "Mandakini!" But she did not answer. He called her again and again. After a while she

whispered from behind her veil, "Cannot you call me Manda? Must you use the full name?"

Somnath knew that peace was established at last. "How are you to-day?" he asked the girl.

"What's the use of my being well?" replied Mandakini. "My people will not take me back."

Somnath felt a stab of pain at his heart. "Well Manda," he suddenly burst out, "does it matter very much?"

"For whom shall I live then?" asked Mandakini.

"Did not you say that if you ever got well, you wanted to live with me? Do so now," replied Somnath. He bent down over her, and began to stroke her forehead gently. But the girl pushed him away angrily. She pulled down her veil still further and wailed, "Did you bring me back to life for this? It is a sin even to listen to such words."

Somnath rose and stood back from the bed. He did not know what to reply. He dared not say anything more and left with this thought rankling in his heart that his love had been deemed an insult by Mandakini.

Next day, when he came, everyone complained to him about Mandakini. "She refuses food and medicine," said the nurse. "She is very stubborn and says it is better for her to die."

Somnath advanced towards the girl's bed rather nervously and asked, "Manda, will you hear a word from me?" But no reply came from Manda. "Why do you neglect yourself; because you are angry with me?" said Somnath again. "It is too heavy a punishment for my offence. Believe me, I had no intention of insulting you."

Mandakini remained silent with her face buried in her pillow. Somnath sat there as long as hospital rules permitted him, then left in despair. Everyday, he came thus and left thus. Mandakini never looked at him. The doctor and the nurse gave her up for lost, because she did not allow any care to be taken of her. Somnath brought fruits for her every day. But one day the nurse said, "Babu, please don't waste your money. The girl never touches anything. I did not tell you before, for fear of hurting your feelings."

Somnath's face turned grave, but he went on wasting his money.

About ten days passed, then his luck changed. He was about to go away, disappointed, as usual, but the nurse ran to him, saying, "Babu, please do not go. She is very restless, and has been looking for you from the morning."

Somnath's heart filled with joyous surprise and he ran in at once. Mandakini was lying with her head turned towards the door. Somnath saw her face after ten days. It had become quite white, and the eyes seemed abnormally big. A shy smile appeared on her face. She did not draw down her veil to-day. Instead of that, she stretched out her right hand towards him, across

the bed. Somnath did not dare to take it. He came nearer and sat on the stool, by the side of the bed. "Come nearer," said Mandakini. Somnath got up and sat down on the bed.

"Why did you say such a thing to me that day?" asked Mandakini. "If you did not mean anything bad, what did you mean?"

"I did not know that you would misunderstand such a plain thing," said Somnath. "I wanted you to marry me." His face turned scarlet, at having to put his proposal in such a way. Mandakini turned her face away and said haltingly, "But I told you before."

Somnath bent down over her and said, "What did you tell me before?"

"You have forgotten," said Manda. "I told you that I was a widow."

Somnath smiled. "I have not forgotten," he said. "I wanted to marry you, knowing that you are a widow."

Mandakini looked astounded. "Is it ever done?" she asked. "Is not it a great sin?"

"I don't know," said Somnath. "But it matters nothing to me, whether it is a sin or not."

Mandakini remained silent for a while. Somnath, too, sat silent by her side. Then slowly Manda stretched out her hand and took up Somnath's hand in her own. Somnath could not control himself any longer. He took Manda's face between his hands and kissed her on the forehead. The girl shivered, but a smile of joy lit up her face.

"Do you know why I am saying such things to-day?" began Manda slowly. "I know I have not much time left, but I do not want to go. I did not understand you. Had I done so, I would not have tried to kill myself in this way."

Somnath's tears fell fast on her face. He clasped both her hands in his own.

"I don't know how much time I have left to me," the girl continued. "I shall never be born on this earth again. This is my greatest sorrow. If I had not come to bathe in the Ganges, on this occasion, I might have been born again. But one who bathes in holy water during the Kumbha Mela, is redeemed for ever. Oh God, I shall have to remain in heaven for eternity, all alone. I don't know its ways. Tell me what to do."

Somnath said in a voice choked with tears, "I don't know, Manda."

"But if I had not come for the Kumbha Mela, I would never have met you," said Manda. "So I would not have gained anything."

"Why are you thinking of such things?" said Somnath, drawing her head on his lap. "You will get well and come to me, even in this life."

"No, you don't know, I have no more time left," cried the girl excitedly. "I must settle about the hereafter. Do you know of any sin that can counteract the effect of bathing in the holy Ganges? I do not want to live in heaven, but neither do I want to go to hell. You are a god, you will never go there. I want to come back here to you."

I want to be with you for eternity. I don't want to be alone, anywhere.'

"Calm yourself Manda," said Somnath. "It is not given to human beings to understand about the hereafter. Don't waste the little time we have left here in futile discussion."

"Then tell me what to do," said Manda. "I cannot think any more. But don't let me go away from you."

Somnath got up and left the room. After a while he returned with one of his friends and some garlands of flower.

Manda smiled and covered her face with her hands. Then before the amazed eyes of the patients of the ward, the friend tied the hands of Somnath and Manda together with the garlands and uttered some *mantras* of his own making. Then the bride and groom exchanged garlands. Thus they were married.

"Is this the way widows are married?" asked Mandakini in surprise.

"This is the way Manda and Somnath should be married," said Somnath smilingly through his tears.

There was a vacant room in one corner of the hospital. Somnath's friend engaged it for one night and they removed Mandakini to it.

The night came down. The room was full of light and shadows cast by the big trees outside. Mandakini sat on the bed, propped up with pillows and gazed steadily at Somnath's face. She was too excited to speak. Somnath sat holding her hands and trying to check his tears.

"Will you answer one question?" asked Manda in a whisper. "I have heard that a

certain sage was reborn as a fawn, because he died thinking of one. I shall die thinking of you. But shall I then be born as you in my next birth? I don't want that. And I cannot think of anything else but you. What am I to do?"

"If you are reborn as Somnath, I shall be born as Manda," said Somnath trying to console her.

"You can say so, because you are a man," said Manda. "But one who is a woman, and knows what happiness falls to a woman, can never speak thus." She sank back exhausted.

The doctor was called in. "Her case is hopeless," he told Somnath. "Let her last desires be fulfilled, but don't let her get excited."

Somnath went out for a while, leaving Manda in charge of a nurse. But he could not stay out long. He came back. Manda was gazing at the door expectantly. "Why don't you try to sleep Manda?" asked Somnath lovingly.

Manda took one of his hands and whispered, "No, no, don't tell me to sleep. I may not awake again. Sit here, and let me look at you. I cannot wander about looking for my path any more. And some one is waiting there for me for a long time. I scarcely remember him. So I don't want to go there. I shall come back for certain. Can you tell me how one can come back to this earth quickly?"

Somnath said something in a voice choked with tears. Manda scarcely listened to him. She kept on saying, "I shall have to come back very quickly. I am afraid some one is there. I don't want to meet him."

(Translated by SEETA DEVI)

BENGAL BOUNDARY QUESTION

By PRIYARANJAN SEN, M. A.

ADMINISTRATIVE redistribution of the provincial boundaries is called for at the present time when an attempt is being made (so at least they say) to reconstruct India and that on a federal basis. Previous boundaries and limitations have been more or less of an arbitrary nature and were imposed on the children of the soil by an alien power intent on the consolidation of its status in a strange country. This has been admitted in a manner by the organization of Sind into a province by itself. In Eastern India, the fixing up of arbitrary lines of demarcation has resulted in the grouping of people speaking different languages under

the same provincial government and peoples speaking the same language under different governments. The appointment of Orissa Boundary Commission which has already published its recommendations had been a step in the right direction. But nothing has been done as yet regarding the political redistribution of Bengal's boundaries; ever since the beginning of the present century, the country has been receiving unfair treatment. Lord Curzon, completely ignoring its integrity, partitioned it in 1905 into two halves, joining Assam, East Bengal and North Bengal under one head, and West Bengal, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa under the

other,—for 'administrative' reasons. That was, however, not much worse than the previous arrangement of combining Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Chota Nagpur under one presidency. In 1911 when the partition of Bengal was annulled by Royal proclamation, while the bulk of the Bengali-speaking people were united under one province, some were allowed to remain in outlying districts, in the newly created provinces of Bihar and Orissa, and Assam too, and so the jumbling together of different people speaking different languages continued. An attempt should be made at the earliest opportunity to remedy the anomalies consequent on such wrong distributions; such regrouping is also a necessity for the better development of all the peoples concerned, and it would simplify many problems of education, etc., that are now too complicated for an easy solution.

Once we admit the propriety of redistributing Bengal, of reorganizing it by a new adjustment of its boundaries, the question comes up—what should be the principles of redistribution?

PRINCIPLES OF REDISTRIBUTION

The newspaper controversy that cropped up during the sitting of the Orissa Boundary Commission and for some time before showed full well how hazy are our ideas on the subject. In the interest of clearness, the principles that are popularly advanced should be examined carefully.

(a) *Natural boundary.* Too much importance is sometimes attached to geographical features, rivers and mountains, as dividing lines. They have their value as such, no doubt, but it should not be unduly stressed. Means of quick transport, *e. g.* railway lines and steamer services, have greatly lessened the importance of these natural divisions; Calcutta and Benares are almost as near to each other as Nadia and Dinajpur, from the point of view of time. Is not this 'natural boundary' an obsolete relative term, relative as referring to the occupation of the people? Rivers, hills and mining areas have their importance in this connection only as marking natural boundaries of human settlements, according as they live by agriculture, hunting and mining. As modern communities are of a

composite character where people live side by side in spite of differences of occupation and interest, there cannot be any common fixed natural boundaries, which are therefore immaterial in a political discussion, as they have proved unable to act in confining particular nationalities into any particular areas.

(b) *Historical precedents.* Another, and a very popular, method is to determine, by reference to ancient history and ancient rights, the jurisdiction of a province. To claim Midnapur for Orissa or Manbhum for Bengal *only* because these districts once belonged to the larger areas or were peopled by their inhabitants is, however, not at all a practical proposition, because such a method leaves out of consideration the present history and the *fact* of gradual absorption or the result of environment—the important changes that have taken place since. Whether people now resident in a country are original inhabitants of the area or have merely settled there is practically immaterial for the purpose of defining their present condition and including them as belonging to the country of their origin or of their adoption.

(c) *Cultural Affinities.* Undue importance is attached also to the subject of cultural affinities, in seeking to determine the nationality of disputed areas on the borders of a particular province as constituted at present, and there is a waste of energy in carefully calculating how much of the culture of the area in question is Bengali, Orissan, Mundari or Assamese. Such distinctions are useful in considering types and studying by contrasts. But we have to deal only with border areas and in them the culture is generally of a mixed and composite character, the analysis of which is too nice to be of any practical help. Thus the attempt to readjust provincial boundaries by determining the cultural affinities of border areas is, however scholarly, not a step in the right direction.

(d) *Linguistic Distribution.* The idea of including as many people as possible speaking the same language in one and the same province is more reasonable. This helps the growth of national solidarity and reduces internal conflict to some extent and simplifies educational and administrative

work. The principle has also been more or less accepted. Certain difficulties in the way are sometimes pointed out and the census figures are questioned on the point of their accuracy. But they are the only figures available and they may be depended upon in a lump when the figures of a whole district are considered. In the case of any dispute (e.g. in the border areas), the figures of a particular *thana* may be checked and purified by a joint commission of interested provinces. The language used in a district or sub-divisional court is also a fair index of the linguistic distribution; but where there has been some improper tackling of areas, it is necessary to enquire how far, if at all, the court language entails hardship on the people resident in those areas.

(e) *Commercial or Economic Aspect.* The question of commercial development or economic improvement is also an important factor, to be considered both from the provincial and federal standpoint. A particular industry confined to a particular area has to take its goods to a part belonging to a different province. The way traversed may be long and while the directors of that particular industry are busy about an improved line of communication, the province to which it is tagged may not be equally interested in it. It is necessary then to find out the industries which may be improved by a proposed transfer. Apart from this, we should also examine how far the proposed redistribution would advance or hamper the financial condition of the provinces affected and whether and how far such provinces have the power to recover from any loss suffered in consequence of such redistribution.

(f) *Ethnic Grounds and Established Customs.* Ethnic grounds cannot altogether be ignored in this discussion. A people, ethnically one, when moving away from its original home, has a tendency to stick to its original marriage practices. The men marry from among their own people, and have thus maintained their tradition. But at the same time they are guided by a certain law of inheritance or of land tenure obtaining in the country of their adoption, and have been used to it for years. To relegate them to their original place merely on ethnic grounds and to ask them to be guided by laws of inheritance and of land tenure prevalent there would mean a lot of hardship better avoided.

(g) *Self-determination.* The right of finally determining by the inhabitants of such areas about the province with which direct political connection should be maintained is a right not to be lightly brushed aside, but the claim is at least deserving of a patient hearing at the bar of inter-provincial tribunal, along with other factors mentioned above. Such opinions should be gathered either by taking a plebiscite in the area in question or, failing that, in consultation with local representative bodies.

All these principles should be carefully examined before any of them may be applied to any particular areas. A hasty conclusion will lead to disastrous results.

PROPOSED AREAS

Names of some of the border areas will at once occur to many readers. Let us examine them briefly. (a) *Surma Valley Area.* This consists of two districts, Sylhet and Cachar, and the figures given below from 1921 Census Reports are instructive :

	Area in Sq. miles	Total population	Bengali-speaking	Assamese
Sylhet	5,388	25	23·32	·727
Cachar	3,565	5	3	2·04

Population figures in this table are given in lakhs

In the case of Sylhet, then, the figures are overwhelmingly in favour of its transfer to Bengal. In the second case, if it is a question of Bengal or Assam, and if language is any criterion, there is no reason why the area should belong politically to Assam in

preference to Bengal. If we turn to commercial interests then also we find that the local industries (mainly tea) have more in common with Bengal than with Assam; if we turn to ethnic grounds we see that there are many customs in common between Sylhet

and Mymensingh, that there is inter-caste marriage between the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas in Sylhet as there is in eastern Mymensingh and in Chittagong, that many Kayasthas in Sylhet trace their original home to a place called Mangalkot in Burdwan, from which they count a distance of twelve generations now. The Congress has been

for a long time including Surma Valley District as a proper constituent of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and there have been numerous representations by the people there resident for inclusion in Bengal.

(b) Let us now turn to the western borders and take up the case of Manbhum District.

Area in sq. miles	Total	Bengali	Oriya	Hindi-Urdu	Santali
4,147	15.5	10.35	0.1619	2.87	2.04

Population figures given in lakhs

These figures, taken as before from 1921 Census Report, show a decided case for the incorporation of Manbhum into Bengal. The southern portion of the district shows considerable ethnic resemblance to Bankura; the *Dharma* cult links it to the *Radha* country, which roughly corresponds to the Burdwan Division. The court language itself is

in favour of Bengal. The bulk of the Hindi-Urdu-speaking people reside in the Dhanbad sub-division of the district.

The case of Singbhum is another interesting example of the haphazard way in which provincial boundaries are adjusted. The figures are as follows:

Area in sq. miles	Total	Bengali	Oriya	Hindi	Mundari
3,879	7.5	1.23	1.40	.57	4.14

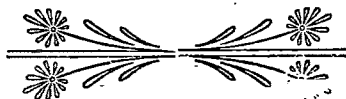
Population figures are given in lakhs

The Dhalbhum *pargana* or the eastern half of the district is pre-eminently Bengali and the other half, the seat of Seraikella and Kharswan States, contains most of the Oriyas as well as the Kol or Mundari population. Though the court language of Chaibasa is Hindi, if I am not mistaken, that has nothing to do with the Dhalbhum residents, for whose relief a separate court had to be opened at Jamshedpur. The people of Dhalbhum are ethnically close to the people of Bankura and North Midnapur, and the remarks made above with regard to Manbhum will hold good here also.

Other areas. Apart from these areas, there are others which may be discussed in reference to the proposed readjustment. The figures of Goalpara district show a

marked preponderance of the Bengali-speaking population. There are Bengali interests in the province of Bihar and Orissa, which have been emphasized again and again by the domiciled Bengali community there. Bengali capital and industry have been utilized without stint and have found an outlet beyond the provincial boundaries and out into the contiguous districts of Sonthal parganas and Hazaribagh—in such places as Karmatar, Jamtara, Deoghar, Jasidih and Giridih.

All the areas proposed do not stand on the same basis. But they serve to open the case for a redistribution of Bengal's boundaries,—which has been my object in writing this paper.



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

King Udayaditya

In the July issue of this journal (page 97) Mr. D. C. Ganguly contends:

(a) that Udayaditya the builder of the Udayapur temple [described by me in the June issue of the *M. R.*] was "the cousin of Bhoja."

(b) "that Udayaditya belonged to a different branch of the Paramara family" (on the authority of *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. IX. p. 549).

(c) that "Udayaditya did not build the temple of Udaypur certainly as a sovereign of Malava, because in 1059 A.D. Jayasinha was its ruler."

(d) "that Udayaditya built the temple of Udaypur a number of years before his accession to the throne of Malava," and

(e) that "Mr. Jayaswal's remark that the temple of Udaypur was built as a memorial of Bhoja and to record Udayaditya's own service to his family cannot be maintained."

All the above theses of Mr. Ganguly are totally wrong.

Mr. Ganguly's main point is that Udayaditya did not belong to the direct Paramara line to which Bhoja belonged but to a different branch and that Udayaditya came to the throne of Malwa by virtue of conquest and not by inheritance. ("...that Udayaditya obtained the sovereignty of Malwa having defeated the Gurjara Karna"). This is entirely contrary to the Paramara documents of which we have a series. That series places Udayaditya in the main Paramara (or, Paramara) line, immediately after Bhoja. See for instance, Kielhorn's *List*.

No. 82 :—"Sindhuraja, Bhoja, Udayaditya and Naravarman."

No. 195 :—"Bhoja, Udayaditya, his son Naravarman, his son Yasovarman, his son Ajavarman, his son Vindhavarman, his son Subhatarman, his son Arjuna."

No. 79 :—"Vairisimha, his son Siyaka, his son Munja-raj, his younger brother Sindhuraja, his son Bhoja, his *bandhu* Udayaditya, his son Lakshnadeva, his brother Naravarman."

Every family document of Udayaditya which gives the genealogy places him in the line of Sindhuraja and Bhoja and treats him as the immediate successor of Bhoja. Dr. Bühler, who should be admitted to have known and understood inscriptions, constructed a genealogy from different data and placed Udayaditya in the direct line immediately after Bhoja (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 223).

Mr. Ganguly has evidently consulted many books but has failed to see things as Bühler, Kielhorn and ordinary epigraphists would see. In view of the deeds (copper-plates) and inscriptions of the family, it is impossible to hold that Udayaditya did not belong to the main family of Sindhuraja and Bhoja and that he did not come in by inheritance.

Mr. Ganguly has relied on an inscription which every scholar has rejected as worthless. He refers the reader to *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549, to support his view 'that Udayaditya belonged to a different branch.' About this 'authority' of Mr. Ganguly, Dr. Kielhorn quotes with approval Dr. Hall who said:

"The person for whom that wretched scrawl was indited calls himself a descendant of Udayaditya of Malava: but it is clear that, whether so or not, he knew nothing of Udayaditya's family."

(*E. I.*, vol. v, *List*, p. 11).

Similar is the view of Dr. Bühler (*E. I.*, i. 233). The inscription is about 450 years later than the time of Udayaditya.

Now taking the long accepted and well-established view that Udayaditya belonged to the main line of the Paramaras of Dhara, we have to see what relationship he bore to Bhoja. He was certainly not his cousin, as Mr. Ganguly would interpret. While at Udaypur I heard the local tradition that Udayaditya was a son and successor of Bhoja. General Cunningham, years ago, heard the same tradition. In Vol. X of his *Reports* (p. 65) he writes:

"The city of Udaypur, or Udayapura, 34 miles to the north of Bhilsa, owes its name, and probably its foundation, to the Paramara Raja Udayaditya, the son of the famous Bhoja of Dhara."

Dr. Bühler who was the first to reconstruct the Paramara genealogy (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. i, 223) utilized four sources and on the basis of Udaypur *prasasti* and Nagpur *prasasti* he gave the genealogy of Udayaditya thus:

[I omit the successions above Sindhu-raj as being unnecessary here]

(UDAYPUR)	(NAGPUR)
Sindhuraja	Sindhuraja
Bhoja	Bhoja
Udayaditya	Udayaditya

Thus Dr. Bühler also treated Udayaditya as the son of Bhoja. Tradition in such matters is to be accepted so long as it is not proved to be wrong. For all practical purposes Udayaditya was Bhoja's 'son,' as it was he who defeated Bhoja's enemies and kept up the independence of his family and the name and fame of Bhoja. The tradition was therefore accepted by me and I recorded that Udayaditya succeeded Bhoja as his son and successor. The new inscription published by the Hyderabad State in 1931 (A.R. A.D. Nizam's Dominions for 1337 F.-1927-28) which had not reached my hands before, gives us the exact relationship between Bhoja and Udayaditya. This enables us to clear up the whole question.

In the Nagpur inscription the relationship, as a matter of fact, is given, but it had been missed owing to the scholars taking the word *bandhu* for a 'relative' and not in its other meaning 'brother.' Line 22, verse 32 says that when Bhoja

"had become Indra's companion, and when the realm was overrun by floods in which its sovereign was submerged, his relation [*bandhu*] Udayaditya became king. Delivering the earth, which was troubled by kings and taken possession by Karna, who, joined by the Karnatas, was like the mighty ocean, the prince did indeed act like the Holy Boar."—Bühler's translation, (*E. I.* i. 192).

The whole reference is to king Bhoja, predecessor of Udayaditya, and in that sense Dr. Bühler and Dr. Kielhorn took it. But Mr. Ganguly would turn it into a reference to an unnamed son of Bhoja, which is impossible. For that view, apart from a disregard of Sanskrit grammar, will lead us to the conclusion that Udayaditya was the 'brother' (*bandhu*) not of Bhoja but of his unnamed son, i.e., Udayaditya too was a son of Bhoja, which will contradict the explicit statement of the newly discovered Jainad stone inscription of a contemporary and a general of Udayaditya that Jagaddeva was a son of Udayaditya and a paternal nephew of Bhoja, 'who, both attained imperial position' [वसुधाधिपत्य-प्राप्त-प्रतिष्ठा]. Bhoja, the *pitriya* of Jagaddeva [यस्य देवः पितृव्यः स च भोजराजः] has to be a brother of Udayaditya, who is correctly described as *bandhu*, 'brother' of Bhoja in the Nagpur *prasasti*. As the Nagpur record gives the exact relationships of all former kings of the line, so here also by *bandhu* it has expressly predicated the exact relationship. Udayaditya thus was a younger brother of Bhoja, coming as he does after Bhoja.

The Udaypur *prasasti* gives the family history from Upendraraja to Bhoja. To Bhoja, his predecessor Udayaditya gives verses 16 to 20, the longest description—detailing his achievements—military, civic, literary, and pious—and in verses 21-22 he relates how he himself rescued the kingdom from the enemies of Bhoja. The main theme is the greatness of Bhoja and his services, and it is done with so much enthusiasm that it annoyed Bühler [*the statements of the Udaypur prasasti regarding Sindhuraja's son Bhoja are most extravagant*]. If Udayaditya did not wish to perpetuate the glories of Bhoja why should he have devoted the record to him?

To take the case of the succession of Jayasimha, son of Bhoja. We have two well-known records of his which give the years 1112 to 1116 Samvat (1055 to 1059 A.D.). Mr. Garde has given the year 1059 A.D. for the commencement of the temple and

1080 A.D. for its completion. Udayaditya was certainly ruling in 1080-81 A.D. (*E. I.* iii. 48). Bhoja certainly died in or before 1055 A.D. Even if Jaysimha ruled from 1055 to 1059 A.D., it does not exclude the fact of Udayaditya's commencing his temple in 1059 A.D. as the sovereign of Malwa. Mr. Ganguly's view that 'Udayaditya did not build the temple of Udaypur certainly as a sovereign of Malwa, because in 1059 A.D. Jayasimha was its ruler', is based on false logic. The year 1059 A.D. could both mark the end of the rule of Jayasimha and the beginning of the reign of Udayaditya.

Although it is not necessary to go into the matter any further, it may be mentioned in passing that the rule of Jayasimha seems to have been nominal, probably confined to a small area. He, according to the Jainad inscription (Arch. Annual Report of Hyderabad, 1337 F, page 24), seems to have fought near Arbuda, evidently under Udayaditya just as Udayaditya's son Jagaddeva fought in the South. Udayaditya's family never recognized Jayasimha as the successor of Bhoja, or as an independent ruler. And as Kielhorn concluded, it was Udayaditya who 'put an end to the troublous state of affairs connected with Bhojadeva's death.' Jayasimha would have succeeded in a subordinate capacity.

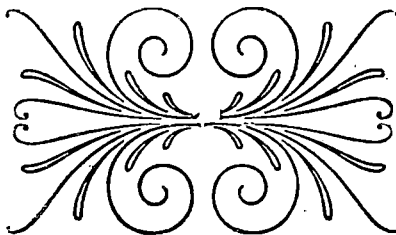
I thank Mr. Ganguly for raising the question which gives us an opportunity to fix the exact relationship of Udayaditya with Bhoja in the light of the new Jainad inscription, though in no way it changes the main facts as set out in my paper on the Udaypur temple.

K. P. JAYASWAL

P. S. The inscription recording the completion of the Udayesvara Temple is dated 1137 Samvat, Vaisakha Sudi 7, "श्रीमदुदयेस्वरदेवस्य ध्वजारोहः संपूर्णः। मंगलं महा श्रीः।"

This statement of the consecration and erection of the flagstaff is recorded on a stone seat in eastern porch of the Temple. Mr. Garde has kindly sent me a transcript. Evidently Mr. Ganguly was not aware of this record which is omitted by Dr. Kielhorn (*Indian Antiquary*, XX. 83.)

K. P. J.



PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

DISCUSSION ON THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY) BILL

[Continued from the previous issue]

[Reproduced from the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES, Saturday, 12th March, 1932 Vol. II—No. 15.]

Mr. President: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the Bill to supplement the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have listened to the criticisms of my Honourable friends yesterday, and lest those criticisms be multiplied, I think it well that I should explain to the Honourable Members my own position in regard to this Bill. Honourable Members are aware that when the question of reference to the Select Committee was before this House, I delivered a speech from which the Honourable Members could have drawn no other conclusion but one, that I was not in favour of the principle of the Bill. But even after the delivery of that speech and the lead which the Honourable Members wanted me to give, I found that a great many of my colleagues, including some of those hailing from the province of Bengal which is directly affected by the Bill, did not challenge that motion by a division. The House having, therefore, without a division acceded to the motion for reference to the Select Committee, the Select Committee felt bound by the acceptance of the principle of that Bill.

Honourable Members will remember that when the discussion was going on in this House, there was a reshuffling of the membership of the Select Committee. My name was added to the Select Committee. The reason why my name was added is well known to my Honourable friends who added that name. They knew full well that when I became a Member of the Select Committee, I would have to take the Chair. After the emergence of the Bill from the Select Committee Honourable Members have treated me to a long sustained diatribe against the iniquity of the Select Committee as if I were both the Bill as well as the Select Committee. I recognize the compliment which Honourable Members have paid me in that regard, and I shall, therefore, briefly explain to Honourable Members my participation in that dual character. In my view of constitutional propriety, which I know some Members including some of my colleagues sitting in front of me may challenge, the position of the Chairman of a Committee is analogous, if not identical, with the position which you, Sir, occupy in this House. The Chairman of the Select Committee is like the umpire for the time being. My Honourable friends may say that he is not the umpire, at any rate, he is in the position of the keeper of the ring to see that there is fair-play on both sides. If that were all, I would perhaps be relying upon an analogy, and I will, therefore, ask

Honourable Members to refresh their memories by what is laid down as the invariable practice followed in the Mother of Parliaments. In May's *Parliamentary Practice*, at page 449, we have the following passage:

"The main difference between the proceedings of a committee and those of the house is that in the former a member is entitled to speak more than once, in order that the details of a question, or bill may have the most minute examination;"

"Order in debate in a committee is enforced by the chairman, who is responsible for the conduct of business therein; and from his decision no appeal should be made to the Speaker, nor should an appeal from the decision of the deputy chairman or a temporary chairman be made to the chairman of ways and means on his resuming chair... The rules observed by the house regarding order in debate are followed in committee."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Is not the Chairman of a Committee to be consistent both inside and outside the Committee?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My Honourable friend, colleague and co-Chairman ask me the question: is not the Chairman of the Committee to be consistent with his expressed opinion as a Member of the House? My answer is that when a Member occupies the Chair, he ceases to be a partizan and he becomes the upholder of the rights and privileges of the House and has to carry on the rules and regulations by which he is bound.

An Honourable Member: Question.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: At any rate, if that is not the exalted notion of my Honourable friends who have occasionally to fill that Chair, I beg to differ from them.

Lieut-Colonel Sir Henry Gidney (Nominated Non-Official): Did the Honourable Member take up the same position when he was the Chairman of the Air Force Bill?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I did. If I had not done so, I would have put in a very strong minute of dissent. However, the position as I take it is this: whatever may have been the shortcomings of the members of the Select Committee, whatever may have been the view expressed by the Members singly and collectively, there cannot be any shadow of doubt as to what my own views were and they remain the same even now. Feeling as I do, free from the trammels of the obligation to which I have referred, I re-echo the sentiments of all my Honourable friends who have said that they do not like the look of this Bill. I do not for one moment suggest that those

Honourable Members who are opposed to this Bill are in any degree in sympathy with the terrorist crimes in Bengal and elsewhere. But sitting here as we do, as Members of the Central Legislature, our duty is to take an impartial survey of the situation as we find it in any part of the country, Bengal or elsewhere, and to see whether the powers we give by the Act of our creation are powers which are necessary for the ends of justice, and such as are not likely to be abused by those who would be charged with the duty of executing them. That being the case, I said in the opening speech which I delivered, that while I did not like the Bill at all, I had at any rate one small consolation, and it was that the Bill was to have a short life, and that the new constitution, which would bring into existence a responsible Central Government, would have the chance of re-doing our work when it assumed the reins of office. I then said that, though we did not like the principle of the Bill, we were quite prepared to see that if the Government were able to ameliorate the conditions of the people banished from Bengal, we should be prepared to give the Bill a short lease of life. The Honourable the Home Member is in possession of rules by which these detenues are governed. Honourable Members on this side of the House should take the opportunity of reading those rules and examine them for themselves as to whether they are or are not satisfactory so far as the detenues are concerned.

It may be that these rules are inadequate; it may be also that these rules do not provide for that degree of amenity and comfort to which the detenues should be entitled when they are taken away from their native homes. In that case two things should be borne in mind. One is suggested by the Honourable Members on the Opposition Benches, namely, that if those rules are good and sufficient, why should they not be embodied in the Act? And the second thing is that if they are not good and sufficient then those rules do not in any way mitigate the hardships complained of. Now, if those rules are good and sufficient, I would be the last person here to ask this House to embody them as a part of the Act. And the reason is obvious, namely, that if those rules remain as rules framed under the Act we can always use our pressure upon the Executive Government to change them from time to time, and from day to day, which we shall not be able to do if they are embodied as a part of the enactment. Therefore, I say that if the rules are good and sufficient, the very best of reasons exists for leaving them out of the Act; but if they are insufficient, that is another matter, and we should press upon the Government that the rules should be implemented so that the conditions for which Members have spoken are ensured in the detention camp proposed to be opened.

Sir, on the last occasion when this Bill was under debate, we only heard the name of that desert island, Ajmer, but nobody said that these detenues were to be taken away from Ajmer and that they were to be incarcerated in some isolated place or fort called Deoli which had been repaired for this purpose. Well, Sir, if it is a fact, as has been stated by my friend Mr. S. C. Mitra on the authority of my esteemed friend Diwan Bahadur Sarda, that the intention of the Government is to expatriate these people not to Ajmer but to some outlying place in the Ajmer province, the situation would be far worse than what we had expected when the Bill was consigned to the Select Committee. On the last occasion I stated, Sir, that whether these detenues

were incarcerated in Ajmer or locked up in the Government House at Calcutta, I could not reconcile myself to the fact that their detention was not aggravated by their deportation, and that I objected to their being bottled up in one place, it does not matter where. I will submit that that argument becomes doubly strong when you take them away to a distant place far removed from human habitation and there keep them in durance vile for an indefinite period and without recourse to the ordinary remedy open to an ordinary convict or to an ordinary person arrested for the most heinous crime under the statute law. That, I submit, is a consideration which this House cannot ignore. We have not heard from the Honourable the Home Member what is the exact place of detention which has been settled.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar (Home Member): Sir, I made that perfectly clear in my speech in an earlier part of the debate.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether the perfectly plain statement he made refers to the city of Ajmer or to any place in the Ajmer province?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: I will read the passage to the Honourable Member:

"We have also informed the Bengal Government that if and when this bill is enacted, what we have in mind as an immediate measure is the transfer of a certain number of those who fall within the category I have mentioned to a locality within the province of Ajmer-Merwara, a place which has an extremely salubrious climate, where there are, also excellent buildings already in existence," etc.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Beautifully vague and beautifully expressed,—“a locality within the province of Ajmer-Merwara!” But may I ask how far away is it from the sandy tract, how far away from the nearest human habitation and how far away from the railway station? Well, Sir, when Mr. S. C. Mitra disclosed the name of the place, I am afraid it is information upon which we can safely rely unless it is contradicted by the Honourable the Home Member on behalf of Government. For the time being we will, therefore, assume that the Bengal detenues are intended to be cooped up in some wayside place called Deoli. Sir, I said last time, and I wish to repeat it once more, that if you take away a Bengali from the province of Bengal, you deprive him of that mental and bodily comfort which cannot be replaced. I have always held that a Bengali is made up of 99 per cent of fish and one per cent of Ganges water, and if you were to take him away to a place where he can get neither one nor the other...

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): But the majority of them are Muhammadans.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: They also feed on fish. If you were to take them away from the humid climate in which they are born and brought up and to which they are accustomed, you would be adding to the sentence of banishment a larger and greater sentence of mental torture and physical suffering which would be in my opinion, and in the opinion I think of my friends on this side, a far greater hardship than if you had sent them across the seas under penal servitude for life. Some of the Honourable Members, when they got reconciled to this Bill, had, at the back of their minds, a feeling that if they were to turn down the Bill at that stage, it might be that the detenues would be removed to the Andaman Islands or anywhere beyond the seas, and I think the Honourable the Home Member would probably find a favourable

response from this side of the House if an assurance was forthcoming that on no occasion and in no circumstance the detenus from Bengal would be given an island home outside the mainland of India. I therefore feel that upon general considerations I would not be justified in lending to the Bill any greater support on this occasion than I did on the last; and my reason for taking that view is further fortified by a close and critical examination of the several provisions of the Bill to which I should like now to advert briefly.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir : Why did you not do it in the Select Committee?

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Honourable Members will find that this Bill is intended to supplement the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930. Now, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 has got a life of five years from the date of its enactment, that is to say, it will expire in 1935; but we know that a similar Bill was enacted under the power of certification in 1925. Now, if this Bill of 1930 is by an amending Act further extended to a period of another five years, have we any guarantee that by enacting this measure we shall not be depriving ourselves of the power of revision after the period for which this House is prepared to pass the supplementary Bill? This Bill merely lays down that this Act may be called the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment (Supplementary) Act, 1930. I am not a constitutional purist, but on a close examination of the provisions of the statute law, I think it might be plausibly argued that if the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is merely extended by amending the operative clause, it is an extending Bill and not a new Bill; and in that case *ipso facto* the provisions of the supplementary Bill would become extended to that larger period to which the main Act might be extended. But whether it is so or not, when we have a chance of making it clear, why should we not make it clear? We were told that the unexpired period for the main Act is some three years and nine months. Whatever may be the period for which the present Bengal Act is to run, there is no harm whatever in our limiting the scope of the supplementary Bill to a fixed period, say of three years, and I wish to suggest three years for this reason, that within a period of three years, the new constitution will come into force, and we must give the new Government the power and opportunity of reviewing our action on the expiry of that time, and I would therefore, both upon the grounds of constitutional necessity, if necessity it be—and I do not wish to dogmatize upon that point—as well as upon the broader ground of expediency, limit the operation of the Act to a defined period to three years or four years as the House may determine.

The second point that has troubled me in connection with this Bill is the enactment of clause 4 dealing with the power of the High Court. Honourable Members have pointed out that if a detenu has been lawfully detained under the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930, then the provisions of section 491 do not apply and cannot apply, and that was the view which the Honourable the Law Member gave expression to in an interjection; and with that view I am in entire agreement. If on the other hand a detenu has been detained in contravention of the provision of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, then this section, section 491, would apply, notwithstanding the provisions of section 4, which merely safeguards any person arrested, committed to or detained in custody, or anything

purported to be done under the provisions of the main Act. The position in short is this: if the man has been unlawfully detained, he has his remedy under section 491—the *habeas corpus* section of the Criminal Procedure Code. If he has been lawfully detained, then he has no remedy under section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code. That was the view expressed by several Honourable Members and in partial support of that view the opinion of the Madras Advocate General was cited. But there is a further point which seems to have been overlooked by Honourable Members on this side of the House. Section 491 deals with two specific powers; the first is the right of having the body of the accused, that is to say, bringing the accused to trial; and the second is summoning him for examination as a witness in any proceeding before the court. Let me give you the substance of clauses (c) and (d):

"That a person detained in any jail situated within such limits be brought before the court to be there examined as a witness in any matter pending or to be inquired into in such court."

If a case is pending in the High Court, the High Court under section 491 has got the jurisdiction of issuing a summons to examine that witness for the purpose of a case unconnected with his detention. Then we have clause (d)—that a prisoner detained as aforesaid be brought before a court martial or any other commissioners and under the authority of any commission from the Governor-General in Council for trial or to be examined touching any matter pending before such court martial or commissioners, respectively. Paraphrasing the two clauses together, the High Court's jurisdiction is not merely to give justice to the accused, but also to give justice to some third person by calling the detenu as a witness before it. These are two distinct rights of the High Court. If you turn to clause 4, clause 4 repeals the whole of section 491, and thereby deprives the High Court not merely of the power of giving redress to the accused in an offence of which he may have been guilty, but it deprives the High Court of the power of even calling him in as a witness in a case wholly unconnected with the guilt of the accused: it may be a case entirely independent of the case in which the accused has been detained.

An Honourable Member: Surely he can be subpoenaed under other sections.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Now, Sir, I wish to ask what could have been the underlying principle of this sweeping clause, which takes away from the High Court even the jurisdiction to examine a person as a witness. I looked to the Statement of Objects and Reasons, and I have looked in vain, and I should certainly say that the draftsman who prepared clause 4 has presumably followed some earlier Ordinances, like the numerous Ordinances which have been prepared in their large and abundant terms and which this House one after the other on examination has found to be either excessive or wholly unnecessary. We have got for example the case under the Press Act in which you will find that we have made drastic changes in the drafting of the operative provisions of that Act, and very shortly you will have the Foreign Relations Bill in which you will find very material changes have been made in the operative clause

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan (Nominated Non-Official): When you were a Member of that Committee you very clearly wrote that you did not want any amendment of this....

Mr. S. C. Mitra (Chittagong and Rajshahi Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Is this a point of order ?

Sir Hari Singh Gour : My friend Mr. Neogy pointed out that if you refer to the last clause, it will give you the analogy—"Nothing in this section applies to persons detained under Regulation III of 1818, or Madras Regulation II of 1819 or Bombay Regulation XXV of 1927 or the State Prisoners' Act of 1850 or the State Prisoners' Act of 1858." That is the analogy. But that analogy does not hold good since this House has on several occasions passed Bills for repealing it. Well, so far the two points of view have been expressed, and on both these points of view we cannot say that the drafting of clause 4 is either free from fault or free from ambiguity, and I should like some explanation as to why the powers of the High Court have been set aside by.....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola) : I do not want to interrupt the Honourable Member, but it appears to the Chair that the Honourable Member is making a speech as if the principle of the Bill is before the House and the Select Committee has not sat. All the issues that the Honourable Member is now raising are issues for the consideration of the Select Committee, and re-drafting or amending the Bill as it was originally submitted to the House was the function of the Select Committee. The Select Committee ought to have dealt with the points which the Honourable Member is now raising and as he was a Member of that Committee, he ought to have dealt with them there.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Sir, I have already dealt with that aspect of the question. I am now dealing with the defects in the Bill which should weigh with this House in seeing whether it should or it should not let this Bill be taken into consideration. If it finds that these are defects which affect the material provisions of the Bill, this House will have to make up its mind ; if, on the other hand, this House finds that these are immaterial defects which do not in any material degree influence its judgment, it will have to say so. Sir, I said on the last occasion, and I say once more, that whatever may have been the necessity for this Bill in 1925, when the question of the future constitution of this country was not on the horizon, now that that constitution is fairly in sight, the Government of India might well pause and just carry on before introducing any cataclysmic changes in the administration of the country affecting the life and liberty of the people of this country. Only the day before yesterday I read in one of the Overseas telegrams that that arch gunman, the head of a revolutionary movement, was now presiding over the destinies of an Island Kingdom and went to power upon a republican ticket. How many De Valeras may not be under detention, and also who can say that in the fullness of time one of these detenus may not occupy the seats vacated by the Honourable occupants of the Treasury Benches ? Let us not, therefore, do anything about which posterity may say that this Assembly, the last of its kind, has placed upon the Statute-book a measure which has not only curtailed the liberty of a man but has forfeited the sympathy of mankind.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter (Law Member) : Sir, most of the speeches that we listened to yesterday might well have been delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council when the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was under consideration. Three-fourths of the debate yesterday were devoted to the

principle of detention without trial. It is an abhorrent principle to every lawyer, to every administrator, but the Bengal Legislative Council, having regard to the circumstances in Bengal, thought it necessary to resort to that principle for a temporary period. We are not here to revise that Bill ; that is not the purpose of this Bill. Therefore all that criticism is beside the point as my friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir very pertinently pointed out yesterday....

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola) : This is the second Honourable Member who raises a question that the discussion yesterday was irrelevant. It was open both to Sir Cowasji Jahangir and to the Honourable the Law Member to rise to a point of order as to whether the speeches were relevant or irrelevant and the Chair would have given reasons why it holds that the whole discussion was perfectly relevant to the Bill that is now under consideration.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Sir, I had no intention whatever of making any reflection on the silence of the Chair in giving a ruling. When relevant matter is mixed up with irrelevant matter, it is very difficult to take a point of order. When three-fourths of irrelevant matter (Laughter from the Nationalist Benches) were mixed up with one-fourth of relevant matter, at what point one should rise to a point of order is a really difficult matter.

I do not want to refer to it any more. Now, the other criticism that was made which, in my opinion, is perfectly legitimate, is about the hardship which a transfer from Bengal to another province would involve, and that is within the principle of this Bill. Sir, the Leader of the Nationalist Party at the beginning of his address this morning said, "I am not in favour of the principle of the Bill." But I find from the Report of the Select Committee that the Honourable the leader of the Nationalist Party said this :

"We, the undersigned Members of the Select Committee, to which the Bill to supplement the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, was referred, have considered the Bill and the papers noted in the margin, and have now the honour to submit this our Report, with the Bill annexed thereto.

We do not propose that any amendment should be made in the Bill and we recommend that it be passed as introduced."

That is his written opinion, and to-day we have heard his verbal opinion. I ask my Honourable friend to reconcile the two. (Laughter).

Sir Hari Singh Gour : Have I not done so ?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Anyhow, I do not want to make a debating point. I shall come to the substance of his criticism. It is, after all, not his conduct but the merits of the Bill which we are discussing.

Before dealing with the points made by other Honourable Members, I shall deal with Sir Hari Singh Gour's point first. He said, in enacting clause 4 of the Bill you are taking away a valuable right which is given to other people in citing a detenu as a witness. That is so. Section 491 sub-section (1) clause (c) deals with the production of a detenu as a witness in a case. If clause 4 be enacted, surely the High Court could not order a detenu to be produced as a witness at any trial ; that is quite true. But that is a matter which did not escape the attention of the Government, and on behalf of the Government I can give this assurance to the House, that if the High Court at any time comes to the decision that a particular detenu is required as a witness in any trial

before it, then the Government of India will not stand in the way and the requisition of the High Court will be honoured every time.

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab : Sikh) : May I enquire from the Honourable gentleman if the High Court will not look into the provisions of this Bill when passed into an Act and refrain from calling a detenu as a witness ?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : There is nothing to prevent the High Court from saying that in a particular trial the evidence of a particular detenu is necessary but by reason of section 4 it is not in a position to direct his production. Any expression of opinion of that sort will be taken count of by the Government of India, and I can give the House a definite assurance that, if the High Court wants a detenu to be produced before it as a witness, that detenu will be produced.

Mr. H. P. Mody (Bombay Millowners' Association : Indian Commerce) : Would it not be better to give a specific direction of this character to the various High Courts so that the High Courts may know exactly where they stand ?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Sir, I have known of cases in which prisoners under the Regulations have been wanted as witnesses and an indication of the desire of the Court was conveyed to the Government of India, and the Government of India have always to my knowledge complied with such requisitions.

Sir Hari Singh Gour : May I just ask the Honourable the Law Member a question ? Whatever may be the undertaking by the Government of India, the clause as it is enacted is too wide. He admits that.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : I am coming to that. I am making these observations in order to meet a possible grievance that a detenu may not be forthcoming as a witness at a trial. In practice, I challenge any Member of this House to cite any particular case in which any trial has been hampered by the non-production of a witness who has been in custody under the Regulations, because the Regulations.....

Mr. C. C. Biswas (Calcutta : Non-Muhammadan Urban) : In that case, was it not possible for the Government to have excepted this particular clause of section 491 from the operation of this Bill ?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : It was never suggested, not even in the Select Committee, and if any such amendment were before the House I might have had something to say on that. I am only—since that question was raised by Sir Hari Singh Gour this morning—I am only explaining the position. The position is this, that aspect of the question is not in the interest of the detenu : it is in the interest of somebody else—somebody who is an accused in a case. In the interest of that accused, if a detenu is required, what would be the position ? Hitherto, we have been discussing the interest of the detenus themselves. But this is not in the interest of the detenus : this is in the interest of a third party.

Sir Abdur Rahim (Calcutta and Suburbs : Muhammadan Urban) : May I ask, is it desirable that the matter should be placed at the discretion of the Government whether the High Court should be able to call a detenu as a witness or not ? Should not the High Court have the power to call a detenu as a witness if it chooses to do so ?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : In dealing with the class of people like the terrorists, Govern-

ment must claim to have the direction as they have got discretion already in regard to Regulation prisoners. If my Honourable friend Sir Abdur Rahim will kindly look at sub-section (3) of section 491, he will find that we are doing nothing more than that. It says :

“Nothing in this section applies to persons detained under the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818,” and the various other Regulations and Acts which are mentioned there. In those cases it is not the High Court which has got the discretion but it is the Government of India who have got the discretion. We are not going beyond that by one single inch. We are only bringing these detenus into line with prisoners detained under the Regulations. That is all we are doing, and nothing more.

Sir Abdur Rahim : You are extending it.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Is that discretion, which I claim ought to be vested in the Government—is that discretion any more serious than the discretion to detain a man indefinitely without trial ? If you can swallow detention without trial you ought to swallow this.

With regard to this witness argument, that is all I have to say, namely, that if a witness is required by the High Court, that witness will be produced,—that is the Government's undertaking. Secondly, my point is this, with regard either to the detenu himself or to the detenu as witness,—in either of these cases we are not going beyond what the Criminal Procedure Code has already enacted with regard to the Regulation prisoners.

Then, a very pertinent criticism was made by several Honourable Members yesterday, and again by Sir Hari Singh Gour to-day, why enact clause 4 at all—if in case of illegality this clause will not stand in the way of the High Court, why enact it at all ? The answer to that has been given by the Advocate-General of Madras, and I endorse that. What he says is this :

“I realize that there is this thing to be said in favour of the retention of clause 4, that section 491 already contains a provision to the effect that the remedy under the section is not available to persons detained under certain Regulations and the only effect of clause 4 of the Bill is to place the persons detained under the Criminal Law Amendment Act on the same footing as persons detained under the Regulations.”

Mr. B. Sitaramaraju (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : The whole paragraph may be read.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : The rest of the paragraph is irrelevant to my present argument. I shall read the whole paragraph when I come to those arguments which are contained in it. (Laughter.) But for the purpose of my present argument,—this is not a laughing matter—this is the only relevant portion, on the question of having clause 4 at all.

The Advocate-General, Madras, deals with the case when the Government act illegally. I shall illustrate the point. Under the transfer clause—clause 2 of the present Bill—the sanction of the Government of India has to be taken before a detenu can be transferred from Bengal to some other province. Assuming that a detenu is transferred without the sanction of the Government of India, then the detention in that other province would be an illegal detention. In that case, clause (4) of the Bill will not prevent the intervention of the High Court. Then, the Advocate-General deals with a person who is legally in custody, that is in consonance with the law. It may be good

law, bad law or indifferent law, we are not concerned with that. He is lawfully in custody and 491 would not come in. In that case the High Court's power is taken away. That is the previous portion of the Advocate General's opinion and that is the portion which my friend Mr. Raju read yesterday. What is the use of burdening the reports by reading it over again but if Honourable Members want me to read it I shall read it, but I think it unnecessary. All the Advocate General says is this, that if the detention be illegal, then the High Court has jurisdiction to interfere but if it be legal, never mind whether that legality is sanctioned by an obnoxious law, even so the power of the High Court is gone. That is the previous portion. Then he goes on to say that the retention of clause 4 is still necessary in order to bring the detenus under the Criminal Law Amendment Act into line with and in the same position as State prisoners under the Regulations. If you say, "Why do that?" my answer is this,—if this clause were not there, then in every case of detention the argument in the courts will be this, that section 491 specifically mentions certain Regulations and certain Acts but does not mention the Criminal Law Amendment Act, nor is it mentioned anywhere else. Therefore, 491 applies to all detentions under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. If there be no such provision then in every case the argument will be based on implied inclusion in the absence of express exclusion.

Sir Abdur Rahim: Would it be a good argument?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: I am only suggesting that that argument will be advanced in every case. Since we are legislating why not make it clear?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Can you legislate for every bad argument?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: We cannot. The skill of the advocate may skirt round an enactment of Parliament but we can legislate against such arguments as we can anticipate. We are anticipating the argument that the Regulation prisoners are outside the pale of the High Court, but the Legislature has nowhere said that the Criminal Law Amendment prisoners are outside the pale in the same way as the Regulation prisoners are; therefore the High Court can intervene.

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): No newspapers are allowed to be read in the House. (An Honourable Member was found reading a newspaper in the House.)

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: Sir Abdur Rahim said that it would be a bad argument. If it be a bad argument, then why not make provision against futile applications which will mean loss of time, and loss of money without any gain whatsoever. Since we can anticipate that point, why not provide for it? My defence of clause 4 is this, that clause 4, in the first place, places a detenu in the same position as a State prisoner under the Regulations. Secondly, clause 4 is necessary in order to avoid a futile argument that Criminal Law Amendment prisoners can avail themselves of 491, whereas the State prisoners are debarred from availing themselves of 491. In order to get rid of that ambiguity, to prevent futile applications being made, we want clause 4 to make the position perfectly clear.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: May I ask the Honourable Member for a little advice? Is there not a difference between detaining a man under an Ordinance and detaining a man under an Act of the Legislature?

I can quite understand your preventing interference from the High Court if you are detaining a man under the Ordinance, but if you are detaining a man under the statute, surely, you do not want to deprive that man of the right of appealing to the High Court to see that the provisions of the statute have been legally carried out?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: There is no question of Ordinance here. The detention is under the Bengal Act, not under any Ordinance. We are placing detenus under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in the same position as prisoners under a State Regulation. That is all.

Sir Abdur Rahim: Is there not a difference? For instance, the question may arise whether the procedure laid down in this Act has been complied with. Supposing the procedure has not been complied with, I do not think the Honourable the Law Member will contend that still the High Court cannot interfere. He does not contend that.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: All I say is this, that if the detention is illegal, the High Court can interfere. If the detention be not illegal, then the High Court cannot interfere. That point was made by Sir Hari Singh Gour this morning. There was so much noise that probably Honourable Members did not pay attention to his wise words. Sir Hari Singh Gour said this, that the language of this clause is this, "any person arrested, committed to or detained in custody, etc." It does not say a person "purported to have been arrested, committed to, or detained in custody." The word "purported" is not there. Therefore the arrest, commitment to custody or detention in custody must be under the local Act or this Act in order to oust the jurisdiction of the High Court.

Sir Abdur Rahim: Supposing the procedure laid down by the Act has been disregarded?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: The test is this, whether the detention is legal or it is illegal. I cannot answer hypothetical questions. If a particular specific question were put to me, I could answer that. My test is this, if the detention is legal, never mind whether it is under the local Act or under this Act, then the High Court cannot interfere.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Who is to decide whether it is legal or not.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: That will be decided by the High Court when an application is made. Suppose a man is purported to be detained under Regulation III of 1818, an application can still be made to the High Court to this effect that the proper warrant was not issued. He may say this; that the arrest and detention may purport to have been under Regulation III but it is not so in fact. There was no warrant signed by Secretary to the Government of India. Supposing he said that, in his application to the High Court. The High Court will then proceed to inquire whether the detention is legal or illegal. If the High Court comes to the conclusion that there was no proper warrant in the case, then, the High Court will say that if detention is illegal. Whether we enact clause 4 or do not enact clause 4, no one can prevent Sir Hari Singh Gour going to the Calcutta High Court and making an application on behalf of anybody in custody. Then the High Court will have to say whether the detention is legal or illegal. If there was a proper warrant or if a particular section of the Act empowered the Local Government to effect the arrest or detain the person, the High Court will say, "We have no jurisdiction." Sir, I repeat it for the last time, the test is this.

whether the detention is legal or illegal. In the case of illegal detention no one can prevent interference by the High Court. Even in the case of legal detention, no one can prevent a man going to the High Court for testing whether the detention is legal or illegal.

The next point to which I come is this. Sir Hari Singh Gour's last argument was that clause 4 is ambiguous and that it must have been copied from some Ordinance or other. (At this stage, Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi rose to his feet). Sir, I do not give way; I have given way frequently enough.

Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): On a point of order, Sir. My Honourable friend says that he agrees with the opinion of the Honourable the Advocate General, Madras....

Mr. President: Order, order. How is that a point of order?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour's last argument was that clause 4 is ambiguous. What is the ambiguity about clause 4? It is taken not from any obsolete Ordinance, it is not taken from any imaginary source, but is taken from sub-clause (3), section 491. It is only put in different language. That is all.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have said that.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: Very well, there is no ambiguity about it. We are deliberately taking away the power of the High Court. There is no question about it. There is no concealment of that fact. The needs of Bengal are that certain persons should be detained without trial—and why without trial?—Well, the Bengal Legislature has given an answer to that. I may mention only two factors. One is that a trial is undesirable in order to protect witnesses from being assassinated. The second is this, that if these people are brought to trial, in that case the methods employed by the Government in fighting the terrorist movement will have to be disclosed in court in cross-examination, which, in the existing circumstances, is not desirable. Detention without trial is an unfortunate necessity at the present moment in Bengal. I do not want to argue that point at all, because that is a matter on which the Bengal Legislative Council has already declared. Sir, if detention without trial be an unfortunate necessity, it follows that the jurisdiction of the High Court should also be taken away, as otherwise the exercise of the jurisdiction might involve the disclosure of,—the sources of information, the methods employed to fight the terrorist movement, and so on, which disclosure is undesirable in the interests of the State. That being so,...

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: I rise to a point of order. Is this relevant to the debate—the justification of "arrests without trial," "detentions without trial"?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): Has that point of order any reference to the remarks which the Honourable the Law Member made at the commencement of his speech? The Honourable Member is quite in order.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: Sir, what I submit is this, that it is a corollary to the policy of detention without trial that the power of the High Court under section 491 should be taken away.—That is the deliberate policy of the measure which is under consideration.

Now I come to the next point—that of hardship involved in the transfer. Sir, that is not a matter of

law, it is a matter of administration. I desire to draw the attention of the House to section 11 of the Bengal Act.

"The Local Government shall by order in writing appoint such persons as it thinks fit to constitute visiting committees for the purposes of this Act and shall by rules prescribe the functions which these committees shall exercise."

Then clause 12 provides for allowances to persons under restraint and their dependants. Now, these are matters of administration, and by means of rules, as my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, has pointed out, you can mitigate hardship as much as is possible in the circumstances. I should have liked Honourable Members to suggest what sort of treatment they would like to be meted out to persons who are to be detained outside Bengal either with regard to their food or their association and so on, and these suggestions, I have no doubt, would be carefully considered by the Government of India. I can well understand the suggestion being made, that the detenus should have such food as they are accustomed to, or, that provision should be made for Bengali cooks and things of that sort. Those are matters which can be adjusted by administrative orders; they are not matters for legislation here. My Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, pointed out this morning, that the existing rules were quite liberal. A copy was circulated in the Select Committee and my own impression was that those Members who approved of this Bill and who advised this House to pass this Bill without modification were satisfied that the existing rules were liberal. It may be said that those rules are meant for detention in Bengal; I am not unmindful of that fact, and it may be that these rules would require some modification when the detenus are transferred from Bengal to some other province.

Mr. T. N. Ramakrishna Reddi: Can we have a copy of those rules?

Mr. S. C. Mitra: They are confidential; they are not to be given to others.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: My Honourable colleague, the Home Member, will deal with that when it comes to his turn to speak. Sir, this is not a legal question, in which I am primarily interested. All I am suggesting is that if practical suggestions be made to ameliorate the condition of those people who are being detained without trial, the suggestions will receive sympathetic consideration. Sir, we have to face realities. The Bengal Government have thought it necessary to detain a certain number of persons without trial. The Bengal Legislative Council have passed that law. We cannot alter that; but what we can do is, to make the condition of these detenus as little burdensome and as much tolerable as possible in the circumstances, and that can be easily done by administrative orders. Therefore, that is not a matter of principle to which we need devote much time and discussion.

Mr. S. C. Mitra: But that means life and death to these detenus.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: I fully realize the gloominess of the picture which my Honourable friend, Mr. Mitra, drew yesterday. That really makes a man think that when you are taking these people out of their own province, you ought to do everything possible to mitigate their hardship. (Hear, hear.) If any Honourable Member is able to make practical suggestions as to what ought to

be done, I am sure the Government of India will not ignore them. Sir, with regard to the visiting committee, I hope my Honourable friend, Diwan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, who comes from Ajmer will be a member of it. He will go and see these detenues, and if he makes reasonable suggestions as regards food or other matters, I am sure my Honourable colleague, the Home Member, will treat them with sympathy. Sir, I have nothing further to add with regard to the matters which are now under consideration.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: What about the life of the Bill?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: I thank the Honourable Member for reminding me of this. The Honourable Sir Hari Singh Gour suggested, but did not say so in so many words, because, as a lawyer, he could not say so, that an Act extending the existing Bengal Act of 1930 would automatically attract the measure which we are now considering. If I understood him rightly, that was his suggestion. Sir, I do not agree. I would ask my Honourable friend to refer me to any section of the General Clauses Act which would have that effect. The only sections in the General Clauses Act which are relevant are, I suppose, sections 7, 8 and 24. None of these sections deals with extension of an Act. They deal with repeal and re-enactment. Now, if the Bengal Act be repealed and re-enacted in 1935, then the measure which we are now considering, if it passes into law, will not attach itself to that re-enacted measure. This measure is supplementary to the Act of 1930. It says:

"The power of the Local Government under sub-

section (I) of section 2 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, to direct, etc. etc."

Therefore, what we are doing is supplementing the Bengal Act of 1930. If the Bengal Act of 1930 be repealed or exhausts itself by efflux of time and be re-enacted in the same terms, then my submission is that this measure which we are considering now will not attach itself to that re-enacted measure, because, this Bill says, in so many words, that it is supplementary to the Act of 1930 and it is not supplementary to any Act which may be re-enacted in 1935. There is no section in the General Clauses Act or in any other law that I know of which automatically attracts a supplementary measure to an extended measure.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: That was not the point I made. I admit all that the honourable the Law Member has said. My point is that if it is only extended to a further period and not repealed or re-enacted.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: My answer to that is that even to an extended Act this measure will not be attracted because this measure in express terms is supplementary to the Bengal Act as it now stands and it cannot be supplementary to anything which may be different from the present Act. The Bengal Act has a five years' life. Therefore the supplementary Act cannot in any circumstances survive the five years of the Bengal Act or be extended beyond the five years without further legislation. As soon as the Bengal Act falls to the ground by efflux of time or by repeal, the supplementary Act also falls along with it.

To be continued

INDIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION: WILL IT GIVE HER SELF-RULE ?

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

THE new constitution for India which the Round Table Conference set out to frame has not yet been completed, but its principal features have been given to the public many times over with considerable fulness and from the most reliable sources, so that one need not hesitate to speak of it with considerable confidence. All the evidences are that it is to be very long, very elaborate, going into extensive details in many directions. Of course, therefore, with our limited space, it is impossible to discuss it as a whole. Nor is it necessary. All that we desire, and all that the object which at present we have in view requires, is to find, if we may, an answer to the vital question: will the new constitution give India self-rule, self-rule in the form of Dominion Status, or any other, or will it prolong her bondage? Is it to be a charter of freedom, or a new and strengthened chain of slavery? Where is the answer to this vital, this fundamental, question, to be found? Let us see.

Some say it is to be found in the fact of federation; in the fact that the new constitution is to make all India politically one; is to unite British India and the Native States into a single federated government. But what has that to do with the question of India's freedom? While some of the freest governments of the world have been federations, some of the worst tyrannies of the world have also been federations. The fact that India under the proposed new constitution is to be a federation tells us nothing whatever as to whether the Indian people are to be free or slave. We must look further.

Some believe the answer to our question is to be found in the promise of the British Government that under the new constitution India is to have an enlarged franchise. Unquestionably an extended franchise ought to make for freedom. But will it in India's case? Whether it will or not evidently depends largely on whether India's elections are to be made general or communal. If, as seems somewhat

likely, the new constitution is to make voting communal—each sect and party and community voting by itself, thus creating divisions and ever more divisions, then widening the franchise will be likely to work as much for tyranny as for freedom.

Evidently there is something much more important than either federation or franchise.

Mr. Gandhi, all India and many Englishmen agree that the answer to our inquiry is to be found in those sections of the new constitution called the "reservations" or "safe-guards"; that is to say, in those sections which name certain functions, certain very large and important functions or parts of the new government, which Britain insists on retaining in her own hands—is unwilling on any condition to turn over to the Indian people.

Let us see just what these "reservations" are. The most important of them are the following four :

1. In the new constitution which is to be offered to the Indian people, Britain is to control India's foreign relations. What does that mean? It means that India, the real India, the India which consists of the Indian people, cannot communicate with any other nation, she cannot make a foreign treaty, or do any kind of foreign business. She cannot send to any nation an ambassador, or a minister, or a consul, or any official to represent her; nor can she receive any ambassador or minister, or consul, or official representing any foreign nation. She cannot be recognized as a nation by any other nation, she can have no place among the nations of the world. To all the world she is not to be a nation at all, but simply a subject province of Great Britain. Will this be self-rule? Will it be anything but unbearable bondage?

2. Britain is to control India's finances, both Home and foreign. That is to say, in financial matters India is to remain in the absolute power of Great Britain. Of the public revenue of the country Britain is to take all she wants (for the salaries and pensions of British officials serving in India, for the support of Britain's "army of occupation" and for her military and imperialistic undertakings of all kinds) before India is allowed anything for those government expenses which are absolutely vital to the nation's civilized existence, such as education, sanitation, public health and the like. India cannot make a loan without Britain's consent, no matter how much she may need it, but Britain can make loans in India's name to any extent without India's consent, thus raising her national debt higher and higher, a load that is already crushing in its weight. Indian financiers claim that one of the main causes of India's terrible impoverishment has been, and is, Britain's control of her finances. This control has taken many forms and has injured India in many ways. It is affirmed that by changing the value of the

rupee and manipulating India's currency in the interest of Britain, and by creating artificial ratios of exchange between India and England the British Government has drained from India untold millions of her wealth. Under the proposed new constitution for India, all this is to go right on.

If Britain's financiers were abler than those of India, or more honest and trustworthy, this might be cited as an excuse. But India denies that either is true. India's leading financiers for the most part are men trained not only in her own universities but also in the best universities of Europe and America. Moreover, they are principally the men who are now actually doing the main work, the most difficult work, the expert work, of managing India's finances. British men hold positions above them in power, honour, and pay; but it is nearly always their Indian assistants, managers, secretaries, accountants that do the intricate, elaborate, and really important work. Therefore, there seems no reason whatever for believing that India's finances would suffer if transferred at once to Indian men. This would be justice to India, and no injustice to Britain.

3. Great Britain is to control India's "defence," that is, India's "army." India possesses, and is to continue to possess, a large army. What does control of it mean? If England possessed a large army and it was controlled by Germany, or France, or Japan, and if England had not a single soldier under her control, could it be said in any true sense that she was free or possessed self-rule? This exactly illustrates what British control of the Indian army means. Does not all the world know that any nation whose army is wholly in the control of a foreign power is under serious and dangerous bondage?

Britain's argument for retaining control of the army for a long period is that it is necessary for India's protection. This Gandhi denies, as does practically all India. Let us see the ground for their denial.

For some time past Britain has been accustomed to keep in India a British force of about 60,000 men. A self-ruling India would dismiss these, but she would have ample military strength without them. There is a regular well-trained Indian army of from 170,000 to 180,000 men, commanded by British officers. Of course, this army India would retain. In addition to these there are the small armies of the Princes, numbering all together from 25,000 to 30,000. Then, as very important, there is a great body of highly trained and experienced soldiers who served in the World War, and at the close of the war were brought back to India, disarmed and sent to their homes. Their British officers declared these men as brave and as efficient as any of the soldiers of Europe. How many of these are now living and fit for

military service is uncertain, but probably not much if any less than half a million. But even if we say a third of a million, this would give India, in all, to-day, at least half a million men, as thoroughly trained and as efficient as any soldiers in the world. The only weakness would be in high officers, fit to command, for the British Government has hitherto practically refused to allow Indians to be trained for these positions. But this weakness is only apparent, not real, for the Indian Government would, of course, invite the British officers to remain in command until Indians could be trained to fill their places, which good authorities say could be effected in at most two years. It has been declared in certain quarters, that this plan of officering the Indian army would be blocked by the fact that British officers would refuse to serve under an Indian Government. The answer is, British officers are by no means indispensable; there are others from other nations, equally able, who could easily be obtained, say from Germany, France, almost any of the European States, or from America.

Gandhi and his great following believe that a free India, with its peaceful and friendly attitude toward all the world, and belonging as India does to the League of Nations, would be in no danger whatever from any nation. But if danger arises, they believe that in the strong military resources named above, and in the millions of other able-bodied men who could be called to arms at once in case of need, India has ample military protection.

This is India's answer to Britain's demand to retain military control of the country for an indefinite term of years. India believes that such control is absolutely unnecessary, and that, if attempted, it will be regarded by India as a humiliation and an insult which she cannot and will not endure.

4. While in the proposed new constitution for India the Viceroy (or Governor-General) is to be responsible in a measure to the Indian National (Federal) Legislature, and therefore indirectly to the people of India, *he is to be given autocratic and arbitrary power quite as great as any past Viceroy has ever possessed.* In other words, he is to have power to dismiss ministries at his will, which means that, in what he may claim to be a time of "emergency," he can control legislation, or even dismiss the Legislature, and rule the country by arbitrary edicts, or virtual martial law exactly as Lord Chelmsford did in 1919, by the Rowlatt Acts, which were followed by the Panjab atrocities; just as Lord Irwin did in 1930-31, by edicts which caused the imprisonment of more than 60,000 (high Indian authorities say more than 100,000) of India's worthiest citizens and filled the land with unpardonable uses of physical force; and just as Lord Willingdon hastened to do at the close of the second London Round

Table Conference by his Bengal and other Ordinances which equalled, if they did not surpass anything that preceded them.

Nor is this all. Even the national Legislature is to be so constituted as not only to be always under the Viceroy's control, but as actually to uphold and strengthen his autocracy. This is to be brought about by the following plan, namely, by making the number of members of the main national Legislative body very small (only 300 for a population of nearly 350,000,000), and then, of this very small number, giving an unjustly large proportion to the Native States (not elected by the people but appointed by the Princes and sure to be conservative) and an unjustly large proportion to certain "minorities," (that can be controlled by the Government), and filling a considerable number of seats with direct nominees or appointees of the Government, the members of all these taken together being sufficient always to form a majority of conservatives, of die-hards of government supporters. Thus "Ossa is to be piled on Pelion." It is not enough that the Viceroy is to be made an autocrat, with absolute power in his hands over the legislative part of the government, over the army, over finance, over everything, but his power is to be fortified by the chief legislative body being so fashioned (the "dice so loaded") as to insure that he shall also have the support of the legislature in all his autocratic power, thus giving to the world the impression that he is not an autocrat at all, but that he rules by the will of the people.

There is more still. The autocracy is not to stop with the Viceroys. It is to extend in large measure to the Governors of Provinces. Since these Governors (as well as the Viceroys) are to be appointed by Great Britain without India having any voice or power in the matter, there appears to be no way in which India will be able to prevent great provinces from being governed by men like Sir Michael O'Dwyer, or to prevent British soldiers like General Dyer from committing in any of the provinces (under the autocratic authority of Provincial Governors or Viceroys, one or both) atrocities as bad as those in the Panjab, including massacres as terrible as that in Amritsar. Will this mean self-rule for India?

Am I told that under the new constitution Britain will be careful to appoint Viceroys and Provincial Governors who can be trusted not to use their autocratic power in these ways? The answer is, where has India any such assurance? Said Patrick Henry: "I know no way of judging the future but by the past."

Such then are the four main "reservations" (there are others but these are the most important) which Great Britain makes an indispensable part of the new constitution which she is framing for the Indian people.

Under such a constitution, will India possess

self-rule in any sense whatever, not to say Dominion Status? Instead, will she not be held in abject bondage, as really as in the past? The chains with which she is to be bound will be somewhat different in form, and they will be slightly longer in this direction and in that, so as to allow her a little more liberty of movement in her bondage, but are they not to be chains still, chains of steel, as strong and as bitter as those of the past have ever been?

Great Britain tries to reconcile India to these reservations by saying that they are "temporary," to last only during a "transition" period, then they will be removed. The reply India makes is: How long is the transition period to last? Will it be ten years, or twenty, or thirty, or fifty, or a hundred? The shortest time that we have seen mentioned from any responsible British source is twenty years. Lord Reading and Lord Birkenhead are reported as saying fifty years and a century. A clergyman of the Church of England, writing on the subject, thinks the time should not be less than two centuries. Does any reasonable man imagine that India can be made satisfied to wait any of these periods to obtain what she believes she is ready to receive and ought to receive at once?

Worst of all, there is no date. India is not promised that the transitional period shall end at any definite time at all, even in twenty years, or fifty or a hundred. She is only told that it shall terminate *sometime*. When will that be? Everybody knows that a promissory note simply payable *sometime* is not worth the paper it is written on. Furthermore, and this is vital—India is to have *no control* over the *sometime*; that control is to be wholly in the hands of Britain. The end of the transition period is to arrive *only when* some future British Parliament shall think the proper time has come. Will any future British Parliament ever discover such a time?*

Mr. Gandhi and the people of India can see no need for any reservations at all, or any delay at all in turning over the government of India to those to whom it properly belongs.

* When the Indian delegates to the Second London Round Table Conference returned home, the papers in India reported many of them as saying that one of the strongest impressions they had received from their two months in London, was that Great Britain does not intend *ever* to relinquish its domination of India; and that the object of the new constitution which was being framed was not to give India freedom but to hold her firmly and permanently under British dominance. This is exactly in harmony with a speech made by Mr. MacDonald on the new constitution, reported in *The New York Times* of January 13, 1932, in which he declared in the clearest words: "The British Government can *never* abrogate its duty to govern India." Note the word "never."

The British are not abler than the Indian leaders. They are not more honourable. Their knowledge of India and its needs is much inferior. The only thing that can possibly be accomplished by the reservations, in India's view, is to enable Britain to hold India fast for so many years longer.

If such an additional period of forced subjection would improve the Indian people or make them in any way more fit for self-rule, there might be some excuse for the delay. But how can prolongation of bondage, with its humiliating and degrading influence, and with the irritation and feeling of injury, hostility and antagonism which it inevitably creates, fit men better for self-government? The declaration of Gladstone should be heeded:

"Every year and every month that a subject people are kept under the administration of a despotic government, renders them less fit for free institutions."

If such a delay would make the transfer more willing or more easy on the part of Britain that might do something to justify it. But how can postponement make Britain more willing or the transfer easier? There seems reason to believe that the effect will be the exact opposite. Every year of delay will increase British investments in India and other entanglements between the two countries, which of course will tend to make separation more difficult. Every year will increase the public debt which Britain is piling on India, and through this strengthen her grip, since most of the debt is owed to Britain. Of course, the stronger her grip, the less willing she will be to let go. So that these delays, instead of being paths to India's self-rule, seem serious obstacles in the way of her attaining it within any visible time, if ever.

India feels indignant that reservations of any kind are imposed on her. Is she not a great, civilized, historic nation, that has ruled herself in the past for two or three thousand years without reservations, occupying a place of honour and influence in the world second to that of no other nation? Cannot such a nation rule itself now? If not, why not? Has hundred and seventy years of British rule caused such degeneration in her that she cannot do again what she did for so long a period with distinguished success? India feels insulted by these reservations.

She also distrusts their meaning. What can their real meaning be? Are they not another "smoke-screen" such as she declares she has experienced so often from her present foreign rulers? Is not offering so-called self-rule with these reservations, on the part of Great Britain, another instance of professing to give without really giving? Of "giving with one hand and taking back with the other?"

Under the name of granting India self-rule, does not Britain by these reservations, really

refuse to give her self-rule? If I may quote the language of the Editor of *New India* (Madras), "In holding out to India so-called self-government with these limitations attached, are India's foreign

lords offering her anything whatever but the trappings of self-government without self-government at all?" These are vital questions. All India is asking them with intense earnestness.

THE "BACKWARD TRACTS" IN FEDERAL INDIA

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M. SC., B.L.

THE future of the "backward tracts" in Federal India is not receiving that degree of attention which it should. The phrase "backward tracts" has a technical significance. Sec. 52A of the Government of India Act empowers the Governor-General in Council to declare any territory in British India to be "backward tracts." Those hill and forest areas which are inhabited by primitive peoples, comparatively backward in civilization, were declared at the time of the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919 to be "backward tracts" within the meaning of sec. 52A. The effect of declaring an area to be "backward tracts" is to place a complete statutory bar to the legislative authority of the legislatures, Central or Provincial, within such area.

Certain areas were considered so backward that they have been wholly excluded from the reforms, *e.g.*, the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal, Angul in Bihar and Orissa, the Laccadive Islands and Minicoy in Madras, and Spiti in the Panjab. Notifications under sec. 52A provided that no questions may be asked about such tracts, and no subject relating to it may be discussed, no proposals for expenditure need be voted and no power to make laws for them be left either to the Central or to the Provincial Legislatures.

In other cases, the exclusion is not so total; the reserved half of the provincial Government is given full discretion in applying or refusing to apply new laws made by the provincial legislature. In addition, the powers of the Governor-General in Council to apply or not to apply any all-India statute remained. Such partially excluded areas are Darjeeling in Bengal; the Agency tracts in Madras; Lahaul in the

Panjab; the Santhal Parganas, Sambalpur and Chota Nagpur in Bihar and Orissa and all the hill and forest tracts in Assam. The degree of exclusion varies in different areas. Darjeeling is totally excluded in every sense, except that the Bengal Legislative Council may frame laws which may be applied by executive order. A recent minor amendment to the Bengal Municipal Act was introduced by an Executive Councillor and not by the Minister concerned. In other areas the legislatures have further powers. They vote the necessary expenditure for them; questions may be asked about them; and subjects relating to them may be discussed. In Chota Nagpur, Sambalpur and the Santhal Parganas the Minister exercises the authority over every transferred subject. All the backward tracts, which are not totally excluded, (except Darjeeling and Lahaul) are represented in the legislatures of their province.

Besides these technically "backward tracts" there are other areas which are not subject to the Reforms. For example, in the Central Provinces in certain scheduled districts, the Scheduled Districts Act 1874 reserves to the Executive the sole power of deciding what laws shall be applied but they are not "backward tracts" in the constitutional sense. These territories do not form part of any constituencies, but are subject to the authority of Ministers. Such areas may be described as "excluded areas."

Out of a total area of 1,018,624 sq. miles for the Governor's provinces, the backward tracts cover an area of 207,900 sq. miles, containing a population of some 13 millions out of 244 millions (1921 Census).

The Simon Commission's first suggestion in regard to them is that it is possible to

reduce the number and extent of the backward tracts. There are no backward tracts in Bombay, in the United Provinces, and in the Central Provinces. The excluded areas of the C. P. have been gradually brought under the ordinary reforms, by forming them part of ordinary constituencies, and removing minor disabilities. The Panjab Government state that there is now no need for the special treatment of Spiti and Lahaul. The Bihar and Orissa Government recommended that large parts of Chota Nagpur, the Santhal Parganas, etc. need not be retained in a special position. But there are areas, the inhabitants of which are primitive and in a lower state of civilization than their neighbours and where there is no material on which to found political institutions. Such areas must continue to be treated as "backward tracts." They do not ask for self-determination, but for security of land tenure, freedom in the pursuit of their traditional methods of livelihood, and the reasonable exercise of their ancestral customs. Their contentment does not depend so much on rapid political advance as on experienced and sympathetic handling, and on protection from economic subjugation by their neighbours.

The Simon Commission think that "the principal duty of administration is to educate these peoples to stand on their own feet." They also find that "the typically backward tract is a *deficit area*, and no provincial legislature is likely to possess either the will or the means to devote special attention to its particular requirements. Expenditure in the tracts does not benefit the areas from which elected representatives are returned. . . . Only if responsibility for the backward tracts is entrusted to the centre does it appear likely that it will be adequately discharged. . . . the outlay which is necessary for their administration and development ought to fall upon central funds in so far as they do not pay for themselves."

They, therefore, suggest that they do not like the minor administrations to be placed entirely outside the borders of Governor's provinces, as that would mean unnecessary additional expense, but the Central Govern-

ment should use the agency of the Governors for their administration, and by resort to its control of the all-India services should enlist from the adjacent provinces the services of officials familiar with local methods and possibly members of provincial and subordinate services should be obtained from provinces. The arrangements proposed for partially excluded areas contain even greater complications. For partially excluded areas the Government would decide how far such local legislation should apply to them. The extent to which the Governor will act in consultation with the Ministers is to be regulated by rules made by the central authority.

In other words, instead of horizontal dyarchy as at present, *i. e.*, control over some subjects of provincial administration, we will have vertical or territorial dyarchy, *i. e.*, in backward areas, the Ministers even with full provincial autonomy, will act as glorified secretaries of the Governor, often a senior I. C. S. officer. If the present powers under sec. 52A to declare any area to be "backward tracts" be vested in the Governor-General in Council, to that extent real provincial autonomy will be a sham.

If the elected representatives to the provincial legislatures, often elected from contiguous areas, do not find any interest in the development of areas with which they are closely associated, there is little reason to think that a member of the Central or Federal Assembly, presumably not a representative of or elected from these areas, will be any more ready to grant funds than the provincial legislatures. The Assembly will have little or less local knowledge than the provincial Councils; and in the voting of grants for the "backward tracts" within a particular province will, more or less, be guided by political reasons or other extraneous considerations. Further to the extent these grants are subject to the debate and vote of the Assembly, the Governor or Governor acting with his Ministers will be subject to the control of the Assembly. His or their actions will be open to criticism, at least open to political pressure; and thus real provincial autonomy will be at a discount.

If on the other hand, the respective

provincial legislatures be made responsible for the administration and welfare of the "backward tracts" within their areas; and fixed subventions for a definite period earmarked for the development of these areas be granted, most of these objections will disappear. There will be no vertical or territorial dyarchy within the province. The actions of the Ministers or the Governors will not be subject to annual review or criticism at Delhi, and the provincial Governments will not have to approach the Central Government with a bowl in hand every year. Any mismanagement or misapplication of such earmarked funds will be scrutinized with a scanning eye at Delhi and if the Minister responsible fail to secure a renewal or augmentation of such grants, they are most likely and readily to be brought to the book by the respective provincial Councils. The chance

of any conflict between a provincial legislature and the Central one will be lessened; and whatever chances there may be a declaration that all *residuary powers* are to be vested at the centre will put an end to it.

If full provincial autonomy is possible in the N.-W. Frontier Provinces with a subvention fixed for years, if it be thought possible for a deficit Orissa or deficit Sind, full provincial autonomy is not likely to be jeopardized if the provinces receive a subvention in respect of the backward tracts. There will be the greater tendency to develop these areas in the hope of getting larger grants. The Central Legislature will not be powerless; but will exercise its power of criticism and of granting subventions to better and more effective purposes. We appeal to our leaders to pay more attention to these "backward tracts."

PARLIAMENTARY PROMPTITUDE AND POSE OF GENEROSITY

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

AT a time when the Government of India are finding it increasingly difficult to balance their budget the British Parliament has decided that the extraordinary charges of £13,600,000 in respect of Indian troops employed in the last world war should be borne by India. This decision, relating to a huge sum which India was actually made to pay so long ago as 1918-19, possesses a melancholy historical interest.

The following *communiqué* has been issued on the subject by the Government of India:

"On the 30th June, 1932, a resolution was moved in both Houses of the British Parliament in the following terms:

"Whereas by a resolution passed on the 16th September and the 26th November 1914 respectively, this House consented to charge upon Indian revenues, subject to certain conditions, the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of British and Indian troops despatched out of India for service in the Great War as well as the ordinary charges of any vessels belonging to the Government of

India that might be employed in those expeditions.

"And whereas by a resolution passed on the 14th March 1917 this House consented to a contribution of £100,000,000 charged upon the revenues of India towards the expenses of the war,

"And whereas the Government of India, desirous of affording further assistance to His Majesty's Government have provisionally and subject to the consent of this House met out of the revenues of India further extraordinary charges in respect of Indian troops employed in the War,

"And whereas the Government of India are desirous of bearing finally such further extraordinary charges to the extent of £13,600,000.

"This House consents that the extraordinary charges of £13,600,000 aforesaid shall be borne by Indian revenues."

"To prevent any possible misunderstanding it is notified that the adoption of this resolution imposes no new burden on the finances of India. It merely regularizes in a formal manner a payment actually made in 1918-19. The circumstances are briefly as follows:

"In pursuance of a resolution passed by the Indian Imperial Legislative Council on 10th September 1918 the Government of India agreed to accept the charge against Indian revenues

of £13,600,000 in addition to the original contribution of £100 millions made by India in 1917 towards the expenses of the Great War. This additional payment of £13,600,000 was to cover the specific items of expenditure such as normal charges and temporary accommodation for Indian troops in excess of the ordinary establishment expenditure on the Indian Defence Force and the casualty pensions of Indian troops. The acceptance of charges of this nature against the revenues of India is subject under the terms of Section 22 of the Government of India Act to the consent of both Houses of Parliament. This formal regularization was delayed by the consideration of other claims arising out of the War. These consisted of claims and counter-claims in many cases for large sums of money between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India and raised questions of principle which led to a prolonged discussion. A final settlement of these claims and counter-claims has now been reached on the basis of no further payment by either party. *This settlement means that the Government of India are now relieved from the possible heavy additional claims and a way has thus been cleared for securing the formal consent of Parliament to the payment of £13,600,000, which, as already stated, was actually made in 1918-19.* (Italics ours. Ed., M. R.)

The drift of the words which have been italicized above is that the British Parliament has very generously consented to accept only £13,600,000, though it was very likely that on a strict calculation much more could be demanded from India. To strike such a pose of generosity cannot serve any useful purpose. For, as "the Great War" was not India's war, she was not bound in justice to contribute even a pice towards its expenses.

That it has taken fourteen years for the British Parliament to show this generosity is a proof of its remarkable promptness.

According to the statement published in the Report of the Controller of Currency for 1931-32 the total interest-bearing obligations of the Government of India on 31st March, 1925 were Rs. 907.02 crores and since that time—year after year—without a break the amount has increased, reaching Rs. 1212.52 crores on the 31st March, 1932, the increase in 1931-32 alone being Rs. 42.62 crores. If the capacity of a country to repay its debts without undue strain be the only criterion for determining the amount of its Public Debt, then it must be said that the Public Debt incurred in India must be viewed with anxiety and alarm. Under the circumstances, had England paid the sum of £13,600,000 (i.e., Rs. 20,40,00,000) with which she had already saddled India and to which unjust

saddling legal sanction has now been given, India would have gained much relief and Rs. 1,02,00,000 a year would have been saved on interest. What the effect of such action on the political situation would have been need not be discussed.

In arriving at the decision given expression to in the *communiqué* the British Parliament seems to lay special stress on the Resolution passed by the Indian Imperial Legislative Council on 10th September, 1918. That Resolution ran as follows :

"That this Council recognizes that the prolongation of the War justifies India's taking a larger share than she does at present in respect of the cost of the military forces raised or to be raised in this country, and recommends that such large share be to the extent and under the conditions and safe-guards indicated in the speech of the Hon'ble Finance Member in moving this Resolution."

It has a history bristling with peculiarities. Though it was the usual practice to leave the moving of Resolutions to non-official Members of the Council, this particular resolution was moved from the Government benches by the Finance Member, Sir William Meyer. It emanated, therefore, from the Government. And then the official Members, after supporting the Resolution, refrained from voting on it, leaving the decision on it to the non-official Members. Thus the non-official Members were placed in a peculiarly embarrassing position. Before this Resolution was moved it had been decided by the Council (14th March, 1917) to make a contribution of £100,000,000 from the revenues of India towards the expenses of the War. Even prior to that—at the outset of the war—a Resolution had been passed by both Houses of Parliament (November, 1914) that the cost, i.e., the ordinary pay and other ordinary charges of the military forces despatched or to be despatched out of India and the ordinary charges of vessels placed by the Government of India at the disposal of the Admiralty should be charged upon the revenues of India.

Under the strict application of the terms of this Resolution India's contribution amounted to £30 millions to the end of 1918-1919.

Then as the Finance Member said in moving his Resolution :

"We have also to take into account the fact that, in order to be prepared for eventualities on our own frontiers, we have had to expand our military budget very considerably in connection with re-armament and military supplies generally, the development of road communication and so forth."

The result was that, whereas the normal net military expenditure before the War was £ 20 million, in 1918-19 it stood at £ 29 million. Then again India had to bear a share of the expenditure in Persia classed as "*Political*," as also charges similarly classed in respect of militia on the North-West Frontier. The Government of India also relieved the British Government—with effect from the 1st of April, 1918—of the cost of the European section of the Indian Defence Force debitable to England.

The position was thus summarized by the Finance Member on the 9th September, 1918 :

"In 1918-19 we shall have to defray £500,000 additional for pension charges, £9,000,000 in connection with our liabilities for a normal-cost Army, as it may be called, including the increased emoluments sanctioned for Indian troops, £ 3 million in respect of Indian troops lines, and £ 200,000 in respect of the European section of the Indian Defence Force ; working to a total of £ 12.7 million."

In addition to all these the Government of India in effect lent a sum amounting to £ 83 million to the British Government by investments from the Paper Currency and Gold Standard Reserves, and through the special reserve for future capital requirements established in connection with the transactions of 1917-18. And this ended in a huge loss to the Indian Treasury owing to fluctuation in exchange.

This will give us some idea of the financial sacrifice India had to make in connection with the War.

To the expenditure mentioned above should be added the loss incurred by India owing to the low price at which supplies were sent from India for England and the Allies.

Soon after the conclusion of the Armistice, in the December (1918) number of its Trade Supplement, *The Times* published an article on War Supplies from India from which we give below a few extracts :

(1) "About 15,000 tons (of wolfram), valued at £2,150,000 have been sent here at fixed prices much below those ruling in other countries."

(2) "Under special arrangements the shellac requirements of Great Britain and France—about 50,000 cwt. annually—have been provided at a price approximately half that ruling in the ordinary market."

(3) "The mica trade has been strictly controlled, all shipments coming to this country for selection. Some 126,000 cwt. have been supplied to our manufacturers and 29,000 cwt. to the Allies—the aggregate value being over £1,100,000. On the basis of prices ruling in neutral countries from three to five times as much as this would have had to be paid."

(4) "Indian saltpetre has been reserved for the Allies, who have been almost entirely dependent thereon for the manufacture of gunpowder. About 90,000 tons valued at £2,200,000, have been supplied at fixed and moderate prices."

(5) "The Indian export (of jute), valued during the period at no less than £137,000,000 has comprised, in addition to nearly two million tons of raw jute, 2,823,000,000 bags and 4,693,000,000 yards of cloth. The contract prices entered into between the Calcutta Mills and the War Office here in 1915 for the supply of bags for the allied armies have remained unchanged for the intervening three years, although the commercial prices have greatly increased."

(6) "Since 1916 the whole exportable surplus (of hides) has been purchased for the War Office by the Government of India at controlled prices which are considerably less than those for similar hides obtained from other sources."

(7) "During the period of their operations the authority named (*i. e.*, the Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies) have purchased in India some 4,750,000 tons of various foodstuffs for a total value of nearly £ 43,000,000. The shipments have been made available at prices substantially less than those ruling in other markets of the world."

(8) "Since 1915 some 1,200,000 lbs. (of opium) have been supplied by the Indian Government to British manufacturers."

The Government of India were fully aware of the financial loss India was incurring when they moved the Resolution referred to. We have explained the very difficult position in which it placed the non-official Members, many of whom were title-holders. Yet the majority of Members (18 in number) voting for the Resolution consisted of many who referred to the poverty of the country and her inability to bear a heavy burden. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri said :

"If we accept the Resolution, while we shall be declaring our loyalty to the Empire, we shall at the same time be handicapping the responsible Government which is to be inaugurated and which is to undertake the expansion of education and sanitation and other things on a large scale."

Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy said :

"I quite realize...that my country is a very poor

one and that she can hardly afford to pay the bill of a very costly modern War."

Raja Rampal Singh also referred to "the poverty-stricken condition" of the country, while Rai Sita Nath Roy Bahadur expressed himself thus :

"There can be no question that India is a very poor country. The vast majority of the people cannot earn enough money to keep their body and soul together, which will be evident from the fact that the average income of the people in India is about Rs. 21 per capita a year. In view of these facts some of my countrymen think that India should not be called upon again to render further pecuniary help to England."

The Resolution was opposed by the following Members :—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. G. S. Khaparde, Mr. V. J. Patel, Mr. (now Sir) B. N. Sarma and Mr. R. Ayyangar.

A year later, when Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy said, "It is a great pity that a poor country like India should be saddled with England's War expenses in Mesopotamia and East Africa," the Finance Member (Sir James Meston) at once denied that it was so. He said :

"He (the Maharaja) said... 'Here is a poor country like India being saddled with England's military

expenditure in Mesopotamia and East Africa.' I hope I did not misunderstand my Hon'ble friend ; but if I did not, then I think that he will discover, if he will examine the statistics in the Narrative of our military expenditure, that he has been ill-advised on this particular topic. Practically the whole cost of the military operations in Mesopotamia and East Africa was borne by the British Treasury."

What could not be found under the froth of statistics in the Narrative of the Government of India's military expenditure for 1918-19 perhaps lay concealed under some other convenient head ! And after the lapse of over thirteen years it is making its presence felt with the concurrence of the British Parliament and the Government of India.

It is a pity the Government of India have not explained to the British Government that India's financial position does not justify them in consenting to bear the huge expenditure of £13,600,000 in respect of Indian troops employed in the War for Imperial purposes.

What has India gained by the sacrifices vicariously made for her by the Government of India ?



COTTAGE

After a Linocut by Rani Dey

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and all Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE LIFE OF ZAMENHOF, INVENTOR OF ESPERANTO : By *Edmond Privat* (translated from the original *Esperanto* by *Ralph Eliot*): London, George Allen and Union Ltd., 1931, pp. 123, cloth, 4sh. 6d. net.

A sympathetic study of the life and achievement of Dr. Zamenhof who invented Esperanto, the most widely used of artificial international languages. Whatever might be our opinion on the value of such artificial languages, there is no denying that the man who was actuated by a desire to do away with the babel of tongues as one of the greatest impediments to international understanding and goodwill was a friend of humanity. Dr. Zamenhof did not originate the idea, but he sought to popularize it according to the best of his lights; and with his Esperanto, based on the most widely known European languages, he succeeded, more than any body else, to bring together peoples of diverse nationalities under the umbrage of a common language. The biography gives us an account of Dr. Zamenhof's ideals and his struggles, and we are brought before a singularly high-souled personality, which, whether the Esperanto lives or dies, should always be respected as that of a great benefactor of humanity. This excellent biography views the work of Zamenhof from all aspects and gives us glimpses into his character and his high ideals, and is a fitting tribute of respect from a disciple to the memory of a master: and it is a book which should have a place in all collections of philological works, as well as of those relating to international cultural problems.

STUDIES IN TAMIL LITERATURE AND HISTORY : By *V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.*, Lecturer in Indian History, University of Madras: London, Luxac & Co. (Printed in Madras): 1930: pp. 321, cloth, Rs. 8 (or 10sh. 6d.)

Some thirty years ago the late V. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his epoch-making work *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* first presented before English

readers a sketch of the early culture of the Tamils based exclusively on a study of the oldest remains of Tamil literature—the so-called *Sangam* literature. It was a culture sharing with other provincial Indian cultures the unmistakable Indian characteristics, and yet with its strange-looking Tamil names so different from Sanskrit, its peculiar social institutions and manners, and its self-consciousness as a world apart, it seemed to present a new world. A new discovery was made—that of the Tamil world of the first centuries after Christ: the literature—fondly believed to be some 2000 years old, and more—is now regarded by most scholars to date from the middle of the 1st millennium A.C., although it embodies much older material. A proper study and historical treatment of this literature has so far remained mainly the work of Tamilian scholars. A stray G. U. Pope might give us fine translations of the *Kural*, or the *Naladiyar* or of Manikka-Vasakar, or introduce us to the poetic beauty and the cultural atmosphere of the *Purapporul-venpa-malai* and the *Puranamuru*; but the literary as well as historical investigation of this very important and very characteristic mass of literature is proceeding in the hands of South Indian scholars. This has its obvious advantages—and a few disadvantages too. There is a risk of an unconscious parochial attitude being taken up with regard to the mass—the form and contents—of the literature, and its historical implications. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the history and early development of Indian civilization has been considerably enriched by the work of scholars like M. Srinivasa Aiyangar, S. K. Ayyangar, the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (one cannot help wishing that the sobriety which had illumined his erudition in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras* and *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* had been equally conspicuous in his *History of the Tamils*), K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, and the author of the work under review. Mr. Dikshitar's book consists of seven studies. The first four (consisting of chapters on the *Sangam*, on *Some Sangam Poets*, on *Some Tamil Mystic Poets*, and on *Tiruvalluvar*) form a good introduction to the nature and contents of the early Tamil

literature, and to the personalities of some of its most interesting poets. There are other useful introductions to this literature (e. g., M. S. Purnalingam Pillai's excellent little *Primer of Tamil Literature*), but we are anxious to know more about this literature—especially the secular literature. When will the corpus of the *Sangam* poetry be made available to people who do not read old Tamil? Editions of works like the *Pattupattu* the *Kabittokai*, the *Puranannuru*, etc. in the style of Pope's *Kural* and *Naladiyar* (or, better, with the text in Roman characters, in the style of Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri's *Tolkappiyam*, an invaluable edition now in the course of publication in the *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*—the first part having been published separately already in 1930) are among the most urgently needed desiderata, which will be welcomed by historians, philologists and students of civilization, as well as by lovers of literature. The chapter on Tiruvalluvar, especially, is exceedingly valuable, in Dr. Dikshitar's book—his comparison of the *Kural* with Sanskrit works like the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya, the *Kamandakio-Nitisara*, the *Manu Samhita*, etc., by copious quotations of passages of parallel sentiments shows how in its ideas early Tamil literature of the didactic and reflective kind is identical with similar Sanskrit literature. The chapter on *Administrative Institutions* is a scholarly contribution to the subject, the sources being early Tamil literature: the author has already won distinction by his previous work in this branch of Indology. The chapters on the *Art of War* and *Social Life in Tamil Land* give lucid sketches of certain aspects of culture and morals as depicted in Old Tamil literature, and they form quite fascinating reading.

On the whole this is a good scholarly set of studies for which the interested public will remain grateful to the author; and we hope more such studies will come from the author's pen—and let us hope, editions and translations of some specimens at least of *Sangam* literature.

THE KADAMBA KULA : A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA : By George M. Moraes, M. A. With a Preface by Rev. H. Heras, S. J., Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Pp. 504, with 56 illustrations of ancient monuments, inscriptions and coins, and 4 maps. Bombay, B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931. Full cloth, Rupees Fifteen only.

Mr. George M. Moraes is a recent entrant in the field of Indian studies—his previous work is not much known—and in the present work he may be said to make his entrance with *eclat*. The work under review is a first-rate production and will do credit to any veteran Indologist,—more so in the case of one who evidently is still young: and special credit I think is due to our present author, when we consider, judging from his name, that he is a member of the Luso-Indian or Goan community of Indian Christians in which one will not usually look for distinction in Indology,—in epigraphy and Sanskrit studies. Mr. Moraes' work is a valuable contribution to the history of ancient and medieval India. It is only from carefully worked dynastic histories giving the trend of political events in particular provinces or tracts that the history of India as a whole can be worked out. Mr. Moraes has taken up the history of an important clan ruling in its various dynasties or houses for a good number of centuries in a part of the

Kannada or Canarese-speaking country—in fact, of Western Karnataka, of the tract known in Sanskrit literature as *Kuntala*. It was a very good thing for Indian history that a finished historical scholar like Mr. Moraes should take up the story of what may be called his home province: and the fact that this story has not been properly treated afforded an almost virgin field to a qualified scholar—a lucky chance for any one. Mr. Moraes' book has acquired for scientific Indian history another large and important tract.

The work is based exclusively on original documents, chiefly epigraphical. A good portion of his material has never been utilized before—Mr. Moraes has given the text and translation of some 23 inscriptions, some in Sanskrit, others in Kannada, which were not published before; and he indicates his indebtedness wherever other scholars helped with translations, and in other ways. There is a geographical index of places in the Kadamba country mentioned in the inscriptions, which is a useful piece of research. The careful documentation of the sources forms a most refreshing aspect of the work.

The author has started with the most ancient history of the Kuntala country. Tradition has it that the Mauryas held sway over this tract. The Kadambas with their capital at Banavasi come into prominence in the middle of the 4th century A. D. These early Kadambas continued till the middle of the 7th century when the Kuntala kingdom was conquered by the Chalukyas, and then it was under the Rashtrakutas. Under the early Kadambas, large settlements of Brahmans from Northern India occurred in the Karnataka land. Under Chalukya and Rashtrakuta domination, the Kadamba house was not extinct. In the 10th century scions of the Kadamba Kula formed new kingdoms, and from that century onwards, we have Kadamba dynasties ruling over kingdoms large and small, those of Hangal and Goa being the most important, about the rulers of which we have the largest amount of information. Mr. Moraes treats the history of these and the other less important Kadamba kingdoms with great care, reconstructing it from the available epigraphical material which is often very scanty and unsatisfying for the smaller kingdoms. These various Kadamba kingdoms were absorbed in the Vijayanagara empire in the 14th century.

We have thus in this book a reconstruction of the political history of a part of Karnataka for a thousand years from the 4th to the 14th century. The author is not content with the political history alone; he has sought also to give a survey of the cultural *milieu* of the Kadamba states, and the section on internal history is quite a fascinating survey of Religion, Administration, Social Life, Warfare, Trade and Industry, Education, Literature, and Architecture and Sculpture under the Kadambas. The reader who is not a specialist in Indian history, especially on the political side, will find these chapters most interesting. Finally, there is the section on geographical names, and the appendix gives the inscriptions mentioned above.

On the whole, we may say that Mr. Moraes has done in this book for Kuntala what, on a large scale, the late R. G. Bhandarkar did for Maharashtra, the late R. D. Banerji for Bengal, Orissa and Central India, and what Pandit Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha has done for Rajputana, to give only a few instances, of the reconstruction of our ancient provincial histories.

The work is indeed a credit to the University of Bombay under the auspices of which it has been published. Barring a few mistakes in transliteration, which are excusable as inevitable misprints, the printing and format are excellent.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

BHAKTI YOGA By *Yogi Bhikshu*. Published by the *Yogi Publication Society, U. S. A., Indian Agents, The Latent Light Culture, Tinnevely, South India.* Price \$2.00.

It is a book on the cult of *Bhakti*. The author deals with all that is implied by the term *Bhakti*. The historical aspect of the cult is omitted by him, his attention being mainly devoted to a discussion of the fundamental doctrines associated with and underlying the cult. A special feature of the book is the attempt made by the author to give precise definitions in English of a number of Sanskrit terms. He bases his conclusions in this, as in many other matters besides, mainly on the *Bhagabat Gita*, though he refers occasionally to the later systems of philosophy. The language is simple but condensed. Moreover the subjects treated of are difficult for beginners to understand. Though we might not agree with the author in the somewhat scanty regard he has shown to the later systems of philosophy and though we are disposed to think that the value of the treatise would have been enhanced if more frequent reference had been made to the works of Sankara, Ramanuja and more specially the Vaisnava philosophers, on the whole, however, it seems to be a valuable contribution in English to one aspect of Indian philosophy. There are some minor inaccuracies, e. g., Pandit Bhagabat Kumar Shastri is described as the research scholar, Hooghly College, Calcutta; the quotation marks also seem not to have been always placed with sufficient care. We hope greater care will be taken with regard to these things in future.

DARSANIKA MAHA PRAVACHANA By *Swami Jnanananda*. Published by *N. Satyanarayana Raju and P. Rajan Raju, Sri Narasimha Bhavanam, P. O. Ratalangi, Dt. West Godavary, India.*

The book contains a series of four lectures delivered by Swami Jnanananda in Germany. As Prof. Radhakrishnan says in the foreword, "The author Swami Jnanananda speaks from a deeply digested experience." In the first lecture he speaks of the revelations made by the Vedas and the mighty minds of old and modern times. In the second, he describes the means, 'the instrumentalities' which lead to the attainment and realization of supreme wisdom. The third lecture deals with the author's views about the relation between Science and Religion and is chiefly devoted to showing how materialism based on science cannot explain the manifold phenomena in the world, thus affording room for religion. The last lecture treats of transcendence. All the lectures testify to the deep learning of the author who seems to be quite as conversant with ancient Indian philosophy as with modern scientific theories. He tries to give a rational explanation of all that he has occasion to handle. In this age of science and materialism, his book may with profit be consulted by those who would dismiss religion as altogether unnecessary to the scheme of human life.

THE SPIRIT BORN PEOPLE By *Puran Singh*. Obtainable from *Ramkrishna & Sons, Book-sellers, Lahore.* Price Rs. 3.

The eminence which was reached by the Sikhs before the conquest of the Panjab by the British was due in no small measure to the teachings of Guru Nanak and the nine other *Gurus*. It is these teachings which are embodied in the book. The author has tried to present them in an interesting fashion. He has dwelt very largely on the relation between the *Gurus* and the disciples in old times and made use of many illustrations and anecdotes in this connection. Incidentally he has made his own observations on life and religion. Though we are unable to agree with him always, it is clear that he is a deep thinker and a keen observer of life and manners. The language, however, seems to be faulty at places. On the whole we are inclined to think that the book will be of use to young Sikhs and to others who want to have some knowledge about the Sikh religion.

SVARA SASTRA By *A. R. S. Sundaram*. Published by *Yogasrama, Royapetta, Madras.*

There is hardly any person in the world who would not like to know about his future if he can, and *Svara Sastra* is a booklet which deals with some of the means of foretelling the future. Our breath may be so controlled as to enable us to have knowledge beforehand of what would happen to us. Similarly our shadows too may help us to know and forecast the future. But in order to acquire this power of prophecy, man must practise *Yoga*. Mr. Sundaram deals with how this *Yoga* is to be practised. In the course of his book, he speaks of how the diet of a person practising *Yoga* should be regulated. He should have dwelt more fully on this as practice of this form of *Yoga* without a proper system of diet is apt to prove highly dangerous. On the whole, however, this booklet will be prized by those who are interested in the art of prophecy.

RAJENDRA NATH GHOSH

COMMUNITY SINGING : (A pamphlet published by the *Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*) It is a collection of songs in different languages, including the famous *Vande Mataram* song, in original script, with transliteration and translation in English.

PRINCIPLE OF EDUCATION. (With a scheme applying them to *National Education in India*) By *Dr. Annie Besant*, published from *Adyar, Madras.*

It is a small pamphlet. The scheme developed in it is quite interesting and gives all the necessary details.

BEAUTIES OF ISLAM. By *Dr. Annie Besant*, published by the *Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

In this lecture, Mrs. Besant gives in brief outline the beauties of Islam as a non-Mussalman would perceive them. By authoritative quotations from the Qu'ran she proves how Muhammad gave an impetus to culture and learning as a consequence of which the Mussalmans in subsequent times made such remarkable contributions to art and to civilization.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

PERSONAL HYGIENE AND CARE OF THE SKIN. Compiled by "Experience." Published by J. C. Basak, 363 Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta. 336 pp. Price Re. 1-8.

This interesting book deals with the laws of personal hygiene: general laws, clothing, baths, means of checking contagious diseases, climatic effects, intoxicating drinks and drugs, heliotherapy or sun-cure, sex-hygiene, massage and vibration, first aid treatment, exercise and lastly the diet of the Indians.

The book is full of up-to-date information about the above-named subjects and we have no hesitation in recommending it to "health-seekers" and particularly to the student community.

ARUNKUMAR MUKHERJI

THE KEY TO THEOSOPHY. By H. P. Blavatsky. Theosophical Company (India) Ltd. 51, Esplanade Road, Bombay.

This book is a cheap edition of H. P. Blavatsky's "Key to Theosophy," and an exact reprint of the original edition, first published in 1889. The book is an exposition, in the form of questions and answers, of philosophy and ethics, for the study of which the Theosophical movement was publicly inaugurated in 1875. The introductory sections deal with the aims and objects of the Theosophical movement through its various branch societies as well as the nature of the fundamental teachings of Theosophy, both exoteric and esoteric, in their relation to nature and man. Deeper questions of life and death have been discussed with admirable lucidity and there has been an endeavour to present unfamiliar concepts in a form as simple and in a language as clear as possible.

TWO STORIES. By H. P. Blavatsky. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This little volume contains two short stories by H. P. B. whom we had not known as a writer of stories before we read this book. The first one, "Karmic Visions" was first published in *Lucifer*, June, 1888, but was not signed by her, but by the word "Sanjna." Lately this word has been identified as a pen-name of hers. The second story "An unsolved mystery" was contributed to *The Spiritual Scientist* of Boston in 1875. Of the two stories this latter is more interesting and the skilled artistry of a born story-teller is manifest in every line of it. One hovers over a strange land of quaint imagination and quainter background as one goes on to open page after page, all concluded with an unexpected finale that invites one to think and to think deeply—an effect which is rarely achieved by magazine story-writers.

TALKS ON THE PATH OF OCCULTISM: By Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The book under review is the third volume of the above series, its sub-title being "Light on the Path." With a view to facilitating the handling of the original book, "Talks on the path," has been split up into three parts, and these are now issued separately. The book contains some rules of living a truth-seeking philosophical life, claimed to be based on an archaic Sanskrit manuscript and given to the world in its present form by the Master Hilarion, a great theosophical teacher belonging to the White Lodge, one who played a great part in the Gnostic and Neoplatonic movements. It also contains very

elaborate exposition of the above aphorisms by Chohan the Venetian, another great theosophical teacher, who added other sentences to these short rules and which now form part of the book.

The book is interesting reading and the important subjects it deals with awaken big thoughts in our mind—thoughts about the final destiny of Man, though it must be said, not being theosophists ourselves, we have to take many things on trust. We hope, however, the reading public will come to know from this book some of the inner teachings of Theosophy.

BIBHUTI BH. BANERJEE

NEHAL THE MUSICIAN AND OTHER TALES: By Snchalata Sen. S. Ganesan, Madras. Pages 143.

The short story is a modern literary craze, and this particular genre of literature is considered to be almost a literary discovery for which modern writers claim exclusive credit; yet some of the finest gems of short stories, modern if not in form at least in spirit, could be found in some of the ancient ballads and tales of India, Persia, China and other countries. In India the tales have a literary background extending to millenniums and one of the "late compilations" date back to 1000 A. D. and is well known to story-lovers and students of folk-lore as the "Ocean of Stories" (*Katha-Sarit Sagara*), the last great anthology of the Hindu tales of ancient India. No less brilliant and stirring are the tales embedded in the *Bardic Chronicles of Rajasthan*, wherein the heroism and chivalry, the romance and haunting charm of the life of Rajput men and women are reflected.

The spirit of these Rajput tales was imported and naturalized in Bengali literature by the late Mr. R. C. Dutt, who was a dear friend of Mr. B. L. Gupta, the father of the talented writer of *Nehal the Musician and Other Tales*. "Her power of imagination and her skill of narration" have already been attested by that eminent critic and creative artist, Mr. R. C. Dutt, as early as 1907, in a review of her book published with a preface from Rabindranath Tagore. In 1911, *Nehal the Musician*, considered to be the best story in the series, was translated into English and welcomed in a story magazine published in England. This success, attending her Bengali story in English garb, encouraged the gifted writer to compose other tales directly in English, and lovers of Indian tales are invited to get this charming collection of stories which has been published in a handy volume. The old Hindu tales of *Sati*, *Uma* as well as *The Tale of the Buddhist Monk* display her talent as a narrator of homely tales of Bengal and Eastern India. The *Snake Charmer's Tale* and *Doctor Raghunath* reflect the spirit of a devoted collector of tales. But the stories in which appear the stamp of her personality are brilliant pen-pictures of life in the Rajput-Mughal period. The first and the last tales of the volume, together with the *Curse of the Rakhi* and *Prince Goha* combine to evoke the atmosphere, the pathos, the terror, the conflict of light and shade of the drama of the Indian *Moyen age*. The wild and the supernatural elements of these tales responded to her inborn *flair* for the occult and the extraordinary, and that is why we cannot resist falling victim to the spell of her narration. So sincerely and ardently is she in love with her heroes and heroines that she disarms our scepticism

completely and we come out refreshed and happy at the end of the narration of this gifted story-teller of Bengal. Her simple yet colourful style lends additional charm to the book and we hope that the author will continue to enrich our modern anthology of tales by fresh collections of beauty and joy.

KALIDAS NAG

WATER COLOURS. *By Kanu Desai. With a foreword By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S. D. B. Taraporewala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price not mentioned.*

This publication contains, besides a notable foreword by a well-known art-critic, fine reproductions in colours of thirteen excellent water colours by Mr. Kanu Desai. Readers of this *Review* are well acquainted with his distinctive work. We commend these reproductions to all lovers of art.

R. C.

TORCHBEARERS OF TOMORROW. Containing essays in interpretation of T. L. Vaswani's message to young India by his admirers, compiled by A. S. Satyarthi, Secretary, Shakti Ashram, Rajpur (Dehra Dun).

The two last essays by himself are on the Shakti Asram which seems to be the centre of his activities in connection with his youth movement. Vaswani's is a name to conjure with in some parts of the country. This is not an undeserved popularity. His enthusiasm for the welfare of young India is quite admirable. According to some he is "the foremost conceiver of the youth movement in India" and his movement "is the only right one for the youth to follow."

RELIGION AND CULTURE: *By T. L. Vaswani. Ganesh and Co., Madras.*

This contains some very noble sentiments uttered by a really spiritually advanced spirit. It embodies "the full text of the thesis I was asked to write for the Conference (Kangri Gurukul anniversary) as its president," he says in the foreword. Consequently, we find, its appeal is to imagination rather than to reason and his imagination sometimes seems to run away with him as in one place he calls Einstein the greatest Jew since Jesus. According to what canon of comparison these two personalities are brought together, is more than what we can say. Neither Jesus is a physical astronomer, nor is Einstein a spiritual preceptor, taking Jesus to be a historical person. Nor is the statement acceptable historically. The claims of Philo and Josephus among the ancients and those of Maimonides and Spinoza in the middle ages have been ignored. Nor is Einstein forced into the discussion very happily. Mr. Vaswani has forgotten for a moment that *all* cannot be relative. Without *absolute* faith in God, man and nature, however acquired, discussions lead to universal scepticism. Without an absolute element in our knowledge the theory of Relativity itself would be emptied of all its contents. However, with such lapses here and there, the discourse is very edifying.

INDIA'S RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS: *By Rev. J. W. R. Netram, Indore. Christian Literature Society for India.*

Futile attempt at answering Hindu and Muhammadan questionings about Christianity by an Indian Christian under European inspiration. Sometimes the attempt has ended in mere jugglery with terms, and

in quibbling. Questions have been framed to serve a premeditated end and answers given from that vantage ground.

GLIMPSES OF LIGHT: *By Swami Dhirananda. Ethna Printing Co., 428 Boyd Street, Los Angeles.*

Being excerpts from sermons on oriental and occidental philosophies and religions. Our greatest difficulty is that the discussion in many cases has ended in a mere small paragraph quite unsuitable for discursive subjects. Moreover, because of his fondness for symbolization he has cast history to the four winds. His enthusiastic admiration for Ramkrishna Paramahansa has thrown him off the historic scent on many an occasion. His opinions are not generally reliable, as he has not been fully able to divest himself of his partisan point of view. Otherwise in discussing many themes he has been sublime.

PRACTICAL THEOSOPHY: *By C. Jinarajadasa, M. A. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 2nd Edition.*

It is a treatise to show the way how to apply in various departments of human activity what the author takes to be the fundamental truths of theosophy. The book possesses all the faults of the exaggerated view of a new convert or of the blindness of a lover. Otherwise the book is a readable one. Ordinary readers will gather much information from it.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

THE HEELS OF PLEASURE: *By H. H. Rani of Sarawak.*

A three act drama dealing with a familiar subject—the position of the Eurasians. The writer has successfully shown "how the Eurasians are treated by the race which begot them." It will help in opening the eyes of that community. The book is pleasant reading.

CHANDRESWAR

HISTORY OF INDIAN CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE: *By B. E. Dadachanji, M. A., Asst. Professor of Economics, Morris College, Nagpur. Second Revised and Enlarged Edition, 1931.*

This book was first published in 1927 and has now been brought up to 1931. The question of Indian currency and exchange has always been a difficult one for students of Indian economics, and many attempts have been made to explain the developments lucidly. Mr. Dadachanji is one of the very few that have succeeded so far in providing a detached and unbiassed study of the facts of history step by step. As such the book should be of considerable value to university students.

The author has, however, practically avoided all controversial issues in connection with Indian currency and exchange, and has failed to give critical estimates of the facts of history. Even such important questions as the Indian ratio-controversy, gold standard, and location of reserves have not been properly dealt with. In these respects therefore the book appears to be quite colourless and singularly deficient.

N. SANYAL

TWENTY-FIVE LINOCUTS. By Rani Dey. Published by M. Dey, 28, Chourringhee, Calcutta. Price Rs. 50.

The art of woodcut with the associated craft of linocut has been revived recently in this country. The beauties of this particular branch of the graphic arts, with its rich play of light and shade and with its infinite variation of the decorative line, is well known to every connoisseur. The work under review is a beautiful example of the craft, being a portfolio of twenty-five signed artists' proofs. The artist, Miss Rani Dey, is a member of a family with artistic gifts and has shown considerable promise herself as can be seen from this portfolio, one example of which is reproduced in this issue on p. 189. She is to be congratulated on her happy choice of subjects which are mainly concerned with various aspects of the village life of Bengal. Her execution shows good deal of talent in the disposition of the decorative line and in the balancing of light and shade. The book is well worthy of a place in the art-lover's collection.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJEE

FRENCH

LES ANCIENNES CIVILISATIONS DE L'INDE: par Gaston Courtillier (Charge de Conférences à la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg): Paris, Librairie Armand Colin: 1930 (Collection Armand Colin: Section d'Histoire et Sciences économiques, No. 122: pp. 216): 10 fr. 50.

A good summary account of the civilization of India from the oldest times to the end of the Gupta period with just as much reference to the political background as is necessary to appreciate the cultural history. The subject is treated chronologically. Art and Literature as well as Philosophy and Religion receive their proper treatment, and this little work forms a good specimen of the lucid and informative 'vulgarization' in which French scholarship excels. French readers are sure to form a proper notion of the extent and value of ancient Indian culture, and the author deserves well of Indians for preparing this sympathetic introduction to Hindu culture. There are five plates of line drawings illustrating specimens of ancient Indian sculpture and painting.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

GIRVANAJNANESWARI: Second Part. Translated and published by Ananta Vishnu Khasnis, B.A., LL.B. Jnt. 1931. Price Re. 1-8.

Jnaneswari is the popular name of the well-known Marathi commentary on the Bhagavadgita by Jnaneswara. It is one of the best known and most popular works in old Marathi, which is not easily understood even by students of modern Marathi. The work under review—a Sanskrit translation of the Marathi work—is an attempt in the direction of making its contents accessible to the general body of Sanskrit scholars. Though Sanskrit is now a dead language and has lost its former popularity stray attempts are even now found to be made to translate popular works in the different vernaculars into Sanskrit. Whatever be their intrinsic

merit their value as interesting literary experiments cannot be denied. And hence we welcome this Sanskrit translation of the *Jnaneswari*. Here we have the translation of what may be called the second part of the work e.g. chapters VII—XII. We do not know if the first part of Mr. Khasnis's translation of the work was ever published. It is however known that the translation of the first part comprising the first six chapters by M. P. Oka entitled *Sanskrita Jnaneswari* was published in 1929 and reviewed in the pages of this journal (November 1930). It may be stated in favour of the present translator that he has been successful in making the translation as lucid as possible. Here and there we meet with some grammatical lapses and traces of modernism. The get-up of the work is all right and on the whole it is a good production. We eagerly await the publication of the third and last part of the work.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

HINDI VISVAKOSH: Vol. XXV. Compiled by Mr. Nagendranath Vasu, Prachyavidyamaharnava, etc. Published by Nagendranath Vasu and Visvanath Vasu, 9, Visvakosha Lane, Bagbazar, Calcutta. 1931, pp. iv+178. Price Rs. 4.

This volume completes the Hindi edition of the Indian encyclopaedia called the *Visvakosh*. The completion of such a great undertaking will be cordially greeted by Hindi scholars and the general public. It is needless to dilate upon the merits of the volumes which have already been hailed by no less personages than Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malavaya, and Sir G. A. Grierson.

The present volume is specially interesting and valuable because of the articles on Hindi language, Hindi Grammar, and a very long illustrated article on Hindi literature running over 50 pages.

KALYAN: (Śrīkrishṇanka) edited by Hanuman Prasad Poddar. Published by the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, pp. 520. Price Rs. 2-8.

This special number of the *Kalyan* publishes 137 prose writings, 51 poems, 17 Sanskrit and Hindi compositions relating to the various aspects of the life and career of Krishna. Such other special numbers of the *Kalyan* were appreciated by the Hindi-speaking people and this one also is sure to be so. Besides the papers and poems there are as many as 103 illustrations, many of which are in colour, and also maps of India in Krishna's time. The facsimile of the manuscript copy of a page of the *Bhagavatam* dated about the middle of the 12th century A. D. excites one's curiosity.

RAMES BASU

MARATHI

कुलकथा (Family Account by Mrs. Jayavant. Price Re. 1.

The well-known English novel *David Copperfield* is so intelligently and skilfully transformed by the eminent lady author in Maharashtra on the lines of old Deccany life that none can say so definitely unless one reads the honest

acknowledgment in the beginning. The name of this book seems to be mistaken as it contains the hero's biography only. The word remembrance is brought into use for the word chapter and some words are wrongly used as they are used in Gujarati language. The author has tried to create various interests by describing several families, which mode of writing proves the author's keen interest in observation. The hero has undergone a number of difficulties owing to his father's negligence of him, which seem to have been created by the former's step-mother. The absence of electric light in a well-known city in the twentieth century seems to be imaginary. The reader fails to know why the fanciful friend of the hero is sent to Europe instead of being married to a suitable and marriageable virgin companion who was living with his father along with him and who was loving him heartily; and the wonder is that he married the same lady after his distressful return from Europe. The villain's fate ought to have been described in this book.

V. S. WAKASKER

GUJARATI

METHOD OF CLASSIFICATION OF BOOKS FOR GUJARATI LIBRARIES. By *Chimanlal D. Dalal, M. A., revised by N. C. Divanji. 2nd Ed. Price Re 1-0-0 (1928).*

CLASSIFICATION WITH NAMES OF 8,000 GUJARATI BOOKS. Published by the *Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahaykari Mandal Ltd. Baroda. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 7-0-0 (1929).*

Both these books are landmarks in the life-history of libraries in Gujarat. Libraries were opened and regularized in large numbers in towns and villages belonging to the enlightened ruler of Baroda, on the lines obtaining in America. A special State department was created and is working for their upkeep, and steps are being devised now and then.

for still further improving them. Village libraries, town libraries, central libraries, public libraries, travelling libraries and H. H.'s own private library furnish a record of which any State would feel proud. Both the books under notice show in a marked degree the advance made by the department. Eight thousand Gujarati books have been collected and classified, according to subject and author. The first book explains the methods of classification, the second shows how they have been put into practice. A co-operative society for helping libraries has undertaken this very costly task and carried it out successfully; in fact no such guide compiled on a scientific and systematized basis existed in our language and librarians cannot feel sufficiently thankful to the compilers for this great labour of theirs. Even private readers would be appreciably benefited, in so far as there is no provision in the province, corresponding to the "National Home Reading Unions" of England. Our sincere congratulations to the compilers.

CHHATRO NE (TO LEARNERS),
VIR GARFIELD.

By the same Co-operative Society, Baroda. Price Re. 0-2-0; and Re. 1-8-0, respectively (1930).

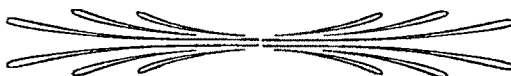
The same enterprising society has selected two very well-known American works for translation into Gujarati: Booker T. Washington's *Character Building* is the foundation on which the first book rests and W. M. Thayer's *From Log Cabin to White House* is admirably translated in the second. One wishes all biographies intended for popular reading were cast in the mould of Thayer's work and their spirit and point as well preserved and presented as in this model rendering by Mr. Ramanlal Devshankar Bhatt. Anyone who takes it up for reading will not put it down till he has finished it, so very interesting it is.

K. M. J.

NOTICE TO AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS OF BOOKS IN INDIAN VERNACULARS

It has been decided to discontinue the review of books in Indian vernaculars in *The Modern Review* from the next year. These books were reviewed in this paper with the object of giving our readers some idea of the growth and evolution of Indian vernacular literatures. But practical difficulties in the way of securing representative publications have in many respects defeated this object of ours. Besides, these books do not possess an equal interest for all our readers, reviews of books in each vernacular being read by only that section of our readers who speak that language. In these circumstances, we have been compelled to take the decision indicated above, though it has not been done without great regret. Reviews and notices of books already received will be published as far as practicable. But henceforth books in Indian vernaculars should not be sent to us or to our reviewers for review.

Ed.—M. R.



WIRE AND WIRE NAIL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

BY A. T. GANGULI, M.A.

THE history of wire and wire nail industry in India furnishes an apt illustration, in all its phases, of the struggle that a large scale industry has to pass through in a subject country like India. Loss, due to want of experience and miscalculation, lack of working capital, and want of protection or insufficient protection against unfair foreign competition, all had their full share.

Messrs. Lallubhai Walchand Capadia & Co. of Bombay were responsible for floating the Indian Steel Wire Products Ltd. with an authorized capital of rupees fifty lakhs as early as 1919. They set up an elaborate plant at Tatanagar equipped with wire drawing benches, nail machines, etc., which came into operation in 1922. They did not, however, escape the initial mistakes so often committed by pioneer industrialists in this country. They were somehow led to import old type American machines at an enormous cost. Many of the machines and equipment were purchased for lakhs of rupees which were never used in the life-time of the company extending over a period of seven years. The selection of the experts was also far from happy. There was a highly paid General Manager, a very amiable American gentleman. The Superintendent of the Mill was an Englishman who was always cursing the "dirty" American machines. Another very serious mistake committed by the management was their attempt, right up to the last moment, to guide and manage the affairs of the factory at Tatauagar from Bombay. This mistake was greatly responsible for the increasing cost and decreasing efficiency. The net result was that by the time that products of tolerably approved quality could be placed in the market the best part of the paid-up capital had been spent.

Of the external difficulties in the way of the company's progress, the most formidable were offered by the Belgian and German

manufacturers who dumped their bounty-fed products into this country. To meet this unfair competition the Wire Products Company approached the Indian Tariff Board in 1924 for protection. The conditions precedent to the grant of protection, as fixed by the Fiscal Commission, being apparently satisfied, protection was given to the infant industry by the imposition of a specific duty of Rs. 60 a ton on all imported wire and wire nails.

During 1925-26 the Wire Products Company made an honest attempt to keep the industry alive. The ornamental General Manager had to go. The services of an expert American mechanic for the manufacture of nails were secured. Expenses were cut down considerably. Production was increased for which purpose the company raised a debenture loan of five lakhs of rupees from the Bihar & Orissa Government. But the protection was soon found to be ineffective. When Indian nails were first placed in the market the import rate, including 10 per cent *ad valorem* duty, was somewhere about Rs. 320 a ton. By the time the Tariff Board was holding the enquiry in 1924 the price had gone down by Rs. 40 a ton. Soon after the tariff protection had become operative there was a further fall in price by Rs. 40 a ton, in spite of the considerably enhanced duty. The Wire Products Company, whose cost of production continued to be pretty high mainly due to heavy Bombay office expenses and interest on borrowed capital, lost heavily and the life of the Company was fast running out.

In the circumstances the Wire Products Company approached the Tariff Board again in 1926 for further protection. It transpired during the course of the enquiry that the industry had been depending on foreign countries for raw materials, *viz.*, wire rod and was, therefore, not a fit one for protection. It should be mentioned here that the wire

mill was started at Tatanagar in the expectation that the Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd. would manufacture and supply to the Wire Products Company wire rod to be used by them as raw material. It was also thought that Calcutta, which remains to this day the main distributing centre, would be a far better location for the industry run on imported raw materials. For difficulties peculiar to their own, the Tata Iron and Steel Co. could not undertake to manufacture wire rod in spite of their repeated assurances to do so. At the time of the enquiry in 1926 representatives of Tatas promised to manufacture such rod in some three years' time. In consideration of the national importance of the industry, the interests of the investors and the prospect of rod being manufactured in India, the protection was allowed to continue but no further protection was recommended.

When in 1927 the Tariff Board took further evidence the financial position of the Wire Products Co. was far from enviable. They defaulted in respect of payment of interest on the debenture loan. The debenture-holders (the B. & O. Government) applied for foreclosure and took possession of the Company's assets in August of the same year. In October 1927, the present management, Messrs. Indra Singh & Sons, purchased the assets of the Company from the debenture-holders and have since been running the industry under the name of "The Indian Steel & Wire Products."

Very unfortunately the new arrangement for running the industry was evidently not known to the Tariff Board, which recommended the withdrawal of protection just when the mill came into operation under the present management early in March 1928. Sir George Rainy declared in the Assembly that there was then no industry in the country to protect. On the recommendations of the Tariff Board, the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Legislature, decided to drop the protection with effect from the 1st April 1928.

In concluding its recommendations the Tariff Board held that it would not be "right to impose any further burden on the consumer while rod from which wire is manufactured

is not produced in India." The present management thus started operation under very adverse circumstances. It, however, goes greatly to their credit that in a losing market they did not invite capital from outside and in trying to revive the industry they did themselves suffer all the loss which ran into six figures annually. They nevertheless effected great improvements. Without sacrificing efficiency they ran the mill for four years with the help of Indian labour alone. A dozen more nail machine and a complete set of keg-making machines were imported. As the Tata Iron and Steel Company gave up their idea of the proposed "Hoop and Strip Mill," they sent one of their special representatives to America and the Continent to negotiate for a rod mill.

Though by eliminating all avoidable expenses Messrs. Indra Singh & Sons succeeded in bringing down the cost to a figure hardly ever contemplated by the old company they were not in a position to compete successfully with the bounty-fed Continental products. They therefore approached the Government of India for protection in February 1930. The Government referred the question to the Tariff Board for enquiry on May 7, 1931. The Board collected written information and took oral evidence from the representatives of the Indian Steel and Wire Products on the 17th August 1931. The rod mill on which the case for protection depended was only a possibility at the time when the evidence was taken. The Board had, therefore, some difficulty in recommending protection based on a contingency which was yet to materialize. But at the same time the Board realized that to refuse all assistance would be to destroy all incentive for the industry to create the conditions which will qualify it for protection. While therefore recommending a fuller enquiry into the industry with the next statutory steel enquiry in 1934 and suggesting the grant of protection on a scale sufficient to ensure the full development of the industry provided the rod mill is installed and wire made out of indigenous material by that time, the Tariff Board recommended a nominal protective duty of Rs. 45 a ton on imported wire and wire nails which was accepted by the Government.

The protective duty came into force on March 6, 1932.

Let us now see how far this protection is likely to help the Indian industry to pull on without incurring loss. At the time of the enquiry by the Tariff Board in August last the import price of wire nails, inclusive of revenue duty, was Rs. 140 a ton. The protective duty means an addition of Rs. 20 a ton to the revenue duty. The Indian Steel and Wire Products must, in the circumstances, sell their products at Rs. 160 a ton whereas the minimum cost of production so far has been Rs. 190 a ton. Even if the cost of production can be brought down by Rs. 10 a ton the loss will still be considerable. This kind of protection is hardly calculated to encourage industrialists or to create confidence in the investing public.

A temporary protection, however, came from unexpected quarters. When England went off the gold standard in September last, the value of sterling depreciated greatly and as the rupee was linked to the sterling the cost of Continental goods became prohibitive. This gave some relief to the Indian industry. With the gradual appreciation of the sterling Continental prices are coming down and may reach the August figure in a few months. But what little good resulted from the exchange disturbance was neutralized by the Japanese competition. In the wire line Japan imports 90 per cent of the raw materials used by her and as such she was least expected to export her finished wire products. Japan is off the gold standard and the exchange has placed her in a position of vantage in respect of export trade. Her capacity to export in this particular line must, however, be seriously limited and the

competition should be eliminated with the return of the exchange to the norm. But so long as the competition lasts it will threaten the existence of the Indian industry.

As protective measures taken by the Government have been thwarted again and again by foreign manufacturers the Government of India should, if they are at all serious in their policy for protection, impose, without delay, an off-set duty on imported articles as the only effective way of keeping the Indian industry alive. Half-hearted measures only help to ruin enterprising industrialists. In this connection the question of the consumers' interest has been raised more than once by the Tariff Board. If the Indian industry dies out will the foreign manufacturers be slow to take advantage of the situation? In such an eventuality, if the foreign manufacturers who export their products through well-organized and powerful syndicates, raise their price, as they must, hundred per cent, will the interest of the Indian consumers be properly safeguarded?

Nothing daunted by the gloomy prospects Messrs. Indra Singh and Sons have started galvanising wire and making barbed wire under the supervision of a German expert. They have further imported 20 more nail machines which will enable them to make 20 tons of assorted nails a day. They are now placing their order for a rod mill with a German firm and hope to make their own raw materials out of Indian steel in some fifteen months' time. All these mean an additional capital expenditure of five to six lakhs of rupees. If determination to succeed counts for anything they should succeed in establishing the industry on a firm footing.



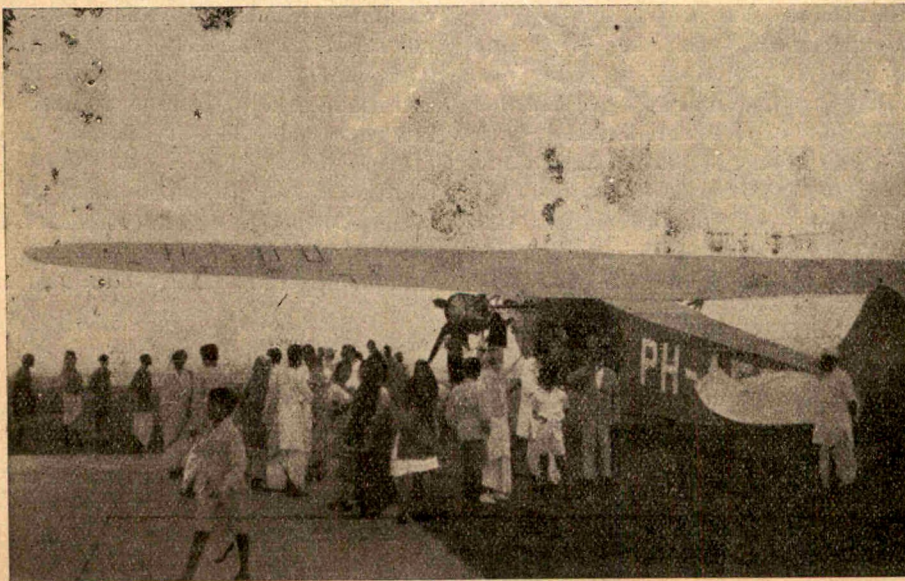
THE ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

EARLY this year Dr. Tagore received a letter from the Persian Consul at Bombay, Monsieur Keyhan, that H. M. the Shah of Persia's invitation to the Poet to visit Persia with a party still stood effective. The writer of this itinerary was chosen to form one of the party. Owing to the difficulties of the normal methods of travel to Persia, it was decided to perform the journey by aeroplane from Calcutta to Bushire in the Persian Gulf. After some negotiations with the Royal Dutch Air Mail (K. L. M.) Company it was decided that the writer should leave by the 'plane starting on the 4th of April and the rest of the party, consisting of the Poet, his daughter-in-law Pratima Devi, and Sj. Amiya Chakravarti, his secretary, should leave by the following 'plane on the 11th of April. The writer left as per programme, on the morning of the 4th.

4th April : Started for the aerodrome at Dum Dum at 4 A.M.. Misty morning making

the finding of the road to the aerodrome a difficult job. The turning off the main road should have a prominent sign post. Had to wait about half an hour before the K. L. M.'s agent, followed by the 'plane's crew of four, arrived. On weighing it was found that my luggage exceeded the free allowance of 15 kg. considerably. Slight delay in starting due to misfiring in the port engine which necessitated changing of a plug. Took off at 6 A. M., and crossed the Ganges, north of Bally Bridge, at about 2000 ft.—view of Calcutta partly obscured by mist. After sunrise the ground below could be seen clearly as we were flying low (about 2000 ft.) mostly, due to head winds. The change from the alluvial clay of deltaic Bengal into the laterite of the mainland could be clearly perceived. Had an unfamiliar view of Birbhum with its picturesque villages and Manbhum with its rugged hills, and a bird's-eye view of the splendid panorama of the Rohtas Hills with the river Sone. Reached



The Start from the Dum Dum Aerodrome
The writer seen at the right taking tea. Near him, is his father Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee.

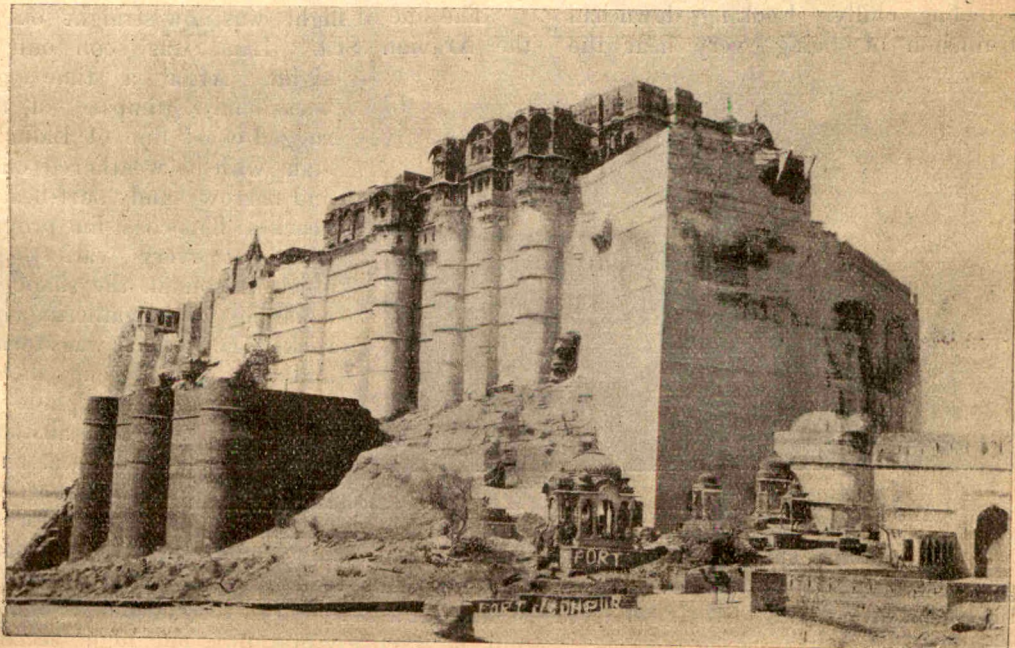
Allahabad about 11 A. M. Lunched with Dr. L. M. Basu of Allahabad who had very kindly come to see me. French Air-Orient plane (also a Fokker monoplane) arrived there soon after. Started about 12 noon.

After passing the flat upper Gangetic plains, the general conformity of the land changed rapidly. Passed many small towns with their rectangular tiled houses built round a courtyard. Once saw what looked like a lake in the distance, with dim shadowy hills on the far horizon. There were radiating lines from the lake—canals or roads—cattle grazing in small herds scattered all over the foreground, and fields of corn with harvesting going on—in short a beautiful pastoral composition. All cattle frightened by the engine noise of the 'plane with the exception of the buffaloes which seemed stolid and indifferent.

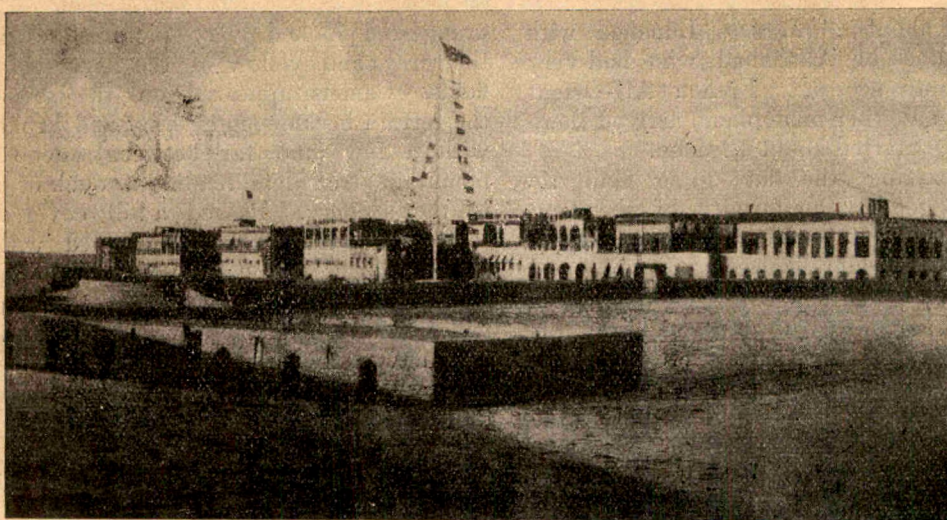
The ground gradually assumed a barren aspect and likewise the hills and hillocks. We seemed to have crossed the borders of Rajputana. Splashes of colour in the turbans of the males and the costumes of the females seemed to be further proof of the same. Groups of women dressed in deep blue and vivid

orange-red looked very picturesque against the grey and yellow of the harvested corn-fields. Camels appeared on the scene and the terrain became more hilly and broken up, with a few (and far between) deep blue mountain streamlets lending a touch of colour to the scenery. Passed a hill covered with temples and mausoleums blackened with age. At about 5 P. M. the grim red-brown mass of the fortress of Jodhpur overlooking the white buildings of the city showed up in the distance. Arrived at Jodhpur shortly after. A very bumpy journey due to head winds all the way, did not feel sick, but just a bit unsteady on foot, as after a stormy sea crossing. Stayed for the night at Jodhpur State Hotel.

5th April: Arrived at the aerodrome at 4-30 A. M., feeling very sleepy, but could not get off till 8 A. M., owing to the clogging of the petrol-pipe in the centre engine. Young Indian mechanic helped a lot in locating and clearing up the trouble. Had a look round the aerodrome. The young Maharaja of Jodhpur is a pilot and an enthusiast. Several other 'planes in the aerodrome including that of a Rumanian Prince on a solo flight to



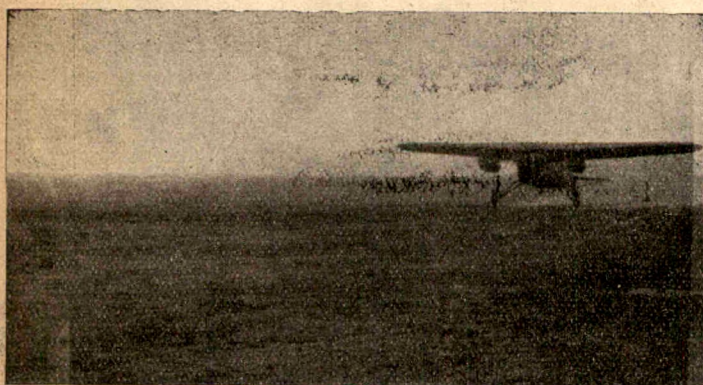
The fortress of Jodhpur



Bushire near the Maidan

Saigon. Engine being set right, the flight began.

Passed over the Great Indian Desert (the genuine article). A broad sandy vista with occasional walled in patches—indicating habitations and small fields. Small pastures, with cattle grazing, were seen occasionally. Fell asleep due to the monotony of the view. Woke up feeling chilly. Looking down had a curious illusion of being very near the

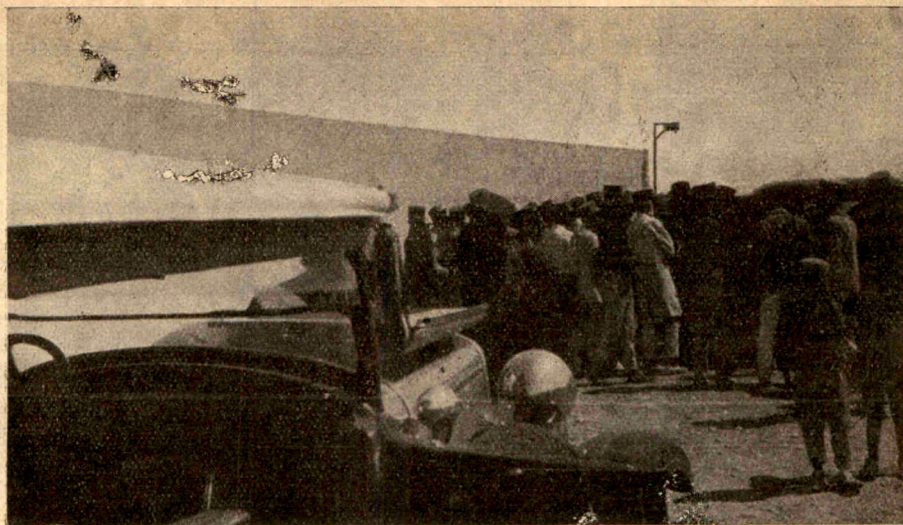


The Poet's 'plane arrives at Bushire

ground. A few minute specks in a small patch of grey, surrounded by the level dead white of the desert, that changed their relative positions—indicating cattle in a pasture—convinced me that the nearness was illusory.

Later on learnt that we were then flying at 3500 metres. Reached Karachi aerodrome at about noon, in very good time considering the distance. Mr. and Mrs. Chandramohan Chatterjee very kindly came to the aerodrome bringing lunch with them. Medical and Customs inspection being over, got back to the 'plane which started about 12.30 P. M.

The line of flight was now straight out to the Arabian Sea. Land was soon out of sight. After a time got occasional glimpses of the rugged coast line of Baluchistan with its weathered cliffs and narrow sandy surf-beaten beaches. This coast line provided about every variety of object-lesson in the shape of examples of weathering of rocks. The weather was stormy and we had strong headwinds forcing the 'plane to fly mostly at a low altitude. The sea appeared calm as a pond from a height but whenever the 'plane was forced down its foamy and billowy surface became plain to the view. Began feeling tired after a time due to the continuous bumps and the intense vibration. The flight seemed endless. After about seven and a half hours of



The crowd round the Poet's car at Bushire

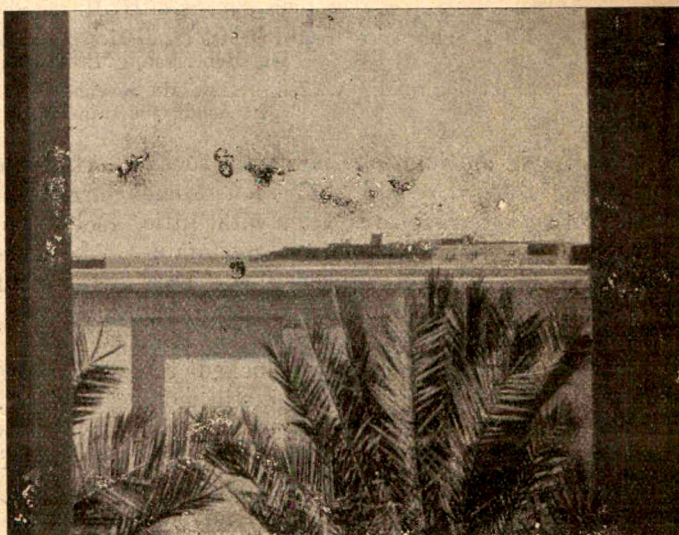
continuous flight, the Asst. Pilot started glancing at the petrol gauge. About half an hour later came down at Jask, on Persian soil. Due to having flown westwards, we had gained on the sun and so had the advantage of landing in daylight.

Jask is a small fishing village on a sandy sea-girt promontory. The chief occupation of the inhabitants—apart from the work provided by the aerodrome and the Indo-Persian cable station—seemed to be fishing—and smuggling whenever the opportunity provided itself.

Had no trouble—contrary to what I was led to expect—with the passport and customs departments, due to the authority letter given by the Persian Consul at Bombay which I was carrying. Stayed at the Rest house, managed by Mr. and Mrs. James—very nice people, who were very considerate.

6th April: Started at 5 A.M. on a dark and misty morning. Head winds still persisted compelling flight at a low altitude. Same succession of sea, desert promontories and occasionally an oasis. Camels were

terrified by the sound of aero-engines, same as cattle. Fell asleep after a while. Woke up to see a high mountain with beetling crags loom up in the mist. The 'plane started climbing upwards with engines going all out. Terrific vibration and roaring. The



Bushire from the writer's hotel-window

higher we went, the higher seemed the jagged crags which now appeared on both sides as well as in front. The aerial passage seemed



The Indian guests of H. M. the Shah of Persia

From right to left, seated :—Mr. Irani, Mrs. Pratima Devi, the Poet, Mrs. Irani, Dr. Meherhomji, Miss Irani.

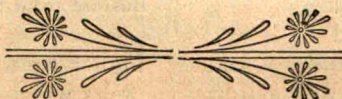
Standing :—Mr. A. Chakravarty, Mr. Keyhan (the Persian Consul), the writer, Mr. Asadi (the translator).

to be through an immense jaw with rocky fangs. Far below, could be seen some patches of rock-terrace cultivation with little thatched cottages nestling in the mountain-side. Still further below were little land-locked harbours surrounded by the towering cliffs on all sides—likely places for the lairs of Arab pirates. Clouds now blocked the view above rendering the passage still more difficult. After climbing far above the clouds we were able to clear this mountain spur. A rather trying passage, the only one in this journey that gave any cause for anxiety.

After about five and a half hours' steady flight arrived at Bushire at about 10-30 A.M. The local authorities had received telegraphic instructions from Teheran regarding myself and so all arrangements had been made.

* * * *

Here at Bushire, a week after my arrival, the Poet, with others from Calcutta, arrived by 'plane, and Mr. Dinshaw Irani's party arrived from Bombay by ship. Thus all the Indian guests of H. M. the Shah were assembled here for the tour in Persia.



THE WORK OF THE PEACE ARMY IN ENGLAND

By MURIEL LESTER

Kingsley Hall,
Powis Road,
Bow, E. 3.
July 5th, 1932.

The Editor,
The Modern Review.

Dear Sir,

It might interest your readers to know a little about the Peace Army at Hendon. Our Royal Air Force held a demonstration there on Saturday, June 25th and hundreds of members of the Peace Army went there to protest against the use of the air for the purpose of killing. We had a hundred thousand specially prepared leaflets for distribution among the vast crowds that gather there every year. Brigadier-General Crozier's leaflet was entitled "A Fighting Soldier regards Hendon from the Ground." In Dr. Gray's leaflet there was given an accurate account of the recent bombing of Chapei. Dr. Maude Royden's leaflet was entitled "Do you Realise?", and the fourth was by Joyce Pollard, describing the constitution of the Peace Army and inviting sympathizers to join its ranks.

There were also twenty-five people from Kingsley Hall, Bow, who for the last five years have been making their witness against the use of the air for the practice of killing. These were mostly young people, men and women, and they entered the Aerodrome, mixing with the spectators, appealing to them to use their imagination and to think what lay behind the Show. It is computed that if six of the scores of aeroplanes there had been dropping real instead of dummy bombs, the whole happy crowd of a quarter of a million of spectators would have been wiped out during the day.

One Kingsley Hall girl had travelled a long way from her place of service at Kettering to take part in this Peace witness. She gathered the children round her in the field and talked to them, telling them stories of their small brothers and sisters in different parts of the world, who were all children of God, whether their faces were brown or white or yellow.

Platforms were set up in the fields adjoining the Aerodrome where cars were being parked, and ice-cream and peanut vendors were selling their wares, and here people gathered round and listened while it was pointed out forcefully that no power on earth, not even the most stern ultimatum issued by the most potent Foreign Office could turn a fellow-man into an enemy, just because he happened to be born on

the other side of a river or a mountain range or an artificial boundary line. The Police moved us on from several of the platforms we set up in the field, saying that it was private property belonging to the Air Ministry, although it had not the appearance of anything very private. People were strolling about just as they liked. There was even the ubiquitous gentleman who sells watches for twopence.

Eventually we found a place which was perhaps the best natural pulpit of all. It was in a field which abutted on to the narrow bit of road leading from the Aerodrome gates to Colindale Station. A privet hedge and a row of iron palings separated this field from the pavement. The iron palings were very bent, so that it was easy to slip through and stand between them and the privet hedge on an up-turned orange-box, from which one could speak to a whole road-ful of people. They walked actually at the pace of the proverbial snail and sometimes they had to stand still, because only a certain number are allowed on to the platform at one time. They had nothing to do, nothing to distract them, so the speakers had a grand opportunity. It was computed that our message got across to twenty thousand people from this pulpit. We were there for about an hour and a half, three of us, Miss Collinson, an Australian woman, who had herself flown over the West Australian Desert, Jack Bartlett, a soldier, who went through the War, and myself.

People listened very well. One or two 'drunks' were a little rude perhaps, and a few epithets were thrown at us reminiscent of the old pre-War Suffrage days, but for the most part we had a grand hearing. Because Jack Bartlett was gassed in the War, his voice is a little husky sometimes. This made a few unthinking young men laugh and jeer a bit. They shouted "Speak up!" although they obviously had no intention of listening. When he had finished I had a chance of reminding people that it was to a great extent those who went through the last war and knew its realities who objected to this mock war, with its glittering cleanliness and its gay glorification of the mere outside of the machine. I appealed to them to think for themselves and not to let themselves be any longer hypnotized by militarism, for surely if we had an independent spirit and thought reasonably we should be a little ashamed to realize that throughout the few hundred thousand years during which mankind has lived on this planet, the air has been an unqualified means of

joy and blessing to the human race, but now in this century, man having at long last conquered the air, forthwith proceeds to use it for the furtherance of the practice of killing.

Yours truly,
Muriel Lester.

It was at Kingsley Hall that Mahatma Gandhi stayed in London during the second Round Table Conference. Miss Lester has written a book called "The East End Looks at Mr. Gandhi" describing his stay there. It will be published this month. Ed.—*M. R.*

PUBLICITY IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

THE EDITOR,

The Modern Review.

DEAR SIR,

There is a general apathy among Indians to make known to the world what is happening in India today, and the issues on which the present struggle is based. This apathy is hampering the patriotic efforts of those Indians and others who, in the face of great difficulties, are trying to make the truth about India known. I hope this letter may lead to a change of opinion so that an important field of work may not remain neglected.

In 1919, when the Congress stopped foreign propaganda, its reasons were sound. The Congress could ill-afford a large sum of money over the expenditure of which it could not exercise proper supervision. Further, it was necessary to bring about an attitude of self-reliance amongst Indians, who hitherto had looked outside their country for political advance. This latter aim has been achieved and under Mahatma Gandhi's inspiration Indians have fully realized that they have to rely upon themselves for attaining freedom.

The time has now come for regarding foreign propaganda in its proper perspective, as not the primary means of winning freedom, but as a necessary activity for every country to justify its position before the tribunal of world opinion. Many free countries are spending vast sums of money and through various subtle means make the objects of their policy understood by the public at large. The world today is bound together by economic and political ties and we shall be committing a grave error if we undervalue the sympathy and help which we may receive from outside.

While the Congress cannot undertake the task of winning world opinion at present, it can, at least, encourage the efforts of those friends of India who are doing this of their own accord by expressing its appreciation. Indians are spread all over the world and they would be stimulated to make the true facts about India known wherever they may be if the value of such efforts were properly recognized by them. We have cast off dependence by our attitude during the past 12 years, but let us not make the mistake of shrinking within our shells.

The views expressed by the late Chitta Ranjan Das in his Presidential Address before the Gaya Congress in 1922, will be of interest in this connection. He remarked:

"I further think that the policy of exclusiveness which we have been following during the last two years should now be abandoned. There is in every country a number of people who are selfless followers of liberty and who desire to see every country free. We can no longer afford to lose their sympathy and co-operation. In my opinion, there should be established Congress agencies in America and in every European country. We must keep ourselves in touch with world movements and be in constant communication with the lovers of freedom all over the world."

Mahatma Gandhi on his last visit to England saw that many Britishers were not opposed to Indian freedom, but they were miseducated and prejudiced for 150 years and honestly believed that Indians were unfit for self-government and British rule had brought them protection and prosperity. The facts regarding India's exploitation, emasculation, poverty and present repression are not known here. While Gandhiji considered it a Herculean task to remove this ignorance and prejudice, he himself accepted every invitation to speak to English people and make India's case known to them. We learnt that he returned firmly convinced of the necessity of enlightening British public opinion on the Indian question.

Today, if one tries to get an article on India into a German newspaper, it is refused. Diplomatic and consular pressure is used to prevent the facts of the Indian situation being known in other countries and any attempt of this kind would be regarded as anti-British propaganda. This shows that the British Government is fully aware of the value of foreign propaganda.

Our non-violent movement aims at the conversion of the hearts of Britishers. While silent suffering tells unconsciously, conversion would be brought sooner if the sufferings were fully exposed. An average Britisher is a decent-minded person and he would revolt against any unmerited misery inflicted upon human beings. The Tory Government and the British Press are seeing to it that the man in the street is kept in the dark as to what happens in India. Let us not help them by our silence.

London W. A.

Yours etc.,

ATMA-S. KAMLANI

Joint Hon. Secretary.

'Friends of India Society.'

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Fact and Fiction

We often make a distinction between fact and fiction. They are fundamentally the same, because fact is nothing but fiction realized. Prof. P. B. Adhikary has contributed a dissertation on the subject to *The Philosophical Quarterly*. We make the following extracts from the paper :

We usually make a distinction between fact and fiction. On a closer view the distinction becomes so thin that it is difficult to make out where exactly it lies. For what is called a *fact* always involves elements of fiction. The term *fiction* is to be understood here in its original sense as that which is fashioned by the mind—by imagination or conception. Used in this sense, it is to be distinguished from what is *fictitious*, implying falsehood. The question of truth and falsehood is a larger and different one, as is that of the real and unreal. A fiction need not necessarily be false, if it works successfully, though not exactly in the pragmatist's sense. I adopt here the meaning given to the word by Prof. Vaihinger in his *Philosophy of As If*.

The world of experience, as we take it at any moment, is a world of objects as they have been fashioned by the mind out of their primary stuff—the basic matter or content—into their present forms, so that we fail to make out what that stuff was originally. This is true both of our outer and inner experience.

The nature of the ultimate reality underlying its appearances can never be realized by the usual methods of handling experience, which have but to do with the world as already fashioned by inevitable fictions. The mystery would ever evade our grasp unless we can rise above these fictions with which we endow our experience both inner and outer. Behind both these lies the original stuff which is mysteriously worked out into the forms we are familiar with and deal with practically. The level again from which this work proceeds is not always apparent to us—it lies deeper somewhere else than what we usually take our mind to be, which is itself a fiction among other fictions. The ultimate source of the original forms—even the sensible data and the laws of their appearance—eludes our grasp by the usual modes of approach. The psychological account of their origin that we find in the current text-books is too crude and superficial. It does not touch the main problem here. The new departments from the traditional lines of explanation that we find in the day are indeed a hopeful sign of what is to come in future indicating at least a recognition of the problem, if not its solution. A true solution will come, however, when we give up the usual time-honoured path of approach and seek it in another source of knowledge, little recognized as yet in the field, call that by whatever name you would—mystic vision, higher intuition, immediacy, reason, *aparoksha*. Some

of the greatest philosophers, both in the East and West, have recognized it under one name or other, and there are signs already of its recognition in the present day. There is, of course, no unanimity yet in their statements regarding the ultimate nature of reality—the pure fact—the original stuff. Is it due to the inevitable influence of fictions they cannot avoid in giving expression to their direct experience? Or is the last word here "*Neti, Neti*"—not this, not this?

Problems of Psycho-Analysis

Dr. Suhrit Chandra Mitra discusses the problems of psycho-analysis in *The Calcutta Review*. We quote him in part as follows :

In spite of training and education undesirable thoughts and unsocial desires still continue to appear in every mind. As soon as they arise they are repressed, that is, sent to the unconscious. The traditions and the moral codes that have been instilled into the child's mind act as a guard against the entry into the conscious field of any such unmoral desire. This guard has been most appropriately called by Freud, the Censor. But the desires repressed by the censor continue their attempts to gain the conscious field and adopt various subterfuges to avoid the vigilance of the censor. They distort themselves, condense themselves, transform themselves and there are various other tricks by which they reach their aim. Normally the method of work of the censor is so efficient that you are never conscious of the unsocial desires that dwell in your mind, and a balance is maintained between the proper and social desires of the conscious level and the repressed social desires of the unconscious. When this equilibrium however is for any reason disturbed, the disturbance at once manifests itself in abnormalities of behaviour which might range from slight eccentricities of conduct to severe forms of mental disorders. The symptoms of many mental diseases are but symbolic gratification of unfulfilled desires or are devices to prevent the desires to appear in consciousness in their naked forms. A mania for physical cleanliness may be only an attempt to purge the mind of a sense of guilt. Lady Macbeth is afraid that all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten her little hands. Over-anxiety for the health of any loved person may be only a method of defence against the appearance of the unconscious death wish. And so on. In this way psycho-analysis has shown that patients suffering from mental diseases are not possessed by ghosts, neither can they be cured by kicks and blows. By analysis discover the root of the disease and you will see that the patient at once cures himself.

When an anti-social desire is thwarted by the censor it may sublimate itself. By sublimation is meant that the wish energy connected with the anti-

social desire is utilized in a useful social activity. Here psycho-analysis has given a new task to the future educationist. It is useless talking about the depravity of this or that child and it is worse than useless to trot out moral principles to keep children safe from vice. Sex desires and curiosity are natural in children. The task of education lies not in repressing them but in properly sublimating their various elements. Freud has given us a detailed study of the sex instinct; he has shown how from infancy the instinct passes through various stages and finally emerges as the normal heterosexual love, i.e., love for a person of the opposite sex. It is the duty of those entrusted with the task of educating children to pay sufficient attention to this aspect of the child's development and to guide it in proper channel. For it has been invariably found that one root at least of every mental disease lies in the disturbance of development at this period of life.

Rural Reconstruction in the South

Attempts at rural reconstruction are always welcome. *The National Christian Council Review* notices editorially the reports of the work carried on in some districts in Southern India:

From Martandam, Ramanathapuram, Katpadi, Sangli and elsewhere come interesting reports of rural training institutes, either successfully held or in progress. At each centre enthusiasm has been keen and workers of good quality have come from various parts of the country, sometimes from long distances, to avail themselves of the facilities provided in order that they may better serve the interests of the rural peoples in their own areas. For example, one of the students attending the institute at Martandam came all the way from the Santal country, where, under the auspices of the Church of Scotland Mission, he will now give himself to the cause of rural welfare.

On every hand the need of trained and informed leadership is recognized, and we are glad to see so many Missions and Churches taking advantage of the admirable facilities offered by the Y. M. C. A. and other organizations in their rural reconstruction centres. As an illustration of what might be done by the average missionary, or by a worker who has received training such as indicated above, we have pleasure in quoting the following passage from our esteemed contemporary, *The Gospel Witness*:

'An important event in Palladam was the starting of rural uplift courses for village youths, under the guidance of Rev. H. Frykholm. The rural uplift courses in Palladam are at present mainly intended for village youths of about 14 years who have not been in boarding-school and who know how to read a little at least. Every morning at 6-30 and evening at 8 the boys have their morning and evening devotions in the church, according to an order of service which covers the whole church year. In the morning classes the boys are taught Old and New Testament stories, catechism, church year, hygiene, agriculture and singing. The young men were given sufficient instruction for conformation. At the end of the courses (each course lasting for two months) they are confirmed. In the afternoon, 1 to 4 p.m., the boys are taught any of the following cottage industries: spinning, weaving, mat-making, coir rope-making and poultry rearing. Between 4 and 6 p.m.

they have to work in the garden. At the end of each course regular examinations are held. 'We thank God for the decided improvement we note in our boys, both on temporal and spiritual lines.'

What is Art?

Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma notices the book to *Karma-Less-Ness* by Mr. Jinnarajadasa in the columns of the *The Indian Review*. Prof. Sharma discusses the view of such art critics as Ruskin, who have influenced the writer. He then puts in a nut-shell Mr. Jinnarajadasa's conclusions in the following lines:

But what is Art? Art is, according to the writer, an embodiment of the Highest, inseparable from every great and noble thing in life. So there is no conflict between Art and Religion, Art and Philosophy, and Art and Science. The truth as an Artist conceives, it cannot run counter to what a prophet and scientist and a philosopher think of it. "All great Art in praise," said Ruskin, and "all truly great things, objects, deeds, events in the individual or in the community, are praise."

The end of Art, therefore, is the release of the highest attribute latent in mankind. Art, in fact, seeks to liberate us but it does so through joy. Art shows us how to get the best out of life. It fills us with the urge for perfection. "When an Artist sits down to draw a rose, he tries to make it as perfect as it can be. What the Artist has himself felt, he will also be able to recreate in our mind."

We have long thought Art to be a pre-occupation of the rich, but the writer seeks to dispel this erroneous notion. Art is democratic in its appeal and concerns all of us. It is not a thing to be pursued only by specialists or eccentric people. At the same time, Art is not necessarily the nurse of immortality as it is usually thought to be. Without being definitely religious, it aims at the liberation of the divine in us. As such, the pursuit of Art should be a delightful occupation of every sane person.

Sikh Nomenclature

Words have immense influence over the mind of man. This is perhaps why such words as 'Singh,' 'Sardar,' 'Bhai,' etc., have played an important part in unifying the Sikh community. Mr. Ahmed Shafi dwells on the subject in the same review. The following passages are quoted from it.

The first feature of Sikh nomenclature that arrests the attention of even a casual observer is the universal use of the terminal 'Singh'. If the device was adopted to make the bearer of this appellation respond to the characteristics of a Singh (a lion), it may be conceded that on the aggregate it has succeeded very well, indeed, and has in its own way provided an answer to the poet's question: "What is in a name?" But there is more in it than is apparent on the surface. The use of this one word by all Sikhs without any noticeable exception has done more than anything else to weld them

into one homogeneous whole. The word 'Singh' is regarded as the badge of the tribe. Its use encourages no questions as to the caste of the man and permits no doubts as to the origin of its redoubtable bearer. It is true that the religion of a Sikh saves him from floundering in the whirlpool of an elaborate caste system, but the fact remains that some sections of the Sikhs are imperceptibly and slowly but steadily and surely drifting in the wake of Hindus in this matter. In these circumstances the word 'Singh' is the anchor which, in spite of this tendency to drift, has kept the majority to their original moorings.

The use of courtesy title 'Sardar' is gaining in popularity, and if the present *penchant* for it continues unabated, it will soon replace the homely but affectionate and endearing appellation of *bhai* (a brother). It is noticeable that some Sikhs, especially those who have tasted the doubtful delights of European costume, feel slighted if they are addressed as *bhai* even by their own *bhais* (brothers) in religion. It is possible for all simultaneously to be brothers (*bhais*) but all cannot be Sardars. This newly acquired inclination is foreign to the democratic order of the *Panth* and may end in creating a class among the Sikhs which will bring its own problems not much different from those with which the present-day society in the West is hampered.

The word 'Singh' has a peculiarity in euphonically dovetailing with any other name. Mostly the Hindu names are pressed into service, and it has always remained a puzzle to me why the followers of a religion whose founder attempted to provide a confluence for both the Islamic and Hindu cultures, have not adopted some of the Muhammadan names as freely as Hindu names. After all 'Singh' is the solvent which makes a name assume its proper place in Sikh nomenclature.

The Genius of Russian Artists

In a valuable paper on "Russian Drama" published in *Sapi* Mr. Mohd. Mujib lays stress on the intense faith in things Russian that inspire the artists over there. He says :

"In Russia you can only believe." Nothing, indeed, but an intense faith in the spirit that seemed to brood over the vast spaces of Russia, that inspired vague yearnings into his soul, as it breathed a wistful sadness into the peasant's songs, could have given the Russian artist the courage to believe in his own mission. For here, if any where, the flesh was set against spirit. Russian life, with its demoralizing worship of strange gods, its callous indifference to all aspirations and ideals would surely have crushed out all creative impulse. But this disaster for which Peter the Great had fully paved the way, was averted in time. In the homes and the songs of the peasants, in the enchanted atmosphere of their religious and mystic speculations Pushkin discovered a healthy foundation on which Russian literature could build, and out of which it would be possible to evolve a Russian culture. The artists who followed him intuitively saw in this an unfailing source of inspiration and strength. But—and herein lies the tragedy that overshadows all the creations of the Russian as of the Asiatic genius—art failed to mould life according to its own desire, and was constrained, in a measure, to deny it. The ideals which the Russian artist burned

to realize not merely transcended Russian life ; one might even say they began and ended somewhere beyond it. And the acceptance of peasant culture created a fundamental discord.

Thus we find in the life of every Russian writer of eminence a radical moral revolution. Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov, Tutev, Tolstoy, Ostrovsky, Chekhov were all born Europeans and died Asiatics. They began by accepting Russian life as it was, and ended by denying it, professing the dream, accepting world of Russian culture instead. But it was not long. The agonies of death had to be undergone before the artist could be born again. And nothing could be of avail except a blind, desperate faith such as only the Asiatic can possess. We can ignore this fact only at the risk of gravely misunderstanding Russian literature. For what distinguishes it from other literatures is that it has a purpose, a definite ideal, not indeed consciously adopted but born of an inner necessity, a religion as deeply rooted in Russian human nature as any the world has yet seen.

Essentials of Rural Reconstruction

Science has annihilated the barriers of time and space. Peoples meet from the different parts of the earth. Competition is the immediate fruit of coming closer. Those who are strong will win, and those who are weak will suffer and die. It is an axiom that the Indians live on scanty diet. "They live and move in fear and also have their being in fear. To remove this fear from their midst is the essential thing at the moment. The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* stresses this point in his "Danger Ahead" and says :

One great essential thing in the matter of rural reconstruction is to remove the feeling of helplessness amongst our village population. Living in ignorance, and being out of touch with the outside world, many of their sufferings they take as inevitable. If they knew that similar difficulties—sometimes of more serious nature—face the people in other countries also and are removed by them, then they would not so easily submit to fate. It is essentially necessary that a conviction should be created in them that to a great extent it depends on themselves to ameliorate their lot. Mr. Brayne says : "Why do villagers of 40 look like 60 ? Because they live in fear—fear of hunger and famine, fear of disease, fear of law courts, of money-lenders, and their neighbours..."

"Our work is to replace these fears with confidence that if they follow our advice, they and their families will be healthy, happy, well-fed and well-clothed and well-housed, and at peace with everyone." Perhaps many years of sufferings have brought about this state of helplessness, and hence is the necessity of help from those who are fortunately in a better position.

The common problems of all villages throughout India are those of education, sanitation and poverty. People live in ignorance, they lead unhygienic life, put up in unsanitary surroundings, and as such fall easy victims to epidemics, not to speak of slow death to which they are constantly subject. They are in a chronic state of poverty due mainly to the exploitation of money-lenders, litigation, want of foresight, over and above the general economic

distress in the country. But many problems become easy of solution, if the problem of education be solved.

The Weapons of the Khasias

Here are quoted some extracts from *Man in India* giving an idea of the weapons of the Khasias and other hill tribes in Assam:

Another item probably to be associated with the Indonesian culture is the tanged and shouldered celt,—a very distinctive form of polished stone adze which has been found in Indo-China, Malaya, the Irrawaddy basin, Assam and in Chota Nagpur in India. It survives in the form of shouldered iron hoes still used by some hill tribes as by the Khasias and by some Nagas. The use of the throwing-spear seems also typical of a pre-Precean people, and simple bamboo and sago-palm javelins, innocent of iron, but sometimes "feathered" like an arrow, usually with pandanus leaf, are still used in the remote interior of the Naga Hills. A straight two-handed iron sword is or was till recently used as a sword of State by the kings of Siam; it is depicted as carried by foot-soldiers on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat in Cambodia and it is still handed down as an heirloom in Naga, Khasi and Kachari families in Assam. It is possibly an introduction from India, where the straight two-handed sword was in vogue at the time of Alexander's invasion. The carved lion, more symbolic than naturalistic, which is so popular from Assam eastwards in regions where the lion is not known at all may also be of Indian origin, though, if so, he has perhaps been hybridized by the Chinese dragon. It seems to belong to the Shan and Burman elements rather than to the Indonesian, and the true Naga tribes have no word for lion, though the Kukis and Abors have one. So too the use of the cross-bow seems to be of Mongolian origin, and it is popular with the tribes of Indo-China and with many of those of Burma; only some of the Assam tribes use it and it does not reach the western Nagas who have only the bullet-bow, or the Khasis who, like the Thado Kukis, use a simple bow—a weapon which may perhaps be associated with Negrito-survivals.

Racial Amity

Races come into conflict even to-day, at this advanced stage of civilization. They can, however, meet and benefit mutually without sacrificing their essential features. Dr. Jagadisan M. Kurnappa emphasizes this aspect in an article in *The Aryan Path*. He says in part:

The introduction of Western learning into India at the expense of her own culture, the utilitarian objective of training Indian youth for carrying the white man's burden and the woefully low economic condition of the country have, no doubt, reduced India to this shameful state. But are we to continue to live shamelessly in this condition of cultural degradation? It is no wonder that the reproach of this situation and the pressing need for an Indian seat of learning drove the poet to set himself the

task of founding an Indian University,—a centre of culture to help India concentrate her mind and to be fully conscious of herself; to seek the truth and make that truth her own wherever found; to judge by her own standard, give expression to her own creative genius and offer her wisdom to the quest which comes from other parts of the world. It is with such ideals that the poet brought Visva-Bharati into existence as the seat of Indian culture and centre of India's intellectual hospitality. During the eleven years of its existence, distinguished savants and students from different parts of the world have already been there as guests to share India's cultural achievements. By this most outstanding educational experiment, the poet has shown us how education should be not only Indianized but used to bring about a union between East and West. It is upto the rest of our universities to follow this guide-post and give effect to such ideals in the future education of India.

The Occident and the Orient are necessary to each other since they emphasize different and, not infrequently, complementary aspects of truth. The Western continents have been engaged in securing protection against physical death. On the other hand, the striving of the Eastern peoples has been, as Tagore points out, to win for man his spiritual kingdom, to lead him to life everlasting. *European society needs to-day the monastic ideal of the East, the ideal of self-discipline, and the peoples of the East need the Western ideal of citizenship, of the science of corporate living.* By their present separateness, East and West are alike in danger of losing the fruits of their age-long labours. For want of that union the East is suffering from poverty and inertia, and the West from lack of peace and happiness. In view of the spiritual impotency of Western civilization,—as disclosed by the world war,—many of the eminent sons of the West are feeling that the Occident must draw some benefit from the spiritual wealth of Asia.

In view of this newly awakened interest in Oriental culture, a greater effort must be made not only to revive our culture but also to establish a larger number of such cultural centres in India, China, Japan and other countries of Asia to provide common meeting ground for East and West. The recent developments indicate that we are entering upon a new era and we see the dawn of a day when there shall be no longer any East hostile to the West, nor West at enmity with the East, when, through cultural sympathy and co-operation, man's spiritual ideals will create out of the world-neighbourhood a brotherhood of races.

Europe on Trial

During his recent Persian tour Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore had interesting talks with the leaders of thought there. Persia wants to copy America in culture. The poet gives his mind on the matter in a discourse published in *India and the World*:

The time has come when we must think deeply about human civilization. You must have read Spengler's book on European civilization—it raises searching questions about the destiny of the modern Western civilization and gives us dangerous parallelisms from history.

When you speak of hundred per cent Americanisation you must remember that America herself is faced to-day with an imminent crisis and has yet to achieve a stability which will prove the soundness of her social and political machinery.

I was talking to-day to a German scientist—Dr. Stratil-Sauer of Leipzig who has come here all the way from Berlin by motor car for geological exploration—and he was telling me the same thing about Europe. The whole Western civilization is undergoing a severe trial. The reckless mechanization of life which he has gone on in the West is already having a drastic reaction.

We in the East must ponder seriously before we go in for hasty imitation of Western life in its totality. There is a profound maladjustment somewhere at the very basis of European life. Everywhere there is material well-being, but happiness has vanished. And how could it be otherwise? Pierce through the veneer of modernity and you find almost primitive barbarism staring at you. What is high-pressure modern life for the multitude but a ceaseless preoccupation with physical needs,—a hot pursuit of dress, expensive cars, elaborate food and housing, that is to say, of materials which satisfy the elementary needs of our animal existence. Such a life has no time for self-realization, for human fellowship, for all that makes man's existence significant and precious. Certainly, this is the modern form of barbarism which exhausts all its resources merely to climb up the steep summit of living surrounded by emptiness.

The Drug Wealth of India

Scientific Indian summarizes an address by Dr. B. Mukherjee of the Tropical School of Medicine on the economic aspects of indigenous drugs :

The drug resources of India are vast and inexhaustible and it may be said without much exaggeration, that, with suitable opportunities, India can supply the whole world with medicinal herbs and drugs. Leaving aside for the time being, the large number of drugs used in the indigenous systems of medicine in India, nearly three-fourths of the drugs mentioned in the British or the United States Pharmacopoeia, grow wild and in great abundance in the different parts of India. India has been called the epitome of the world and indeed she possesses such wonderful variability of temperature, soil and climatic conditions that every conceivable drug ranging from those growing in the hottest tropical climate to those growing in temperate and very cold climates may be made to grow in her soil. Nature has bestowed with a bounteous hand all the medicinal drugs and herbs which her people require. In spite of this, India imports nearly Rs. 2 crores worth of drugs from foreign countries. Though there is also an export trade, this is insignificant in proportion to the large import trade. What actually happens is that a good deal of raw material is going out of the country and instead we are receiving very considerable quantities of refined preparation manufactured in foreign countries. This is indeed a very disappointing state of affairs. Of the two crores worth of imports, the proprietary and patent medicines have taken a toll of nearly 42.8 lacs. These medicines have shown a phenomenal

increase during the last 5 years, i.e., from about 25.0 to 42.8 lacs. Their sale is increasing by leaps and bounds. This state of affairs, it must be admitted on all hands, has been created by incessant canvassing and advertisements rather than by the efficacy of the patent medicines placed on the market. By every mail, one is flooded with literature explaining the virtues of these drugs in glowing terms and we, as credulous little children, allow ourselves to be duped and exploited. Leaving aside for the moment the question of patent and proprietary medicines, India imports a number of other drugs and preparation from foreign countries regularly. Even to this day, crude drugs like podophyllum, squills, ergot, etc., are being brought in from America, Russia and Spain. Finished drugs like tinctures, solid extracts, etc., are also coming in. India is hopelessly dependent for almost all her pure and heavy chemicals used in medicine and pharmacy and in analytical and scientific work on Germany, Great Britain and Japan. The whole range of anaesthetics—both for local and general use, the whole gamut of synthetic preparations, the constantly growing series of preparations for radiological purposes, all the essential oils—to mention only a few must come from abroad to help her countless millions. Practically all the basic alkaloids like caffeine, strychnine, atropine, santonine, etc., are derived from other countries. But with the help of science and capital, we can to a very large extent do without imports and it is possible to manufacture almost all our requirements in our own country. This will not only save the drain of India's gold but the development of this industry will open up a new avenue of employment.

Co-operative Training for the Unemployed

Sir Daniel Hamilton is an authority on co-operation. His settlement at Gosaba in the 24 Parganas, Bengal, is a centre of co-operative training. Unemployment is the problem of the day. The practical suggestions offered by Sir Daniel, in *India Tomorrow*, should be paid heed to by our unemployed young men. He says :

Ten bighas of land, plus a simple house, and the art of weaving, will enable a man and his family to live a healthy life. Every young man, therefore, whatever calling he means to follow—whether professional, or Government or Commercial service, should aim at having ten bighas of land as a foundation of reserve fund which will ensure to him and his family a healthy life whether times are prosperous or adverse,

Gosaba might be used as a training centre for these ten bigha zamindars, who would be free to follow any profession they chose and take any degree they might desire. A new degree should be established which might be called the F. C. H. degree (the food clothing, and housing degree) or, as Dr. Urquhart suggests, the degree of Fellow of Co-operative Husbandry. In the case of young men desirous of entering Government or commercial service, preference should be given to holders of the F. C. H. degree. Spiritual, that is to say, religious instruction should be given to young men qualifying for the F. C. H. degree and the degree should rest on the spiritual

foundation. Young men entering the Gosaba Co-operative Training Institute will sign the following declaration.

"I believe in God, and I promise to act honestly and uprightly at all times and on all occasions and to work hard for my country and the Co-operative State."

A Central Laboratory—not Necessary

In their report the Indian Drugs Enquiry Committee recommended the establishment of a Central Laboratory to co-ordinate the work of the provincial laboratories. *The Journal of the Indian Medical Association* thinks it unnecessary and offers the following editorial comment:

Amongst the measures recommended by the Committee is the establishment of a Central Laboratory to co-ordinate the work of the provincial laboratories. On this matter we are afraid we must join issue with the Committee, for, apart from its being a heavy and unjustifiable burden on the hardpressed taxpayer, particularly at such a time of financial stringency, it would be far better to encourage the development of laboratories in the provinces, in association with the Universities and scientific departments. Indeed, in other countries the Universities are generally entrusted with this business. An isolated central laboratory would lack the cultural and scientific environment found in the provinces, which is so important to the development of any scientific organization, and we may cite the instance of the Central Research Institute at Kasuali, the work and importance of which can hardly be said to justify the large expenditure on that institution from year to year. We also think the Committee have not fully appreciated the vast area of India and the practical difficulties that arise with a Central Laboratory in that connection. It would, in our opinion, be far better, especially under the contemplated Federal Scheme, for each province, which is a big enough unit in itself, to have its own laboratory under the control of its own Government. So far as the co-ordination of the work of the several provincial laboratories is concerned, this could be effected conveniently and efficiently by the constitution of a committee consisting of the directors of provincial laboratories, who would meet as occasion required. To them could be entrusted the task of co-ordinating work and laying out standard methods of testing, in fact all the functions of a Central Laboratory could, without additional expense, be performed by them. Research could be undertaken by the provincial laboratories according to the funds available for the purpose from the local Government. For chemical, bio-chemical or biological assay adequate numbers would, we are sure, be obtainable in a province. Public analysts could be trained in each of the laboratories according to the requirements of the province, while the commercial testing of drugs could also be conveniently done, on payment of fees, in the provincial laboratories. We feel very strongly

on this point because an isolated Central Laboratory, supervising the work of important provincial centres would be an anomaly, and lack the vital elements of growth.

Education of Girls

The Matriculation syllabus is going to be recast and remodelled in Calcutta University very soon. What subjects are to be taught to the girls are hotly discussed at the present moment. Miss. P. Paranjothi, B.A., B.T., in her "Education of Girls and Social Efficiency" in *The Educational Review* also dilates on the subject at length. She says:

Let us consider, therefore, the type of education that women need. You know that in whatever sphere of life a woman shines, her primary consideration is her home and all other interests may be very important, but are only secondary. If in the home she does her duty well, she has done her best to serve her community, her country and the world at large. Women's sphere of action is the home and it is left to her to make that home a success or a failure. If she is to make it a success she must be well equipped to meet the responsibilities, privileges and opportunities of home life. The best course of studies that is offered to girls must emphasize the instruction in various aspects that make up the household arts.

We must then think seriously of the place that the household arts hold or should hold in education and its various aspects. Before proceeding any further with the subject, we must turn our attention to the definition of the word household arts.

Various terms have been used to indicate the content of this broad subject to signify its connection with the home and to point out the fact that science, fine art and technical art are fundamental, but the term most in vogue at present is either home economics, household science and arts, household science or household arts.

There is in India, today, a great need for such well-organized courses of domestic subjects to enlighten our women and girls in their special sphere of work. Poverty, the bane of many an Indian home, the appalling death rate of babies, the indescribable ignorance that prevails among women with regard to their own health and that of their children, the management of the home, sanitation, simple forms of hospitality and the use of leisure hours and the utter lack of civic responsibility are to be redressed. Education is the only factor that can remedy all these evils. Then, is it not the legitimate duty of the educationists to provide facilities so that they may fully equip themselves to meet these demands?

At the time when India is agitating for Swaraj and striving hard towards that end and when she feels that the time is come for her to be re-organized as one among other nations, how can she hold her place if more than half of her population is still un-equipped to perform even the ordinary duties of life?

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan's Plans for Manchuria

What Japan possibly intends to do in Manchuria is revealed by a Japanese officer in a contribution to a periodical and is commented upon in *The Living Age*:

Japan's plans for Manchuria have been revealed in a reputable economic journal, *The Diamond*, by Major Tadashi Hanaya, lately a member of the political section of the General Staff in Manchuria. The essence of Japanese tactics will be the construction of a 'steel frame' of Japanese officials inserted at strategic points in the new Manchurian Government. The organization is to be completely departmentalized and the Japanese members, although monopolizing the responsible posts, will not come into direct contact with the people. Major Hanaya believes in a kind of National Socialism—that is, he wants the Japanese people rather than the bankers to profit from the exploitation of Manchuria and he has worked out a complete colonization scheme that would not begin to go into effect for four years. The estates of the Manchurian landlords are to be confiscated and all land within twelve miles of the railway is to be given to Japanese settlers. Chinese immigrants would no longer be allowed to enter the country freely, but the Koreans, as subjects of Japan, would be granted admission. A colonization company would be formed to select in Japan communities of prospective emigrants containing from 300 to 500 persons each. Major Hanaya is not an official government spokesman but he enjoys the confidence of the present leaders of the country, especially of a strong younger element that wants to make the army into an instrument of the popular will. 'We must not forget,' he says, 'that the Japanese soldiers who shed their blood in Manchuria were the sons of poor families. The country must be developed in such a way that they will profit by it. Capitalists and politicians must not be allowed to seize rights that belong to the people of Japan.' The Major admits that if his scheme falls through outright annexation will be necessary.

Prospects of a World War

The same paper anticipates the results of this policy of Japan:

If the Japanese Government succeeds in setting some such plan in motion, another world war is a virtual certainty. It took 300,000 British troops three years to conquer South Africa. America needed an army of 50,000 men and two years to pacify the Philippines. Immediately after the War, England failed to subdue Ireland with 50,000 troops and the Black-and-Tans. Manchuria, with a population of 30,000,000 and an area the size of France and Germany combined, will obviously need more than the 100,000 troops and three years that the Japanese commander in North Manchuria says will be required.

And Japan may have to figure, as England did not in South Africa, on outside interference. In the light of these simple facts and precedents, Russia's fear of large-scale hostilities in the near future seems to have substantial foundation. Already, in fact, White Russians have been making trouble along the Chinese Eastern Railway, attempting to blow up bridges and raiding company offices. The Japanese either cannot or will not restrain these outbursts, and the situation is now such that, with troops massed along the frontier, a minor incident might lead to major complications.

England also is alarmed. Lieutenant Commander J. M. Kenworthy, a former member of the War Staff of the British Admiralty who has spent three years in Asiatic waters, believes that Russia in the event of war would rouse the Chinese masses:

"It would be a miracle if the war could be confined to the two original belligerents. The danger would be increased if Japan sent her large ocean-going submarines to operate in the Eastern Mediterranean against Russian merchant vessels sailing to and from the Black Sea. Apart from the naval side of a probable campaign the repercussions in Asia would be far-reaching. The Soviet Government would be bound to resist the Japanese aggression by force of arms; but its great weapon would be that of propaganda. It would endeavour to arouse all Asia on its side in a holy war against imperialism.

We should be fortunate if, within three months of the first exchange of shots between Russian and Japanese regular troops, northern India was not ablaze. And if the hard-pressed and impoverished Japanese masses did not rise in revolution it would be that another miracle. Nor could Russia be blamed for using any weapons at her disposal. At present there appears to be no limit to the ambitions of the Japanese militarists."

The London *Economist* says that the alternative to war would be for Japan to build a railway line parallel to the Chinese Eastern but ending at a port south of Vladivostok, which is icebound for several winter months.

The End of Caesar's Line

A very interesting fact has been pointed out by "Scrutator" in the *Sunday Times* in discussing the post-war political situation:

It is an interesting fact that has escaped general comment that the end of the War left Europe for the first time for nearly two thousand years without the name of Caesar. It began with two Kaisers and two Tsars—these titles are but dialectical forms of Caesar—and all four have gone. Caesarism stands for conceptions of policy that have never been naturalized in this country and that we have grown to hate, but in Europe the idea of unity through the will of one man is in the blood.

In this sense both Stalin and Mussolini are Cæsars without the name. And it would be wrong to regard Caesarism as merely the rule of force. Not merely through its legions did the Roman Empire endure so long. Caesarism stands for a career open to talents, for the Emperor's purple was not hereditary for long together except to ability, and the humblest soldier, if he was able enough, might hope, whatever his race or origin, some day to be emperor.

Further, the name did stand for a unity of policy, transcending racial divisions, which has immense virtue. The best of the Emperors were not Roman or even Italian; there were only two racial divisions, East and West, and thanks to the Roman peace there were long tracts of time when a large part of the world enjoyed a happiness and prosperity under the Cæsars greater than it has enjoyed since, just because those were times when the pride of nationality was, if it existed at all, in strict abeyance to the general well-being.

Some of the results of the last war were not unlike those that followed the fall of the Roman Empire. The unity that the War broke up was not so compact or large, nor were the fragments into which it broke so small; on the other hand, distances are now so reduced and the effects of the nationalist revival encouraged by the War were so widespread that the amount of disruption in either case was not very different.

Henry Ford on Charity

Henry Ford's views on charity, given to the people of the United States in the form of advertisements, is commented upon by *America*:

In a series of essays, published as paid advertisements, Henry Ford is giving the country his views on unemployment and the depression. Some of these views are good. Thus Mr. Ford sternly reprobates "routine charity," by which he does not mean "human helpfulness." What he condemns is the practice of thinking that our contributions in dollars absolve us from the duty "of being personally kind, personally concerned, and personally involved in the work of helping others in difficulty."

Mr. Ford is simply repeating what all apostles of loving kindness have taught from the beginning. Our Lord visited the sick, and laid His Hands on them. He went into homes darkened by sorrow, and Himself consoled the mourners. When the people who had gathered to hear Him had nothing to eat, He ministered to them through the miracle of the loaves and the fishes.

The example He set, and the doctrines He taught form the basis of Christian charity. When Ozanam wished to Christianize the youthful students at Paris, he formed his associates into bands. These young men were not to moralize about the sick and the poor, but to visit them, as Our Lord did.

Mr. Ford is right. Dollars are no substitute for personal kindness. Charity organizations need rules and regulations, but the best sort of relief is not given through an agent or an office.

The Disarmament Conference

Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes in *The New Republic* on the failure of the Disarmament Conference and tries to point out its reasons:

To remember that a Disarmament Conference is sitting at Geneva is not always easy: a healthy mind must learn to forget futilities. The fact is however, that it has been in session for four months: it has taken not a single decision, nor does one see crystallizing within it anything that resembles the germ of a general policy or the nucleus of a collective will. No general or admiral or armament contractor, it is safe to say, sleeps restlessly because it meets. One might have hesitated to assume the worse before Sir John Simon gave his account of its work the other day to the British House of Commons. With that forensic lucidity which seems to be his one intellectual gift, he laboriously dissipated any hopes that his audience may have cherished before he rose. Trooping out into the lobbies, as he completed his survey, the Labour members met together to discuss whether they should send to Mr. Arthur Henderson a blunt intimation that he ought from the chair to denounce the Conference as a farce, and straightway quit Geneva. There was a moment in the middle of the Peace Conference when President Wilson summoned the "George Washington" to carry him home. Nothing, I suppose, will come of this impulse: Mr. Henderson, among his solid talents, does not include the gift for drama. The incident lights up none the less the bottomless pit of pessimism into which the proceedings of this Conference have cast that part of our democracy which has the will to disarm.

What are we to make of this failure? Some explanations are easy to frame. The world's statesmen, one and all, are absorbed in economic questions. It would be charity to forgive a man confronted with an unbalanced budget, the cry of the unemployed and the menace of general bankruptcy, if amid these preoccupations he forgot Geneva. Or again, what faith in the constructive power and good will of civilization could survive Japan's performance in Manchuria and Shanghai? At the head of the mainly Tory Ministry of Great Britain there is, indeed, a Premier who once made great sacrifices in the cause of peace, but Mr. MacDonald is an older and more successful man than he was in 1914: two maladies assail him, glaucoma and complacency. As for France, the Conference did not know how to treat M. Tardieu. Should it make the best of a bad job and compromise with him, or should it hope for his fall, and avoid in the meantime even the appearance of a decision? Confronted as it now will be with M. Herriot, it may have to realize that the more amiable address of its civilian spokesman has changed nothing in the views of the French General Staff. There were, to be sure, in this Conference two able advocates of a radical policy, the Russian Communist and the Italian Fascist. But when Comrade Litvinov advocated the total abandonment of armaments, the Conference may have had the wit to read in this proposal a highly effective satire on our civilization. How much of it would survive the ruthless liquidation of all armies? Not many of the frontiers of Europe, not much of the Indian Empire, not even the existing social order. As for Signor Grandi, was he angling for a loan from America, or seeking, rather cleverly, to sow dissension among the supporters of the *status quo* in Europe?

The Silence of the Press

It is admitted on all hands that some of the most significant developments in world history are now taking place in Soviet Russia, China, India and other oriental countries. Yet the Press of Europe and America is singularly silent about the affairs of these countries. This fact is discussed by the editor of *Unity*:

The silence of the press on India, Soviet Russia, China, and Asia generally, is getting ominous. Everybody knows that events which posterity will count the most momentous of our time are taking place in these distant part of the world. Yet there comes not a word from India, only a few casual and insignificant stories from Moscow, and a sudden cessation of what was for a time some admirable reporting in Manchuria, Shanghai, and Tokyo. Of course there may be excuse, as in India, where the British censorship is clamped down tight. In Russia, also, the censorship may well have been applied more rigorously since troop movements began in Siberia. In Tokyo, likewise, the government has undoubtedly watched despatches since the assassination of the late Premier. But where is the boasted enterprise of the traditional American journalist who laughs at locksmiths, jumps barriers, and defies censors? Can it be possible that the fourth estate is going to acquiesce in this situation, and be content with domestic news? To be sure, this latter commodity promises to be abundant, now that the presidential campaign is on, and with the Olympic games and other great sport events in the offing, to say nothing of the interminable Prohibition controversy. But fate is at work today not here in America, but, for the moment at least, far across continents and seas. The Indian revolution, affecting 325,000,000 of the world's people, the Chinese upheaval, involving over 400,000,000 other men and women, the Russian ferment stirring another 175,000,000, and all touching with the forces of life and death the very destinies of our western world—these are what we want to hear about. The wholly unexpected explosion of Europe in 1914 must stand for ever as an indictment of a Press which, charged with reporting facts and forces, left mankind entirely unprepared for the coming of this vast event. Let us not be left similarly unready for a similar explosion of Asia!

Marriage and Morals in Russia

A writer in *The Christian Register* is giving his experiences in Soviet Russia in the form of a diary. He makes the following observations about marriage and family life in Soviet Russia:

A registration bureau for marriage and divorce. It is in one of the poorer sections of Moscow. We question the clerk. Since January, 1931, this office has registered 2,699 marriages and 1,501 divorces. The clerk points to an adjoining room where a doctor gives advice concerning birth control, the treatment of venereal diseases and other sex problems. It is a criminal offence for a man or woman knowingly to transmit venereal disease. It is also a punishable offence for an individual to register marriage and divorce with too great frequency.

Russian sex and family life is perplexing to those of us who are seeking only facts and trying to interpret them objectively. How can one interpret if he finds it impossible to get at the truth of the

situation. What percentage of marriages go unregistered? What is the average duration of married life? How much promiscuity is there? Sweeping changes are taking place in family life, but what is their nature? Is the family being undermined or is a new type emerging based not on legal contract but on love?

Experts differ in answering almost all of these questions. Yet, one can make a few observations with some assurance: American youth *seems* much more sex conscious than the Russian boy and girl; we saw no filth displayed on Russian news stands, in Russian movies or on the Russian stage (for shame, America!); men and women are virtually equal in the factory and before the law; prostitution is far less prevalent than in Paris, Berlin, London or New York; a new Puritanism is developing among the Comsomols (Communist Youth) who consider sexual indulgence detrimental to the individual and therefore to the social order he believes he is helping to create.

The Chinese Soldiers, Past and Present

The gallant defence of Chapei by the 19th Route Army has rehabilitated the reputation of the Chinese soldier. The process of reorganizing the Chinese army and improving the training and morale of troops began with the inauguration of the Republican regime and is described in an article by Dr. Wai Yu in *The People's Tribune*, a Chinese monthly magazine representing the views of the extreme Left:

The Chinese soldiery, whether infantry, cavalry, artillery, or engineer-corps—officers as well as men—had prior to January 28, 1932, on the whole, a very poor reputation. The general opinion, in foreign as well as in Chinese circles, was that the Chinese army, undisciplined, untrained, and poorly-armed mercenaries, was useless both in attack and defence, incapable of the least resistance to the enemy, powerless of suppressing banditry and communism. The military chiefs themselves, with but a few exceptions, regarded the army as a kind of private estate, an instrument for the seizure of civil authority, a means to oust rivals, and indispensable in a revolt against the Government. The army had thus become a most disturbing element in the Chinese body politic, dangerous to the internal peace and order of China.

Before the establishment of the Republic in 1911, the soldiers were generally recruited from among the poorest classes, the beggars or tramps and sometimes why hesitate to tell the truth even from among the brigands, who had surrendered only to be incorporated into the ranks of the regular army. The profession of the soldier was considered as dishonourable as that of the actor. A popular proverb ran thus: "Good iron should not be used to make nails; good men should not be employed as soldiers." Before the Revolution, the officers, or the "military functionaries," as they were called, were required only to know how to ride a horse, to draw a bow, to handle the big 80-catty sword and to lift blocks of stone weighing 200 catties. Just before the fall of the Manchu Dynasty, this kind of military examination was abolished, and the future officers were to be instructed and trained in specially created schools. The most celebrated of these military academies was that of Paoting. The majority of the generals and officers in active service

at present graduated from that school. But the important question of armaments and supplies had never been seriously taken up. True, many arsenals had been established, but the authorities concerned preferred to buy arms from foreign countries and as those in charge of the arsenals were of varied nationality, there was no uniformity in the equipment of the Chinese army.

With the inauguration of the Republican regime, a movement for a more thoroughgoing military reorganization took place, but only to be smothered and suppressed by the military chiefs who, in control of the Government at Peking, were in fact governing the country. It was against these militarist usurpers that Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, at the head of revolutionary forces, with generals and officers animated by a new spirit and a new conception of duty, fought to the last breath. Determined to solve the question of military reform, he thus created at Whampoa, near Canton, the Cadet School which produced the first regiments conforming to modern military conceptions and constituted the core of the revolutionary army that fought and overthrew the militarist regime in the North and enabled the National-Revolutionary Party to take control of the Government.

Intellectual Co-operation

The aims and purposes of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation is described in the *Information Bulletin* of the Institute by its Director, M. Henri Bonnet:

The need for Intellectual Co-operation has, perhaps, never been more urgent and insistent than it is today. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that, by a deplorable paradox, while opportunities and facilities for international contact are being rapidly multiplied and increased in all directions, the commerce of ideas should be most seriously jeopardized. The War and its aftermath have destroyed, in the only realm—the intellectual—where it was to be found in the past, the elements of world unity and universality. Are the obstacles to their recovery as great as in more material matters, where one may observe a constantly increasing breaking-up of the world into isolated groups and closed economic areas, and where, despite a genuine desire for a system of collaboration—which alone is capable of restoring general welfare and prosperity—the prospects of early improvement are still only too distant and uncertain? It is surely inadmissible that, in the realm of ideas, one should yield before the same difficulties. For never before has it been more necessary to order and arrange our accumulated mass of knowledge. Moreover, it is undoubtedly through the bringing together of different intellects that an avenue to co-operation and peace in other fields of activity, political as well as economic, can best be opened up.

It is this vast and comprehensive task which the Organization for Intellectual Co-operation has been set up to accomplish. Hence, for example, the special importance which collaboration in teaching activities has recently assumed. The development of a system of committees, meeting either in Geneva or at the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, has lately enabled fresh points of contact to be created between the Departments and organizations which are charged with the delicate and important task of preparing the young to meet their future responsibilities. Again, through the agency of compe-

tent representatives of the university world, a scheme of collaboration is being evolved for the purposes of examining educational policies, of pooling the fruits of research and of advances in knowledge, of finding solutions to such thorny problems as the overcrowding of the professions, of promoting the exchange of teachers, student travel and the study of modern languages, and of considering other questions of similar magnitude which university authorities in all countries have to face.

In the case of countries which stand in special need of assistance and support, this work of collaboration may take on an even more practical form. China, for example, was recently visited on behalf of the League of Nations by a mission of distinguished university professors, who have drawn up, in agreement with the Chinese Government, a plan for the reorganization of the educational system.

Berlin-Moscow

The close affinities, if not alliance, between Soviet Russia and Germany is well known. This forms the subject of a full-length historical study, entitled *The Russian Face of Germany*, by Mr. Cecil F. Melville. The main conclusions of this book are summarized by a reviewer in *G. K.'s Weekly*:

All this spirit of militarism in post-war Prussia has not sprung out of nowhere in the past two years, nor have the Junkers gained control only in the past two months. The fact is that Junker influences have dominated successive Berlin governments almost since the end of the war, especially through the compact, highly-trained professional army left to Germany by the Treaty of Versailles; and most evidently if one studies the convergent measures which have aimed at the satisfaction of East Prussian interests. So the grand policies of the old Prussia have been preserved, especially the policy of east-ward expansion and the Bismarckian policy of keeping the "Berlin-Petersburgh wire" intact. They were preserved behind the façade even when Stresemann seemed to turn the policies of Germany towards the West.

Again, Russia also has undergone a revolution which makes her appear to foreign eyes something very different from the Russia of the Czars. Yet Russia is very much the same except that she has acquired the added strength of a universal irreligion. Here again the grand policies remain, as even White Russian *émigrés* confess when they note with pride the consolidation which the Kremlin has given to their nation. And the grand policies of Russia in Europe are sympathetic with those of Prussia, now as in the last two centuries. There is, of course, a rift in the lute. The Junker would prefer an Imperial Russia and the Bolshevik would prefer a Communist Prussia; but each is gambling with the other in the hope of gaining control over his dear enemy as a fruition of the traditional policy.

It is noticeable that the Junkers now in office at Berlin are the military men who have governed Germany indirectly through the Reichswehr since the war. *The Russian Face of Germany* is a detailed and startling account, almost entirely from German sources, of the close alliance which has been built up by them between the Prussian Reich and Bolshevik Russia since 1920 and it is small consolation to realize that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles would drive a state like Prussia into exactly this

course of action, or that it was accurately forecast by M. Auguste Gauvain in the *Journal des Debats* during 1919. Prussia has educated her people to believe that the war was forced upon them by aggressors who have partitioned the immemorial territory of the Father-land. She has created a state of diplomatic *malaise* and confusion in Europe by successive infractions of the treaties. She has played off private debts owing to international capitalism against Reparations payments. She has built up not only a brilliant army *cadre* of professional troops, and a whole series of unofficial organizations, but she has also concealed the money lavished upon them by distributing the items through many budgets—right down to communal budgets; and the Reich's Budget deficit for 1931 was £345,000,000. She has used Russia as an arsenal for war materials (in convenient agreement with the Five-Year Plan), as a field for military training, and as a prospective ally with an enormous army trained on modern lines outside the supervision of Europe.

Bamboo in Japan

Bamboo is used extensively for industrial as well as artistic purposes in Japan. Some uses of the bamboo and the origins of the industry is described by a writer in *The Japan Magazine*:

Bamboo is found almost everywhere throughout Japan, but, from an industrial viewpoint, that which grows abundantly in the neighbourhood of Kyoto, the old capital, is considered best in quality. This tree, when made into various kind of household utensils, displays artistic value to a considerable degree; particularly is this the case with bamboo baskets, which are the best known artifacts of ancient origin in this country, though their manufacture did not originate in Japan. It was China that first exported bamboo baskets into this country, but during the Tokugawa Period (about 1739) the unrivalled imitative talent and manual dexterity of the Japanese soon enabled them to make baskets of far more excellent quality.

With the progress of the industry, those engaged in it gradually began to deem it beneath them to be ranked on the same level as ordinary manual labourers. Professing to be artists, they even put their sign-manual on works which they thought to be after their own hearts. On account of the geographical distribution of the tree, the most noted makers of bamboo-baskets since olden times have appeared in the vicinity of Kyoto and in Central Japan generally. Amongst others, Minminsai in Ise Province and Amanokawa of Arima, near Osaka, are the most prominent. Particularly was the skill of the former so widely recognized that this feudal lord, Tōdō, extended him special patronage. Shokosai, who appeared in Osaka during the Meiji Era, proved to be such a master hand in bamboo-basket making that his work soon overshadowed all the older products. Chikuryosai, also of Osaka, is to-day ranked at the head of the list of the artisans of traditional fame.

Class War in America

Two books have recently been published in the United States dealing with the conflict between Capital and Labour. They are *Dyna-*

mite: The Story of Class Violence in America by Louis Adamic and *The General Strike* by Wilfrid Harris Crook. Both these books are reviewed together in the *Political Science Quarterly*. The following passage from the lengthy review will give some idea of the class war in the United States:

These books, the first directly and the second indirectly, recall to us again that while the American class struggle is and has been for a century the most violent in the world, the American labour movement is lacking in a philosophy of violence and a conscious policy of force. Mr. Adamic with the skill of a born story-teller traces the tale of violence, killing, bombing, destruction and judicial murder by employers, unions and the state from the beginning of trade unionism in the 1830's to the development of the rackets of the 1930's. The Molly Maguires, the Great Riots of 1877, the eight hour strikes, Haymarket, the Debs Pullman strike, the Idaho murder which brought Borah and Darrow into the national limelight, the rise of the Wobblies, the McNamara case, Centralia, Mooney and Billings, Ludlow, Sacco and Vanzetti, the steel strike of 1919—these constitute the subject matter of this volume.

The McNamara case, for the inside story of which one must turn to Lincoln Steffens' *Autobiography*, marked a turning point in both the nature of class violence and the character of the American labour movement. Violence, which had been used directly by the unionists themselves as a necessary weapon to combat the forces of capitalist society arrayed against them, now came to be officially frowned upon by the labour hierarchy. The labour movement, which had been active, hard-hitting and militant, became conciliatory and openly espoused the philosophy of capitalism, outdoing the capitalists themselves in voicing its loyalty to the existing order and shouting anathemas on socialists and radicals. But the facts of the class struggle remained. The unions still had their interests *i. e.*, the control of the skilled labour market, to fight for. The bosses freely used gunmen and gangsters against them, so the unions proceeded to meet the bosses on their own ground with their own hired gangsters and gunmen. Quick to see that the system offered them a source of rich profits, these hired gangsters merely for what they could get out of the game, "muscle" their way into control of the organizations so that labour became the victim of a racket. Violence, which had been an instrument of crude social idealism, became a sordid and criminal business, indiscriminately used by capital, labour and politics, with intentional threat to the social order. But the very racket itself, says Mr. Adamic, is a phase of the class struggle and must be explained in its terms. This explanation is probably the most important contribution of the book. The able, resourceful, strong and ruthless members of society, the author shows, can no longer build and combine great railroads and industries as in the nineteenth century. Neither can they start as labourers and rise to be corporation presidents. Organized crime and racketeering offer an outlet for their energies. The ablest racketeers, according to Mr. Adamic, enter the profession with their eyes open, insisting that the methods they use to obtain the good things of life are little different from the methods by which the Rockefellers, the Morgans, the Harrimans and the Goulds crushed their competitors and made their fortunes.

And what is to be the outcome of all this, with half the labour movement the victim of a racket and all of it without a programme and devoid of social outlook? The prospect for the immediate future at least, says Mr. Adamic, seems to be more violence.

But clearly more violence of the kind which has marked the history of the American labour movement is futile. Force which is sporadic and without organized social direction will not solve social problems. Yet Professor Crook, in his thorough case study of the general strike, concludes that even the organized stoppage of labour in the leading industries of a city, or of a nation, many solve no more problems than slugging or dynamiting.

Terrorism in Japan

The Month has the following comment on the outbreak of terrorism in Japan:

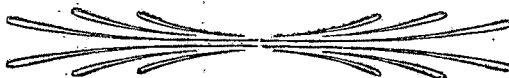
The shocking political murder of the Japanese Premier by a band of fanatical militarists, on May 16th, throws a lurid light on the political state of that Empire, which partially explains its defiance of the League of Nations and of the opinion of the civilized world in its recent dealings with China. It would seem that, not only the vast amorphous Republic, but the highly-concentrated Empire, too, is cursed with an irresponsible and arbitrary Government so that what represents itself as a civil constitution on a democratic model is, in reality, apt to be controlled by a military oligarchy, organized in a barbarous feudal fashion and enforcing its will by threats of assassination. What wonder that the League of Nations could make little headway with constituents so alien from European tradition. The trouble with China is its size, which has always prevented the evolution of a single centralized Government, whilst similarly its traditional Imperialism has blocked the formation of quasi-independent federated States. Japan, on the other hand, has adopted too successfully modern industrial methods with their usual accompaniment of economic aggression, but the hereditary governing class has maintained its old traditions. The present disruption appears to be caused by the hatred of this class for capitalism and the foreigner. Hence the resentment at the check imposed by the League on its high-handed treatment of China. No one can doubt that the economic control assumed by Japan over Manchuria has benefited that country materially, but the fate of Korea in the past puts her under a strict obligation to justify every step she takes in that Chinese territory, and to associate the other members

of the League with her in her endeavours to give it a stable native government. There are those who are afraid that a conflict may break out between Japan and the Soviets, who have certain railway rights in Manchuria. In view of such a possibility, rendered the more possible because of the financial interests involved, it is surely time for the European nations to abandon their silly national bickerings and unite to save what remains of Christian civilization.

A New Race in South America

It is a well known fact that race prejudice is far less strong among the Latin than among the Nordic peoples. This is leading to the creation of a new race in South America as a result of intermarriage among the different racial elements. This new racial development is described in the *International Review of Missions*:

'The race problem' is unknown in Latin America in the form unhappily so familiar in other countries. Iberian and 'Indian' have already fused into a new race which is now being modified by the permeation of new elements. Brazil has been called 'the world's chief crucible of race fusion'; it is the largest of the republics, with a population approaching forty millions. The Negroes, who at one time formed a large proportion of the population, have already been to a great extent absorbed through intermarriage; the Japanese, who are entering in large numbers, are beginning the same process. Italians, Germans, Turks and Japanese intermarry with one another and the people of the land. Of the immigrants into Argentina, an increasingly large percentage are not of Latin race; the majority come from Central Europe—Germans, Poles, Czechoslovakians and others. Immigrants from China, India and the Near East are also finding their way to South America. It is estimated that one-third of the population of Trinidad, and a larger proportion in British Guiana, is composed of Hindu or Moslem 'East Indians.' In any case the latinity of the continent must become profoundly modified in course of time. Speculation on the final product (if finality is ever reached) of this large-scale experiment in miscegenation is no part of this survey, but a minor and immediate outcome is that the claim of the Roman Catholic Church to the allegiance of all the Latin American peoples, by virtue of their essential latinity, can be less and less substantiated with every year.





INDIANS ABROAD



INDIANS IN GRENADA

By NERISSA P. SINGH

Grenada! Have you ever heard the name? May I take the liberty of acquainting you with the existence of this little island in the far off Carribean Sea, also of the existence of Indians in that remote land?

Though isolated, Indians have penetrated its obscurity. They traversed a distance of about 9,000 miles; and the journey was undertaken not when distance merely meant the mention of the word, but when it demanded the courage of a true pioneer, enterprise, "stick-to-itiveness", meaning real hardship and tribulations. Our grandmother used to tell us in vivid manner her experiences of the fateful journey, and even the space of time would not efface from her memory the hardships of that voyage. "We were on high seas for full three months, passing first through the great Ganges for several days. The sea almost throughout was very rough, the mighty waves at times tossing our ship to and fro with such violence that we were frightened of a sea grave. Fortunately, the ship arrived safely, though many of us fell ill and some of our brave comrades died on board." This was the substance of her narration.

The period of Indian emigration to Grenada would cover a very short space, say from 1858 to about 1865. What exactly attracted these wanderers to this place is not definitely disclosed, but it is said that several families from the United Provinces decided to migrate as a result of the days of insecurity which immediately followed the great Mutiny. Anyway, this much is certain that there were some progressive people whose presence at home were not cherished, and that some went in search of economic betterment, while others were pure adventurers fond of wandering—few went in family groups; that the total original emigrants hardly number two hundred; that gold was never discovered in the island; and that there was no large plantation, the total area under cultivation as late as 1922 being only 32,000 acres, with the largest estates, very few indeed, hardly exceeding 200 acres each.

The original pioneers with a few exceptions are all deceased now, and those few who are living are practically at the end of their lives' journey. This means that some 5,000 and odd Indians who today comprise about one-fifteenth of the total

population of the little island have been inhabitants of their birth place since the third or fourth generation. Literally speaking they are not East Indians, as they are known, for they have adopted the ways, manners and dress of their western compatriots. The physiognomy and general features remain unaltered, but, happily, they know no casts or creed. The Hindu is an East Indian as much as the Moslem. Interracial marriages are very rare indeed, but marriages between Hindus and Muhammadans are quite common. In fact if one were to be picked out by name and traced to his ancestor's community and told that he was either a Hindu or a Moslem, he might wonder at the distinction. Even the names do not matter; for instance, my parents are Hindus and one of my brothers is named Yusuf. Until I came to India I never knew that Yusuf was a Muhammadan name!

The Grenadian East Indians mostly follow Christianity of some form—few of them are Protestants, the majority follow the Canadian Mission. In addition Pooja ceremonies are performed by some families regularly while by others only occasionally. In centres, where East Indians live, sermons are delivered and hymns sung in Hindi, following the English notes and tunes. Ceremonies, especially weddings, are performed in the church and they are often duplicated in accordance to the usages of the original denomination with much modification. Whenever economic condition permits wedding ceremonies present the same Indian atmosphere of feasting, drumming, and dancing for two to three days. Banana leaves still retain a prominent place in all banquets. Dowry as known in India is out of style. But, at times, an unfortunate bridegroom insists upon reviving the relic of bygone days. Without fail he is made the laughing-stock of the merry makers.

Parents are strict with the fair sex. Matters of betrothal are negotiated by the parents, the bridegroom's parents opening the "talks." The final decision, however, lies with the parties concerned, especially the young lady. After the agreement the wedding takes place at least a year later; sometimes as many as six or seven years pass on since there is no joint family system. Whenever the families can afford the young couple are given a start in life and they are expected to "carry on." The division

of property among the children depends entirely upon the discretion of the parents, especially the father, as the property is almost always in his name. It is customary to provide in the will for an equal division for both boys and girls. In case the widow survives, the will usually provides for the division of the property after her death.

Grenada is a picturesque tadpole shaped island, presenting a cone-shape contour. It is only 105 miles from Trinidad. It is the largest of the Grenadines with an area of 133 square miles. Quite a small estate to be owned by one man, isn't it? But Oh! It is so hospitable. It shelters and accommodates no less than 70,000 souls! Cacao, nutmegs, and sugarcane being the main products, the island maintains a beautiful green atmosphere throughout the year. The days are warm, but it is the healthiest of the Windward Islands.

Grenada is governed by a Governor, appointed by the British Crown, with the help of a legislative council consisting of seven officials and three non-officials nominated by the Crown, and five elected members. To Indians, like others, is extended the franchise. Indians are members of the local administrative boards. They act as jurors. As land-lords they have some prestige. They are very well established in the local trading concerns, as proprietors. They are not very advanced in what is called liberal professions; but the present generation seems to have taken up the matter seriously. There are

a few chemists among them, one or two physicians and dentists, and many teachers. On the whole, they command respect and they respect the rights of their fellow-men. For example, a Negro once called an Indian woman a coolie. She filed a suit, and a Mulatto judge convicted and sentenced the accused to a fine of one pound sterling or three months' hard labour.

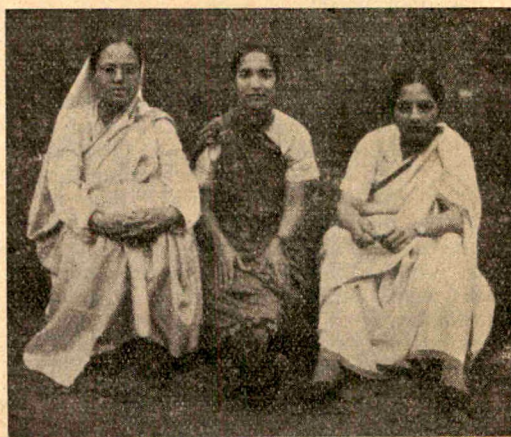
Generally, the Indians of Grenada are well off. A large majority owns at least a small home and a piece of agricultural land. The holdings are sometimes small, ranging from say one acre to 100 acres, but though the standard of living is based on that of the West, it is not very exacting. On a two acre plot of agricultural land and a small home a medium family can live with fair ease and comfort. The value of land is fairly high; an acre of cacao land would cost about 100 pounds sterling, while that of sugar cane, corn, mandioc and cotton varies from about 60 to 80 pounds per acre.

One of the urgent,—most probably the only need of these far off Indians is to be in direct touch with India. Not because they want to revive some of the buried and forgotten customs, in fact such a suggestion might be unwelcome to them, but because it is necessary that they should keep pace with the condition in India as much as it is incumbent upon the Motherland to know about the whereabouts of her children. Indeed many would like to visit the ancestral home, but probably not a single one would be found willing to settle in the Motherland!

INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Srimati Saudamini Devi who has recently been appointed Honorary Magistrate at Berhampore



Left—Mrs. Sarojini Dutt ; Middle—Dr. Saraswati Nanda ; Right—Dr. Sulochana Srikhandi

MRS. SAROJINI DUTT, M.A., has obtained the M. SC. degree of Manchester University after carrying on research in Botany for two years

under Professor Drummond. Her work has received great praise from many famous professors. She was formerly Professor of Botany in Bethune College, Calcutta.

DR. SARASWATI NANDA of Rawalpindi is studying medicine in the same University.

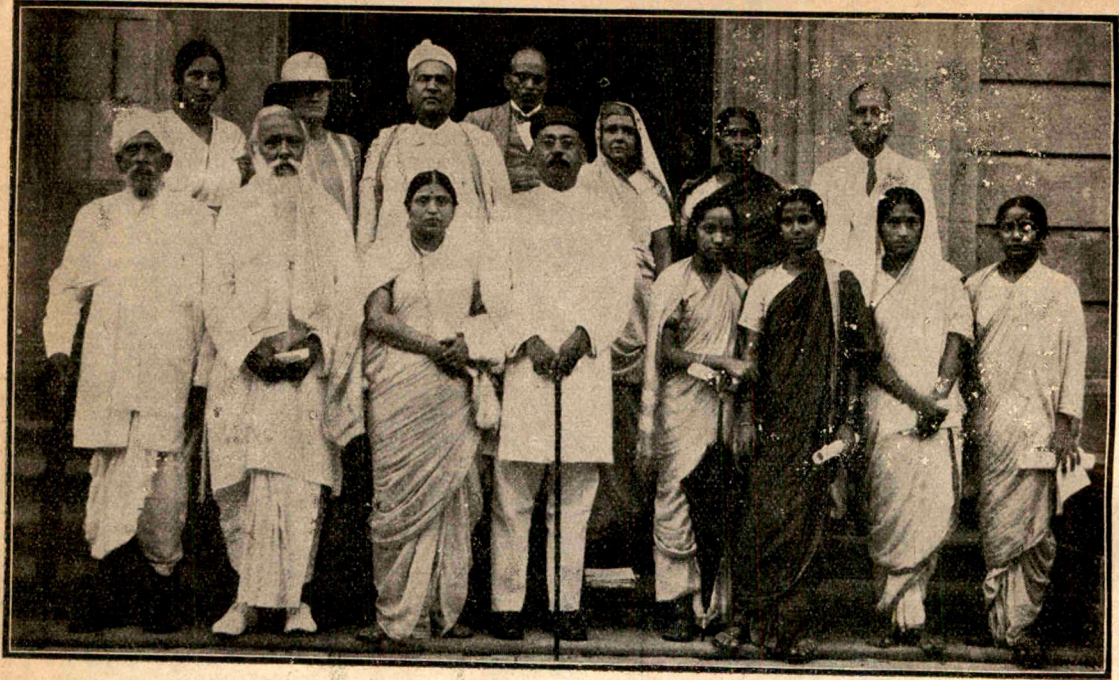
DR. SULOCHANA SRIKHANDI, M.B. B.S. has

obtained the B.D. degree of Manchester University with distinction.

The Convocation of the Nathibai Damodher Thackersey, Indian Women's University was held on June 18 last. The photograph published here shows the founder and some of the graduates and office-bearers of the University.



The Late Swarna Kumari Devi



1st row (from the left)—Professor Dhondo Keshav Karve ; Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee ; Mrs. Patkar ; Mr. Justice Patkar ; four graduates.
 2nd row (from the left)—Mrs. Iravati Karve (the Registrar of the University); the Principal of the Maharani College, Baroda ; Mrs. Sarada Mehta (standing behind Mr. Justice Patkar); Mrs. Aiyanger.



Miss Denna K. Kooka, a young Parsi lady who has passed her law examination in England



Miss Bhicoo Batlivala has passed her final Law Examinations and has been called to the Bar

FEDERAL FINANCE AS AFFECTING BENGAL

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

THE financial history of Bengal shows that the province has been the victim of a long process of drain out of proportion to her resources.

As the Supreme Government in the days of the East India Company, she had to finance British operations in the different parts of India in extension of British dominion in India. To take a typical instance, Madras alone drew upon Bengal to the extent of Rs. 2,65,00,000 within the short space of three years, 1780-84. Even as late as 1910-11 Bengal's contribution to the Central Government doubled that of Bombay or Madras, U. P. or the Punjab. In 1925-26, she contributed about 45 p. c. of the total provincial contributions to the Government of India, the other provinces together contributing only 15 p. c. excluding Bombay.

The premier financial position of Bengal had begun to decline since 1904 as a result of the demands of the Central Government. In 1917-18 Bengal's revenue was shown as 7½ crores as against 13 of Madras, 11 of U. P. and 10 of Bombay. The decline further showed itself in the income per head of the population which is about Rs. 2 in Bengal as against Rs. 7 in Bombay, Rs. 6 in Punjab, Rs. 4 in Madras.

The Meston Award aggravated the situation by applying a merely mechanical principle for the distribution of resources between the provinces and Central Government without any regard for the residual revenue which such a division would leave to the provinces. Bengal has suffered most from this arrangement. The Central Government seized the revenue from customs and income-tax, the most profitable and promising sources of her revenue, and left to her land revenue and excise, the least profitable and expanding sources of her revenue.

The injustice of the Meston Award has been only emphasized in the Report of the Federal Finance Committee. This Committee lacked time and perhaps talent to investigate thoroughly the subject of enquiry.

The extent of injustice done to Bengal, in relation to the Central Government should be first ascertained before seeking remedy and reform. For this purpose, it will be useful to take Bombay as the standard by which Bengal's case may be judged.

On the basis of population, giving to 12½ lakhs of people one representative for the Assembly, Bombay sends 16 members, including two Europeans. But Bengal has been given

only 17 seats in the Assembly, of which three are European, though she is entitled to more than double this representation, to at least 37 seats on the Bombay standard.

Taking literacy as the basis of the Central representation, the number of seats which Bengal can claim should be 42. The literates of Bombay numbered about 16½ lakhs as against 42½ of Bengal. English literacy counts about 2¼ lakhs in Bombay as against 7¼ in Bengal.

Bengal has also suffered in franchise qualifications. For the Council of State membership, an income of Rs. 12,000 per annum is required for the Hindus (and only Rs. 6,000 for Moslems.) For the Assembly, the qualification is an income of Rs. 5,000 while the taxable income is prescribed for most other provinces.

The Meston Award leaves to more than 46 millions of Bengalees a revenue of less than Rs. 11 crores. Madras gets more than 16½ crores for a population of 42 millions, Bombay gets 15 crores for 19 millions, U. P. about 13 crores for 45 millions, and Punjab more than 11 crores for 20 millions. By this iniquitous arrangement, a Bengalee gets the least benefit from the State. And yet the State gets the greatest benefit out of him. He is the man most heavily taxed. He pays Rs. 7-8 as against Rs. 3½ in U. P., Rs. 5-11 in Madras, Rs. 1-12 in Behar.

The Government spends the least for the education of Bengalees. In 1924-25 it spent Rs. 1,33,82,962, but received in fees more than it spent, namely, Rs. 1,46,36,126. Bombay spent Rs. 1,84,47,165, and got in fees Rs. 60,13,969. Similarly, U. P. spent Rs. 1,72,28,490, and got in fees Rs. 42,14,354; Punjab spent Rs. 1,18,34,364 and got in fees Rs. 52,87,444; Madras spent Rs. 1,71,38,548 and got in fees Rs. 84,32,991.

Bengal has similarly got the least from Government not merely for her intellectual but also for her economic development. A typical instance of this may be found in irrigation. Of main canals and branches, Madras has 4049, Bombay 5698, U. P. 1459, Punjab 3438, but Bengal has *nil*. The distributories number 8303 in Madras, 794 in Bombay, 8805 in U. P., 13,119 in Punjab, and are none in Bengal.

We can now understand how the progress of Bengal is handicapped in every direction by poverty which is not her own creation but is the creation of unsound and unscientific principles advocated in determining provincial and federal

finance. Bengal is the richest in her own resources, with her gross revenue exceeding that of any other province of India. Her intrinsic richness is shown in the largest yield of revenue from such sources as income-tax, stamps and salt, while she has an additional source of revenue in jute, and yet such a province, with her unequalled resources to which British rule in India owes so much in the entire course of its history and development, is now to be saddled with a deficit of Rs. 2 crores by an unjust manipulation of federal finance encroaching upon the most fertile sources of her revenue.

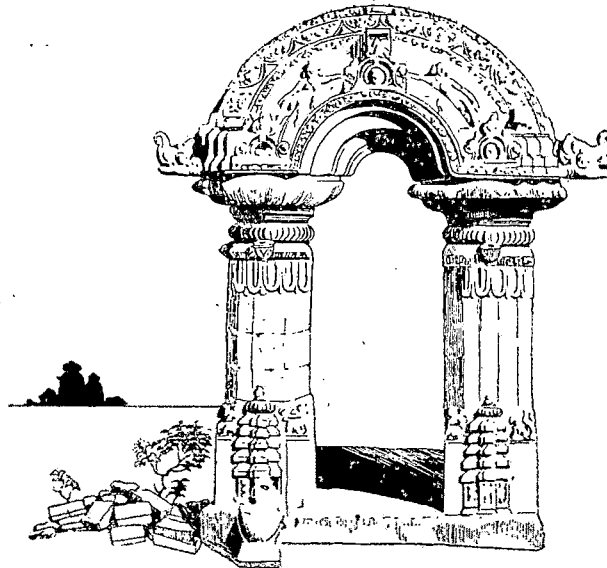
For instance, Bengal's strongest point is the income-tax. In the new dispensation, the income-tax is to be released for the provinces with an exception which will hit Bengal most and will mean not much of a relief to her. The exception is the corporation tax. The number of corporations in a province is an index to its material progress; but the industrial progress of Bengal is not to be fully to her own benefit but for that of the federation. We do not see why, of all the sources of provincial revenue, federation should seize for its own purposes income-tax in which Bengal is strongest. It is penalizing Bengal for her progress. A principle of equality is followed in assessing the federal obligations and burdens of provinces, but it is a mechanical principle which in its pursuit of the phantom of equality creates inequality of financial consequences among the provinces. "Equalizing burdens as between all units of federation" has in the case of Bengal only added to her burden

by imposing a disproportionate drain on her resources.

The case for the retention by Bengal of the export duty on jute which is her main industry, need not be argued. Experts are unanimous in their opinion that the duty ultimately falls on the poor Bengalee peasant, the jute-grower.

If income-tax including corporation tax and the jute duty are completely released, Bengal can easily find other ways and means by which she can finance federation up to the extent to be determined absolutely on a principle of equality as between the different units of the federation. If the total federal demand or deficit is definitely assessed, it should be met by the constituent states in a manner which should not imply unequal burdens for their respective populations. After all, federal finance exists for the people and not the people for the finance. The Bengalee should not come out as the poorest Indian out of the federation. The revenue per head of the population of each province should be the same as far as possible, so that each individual can get from the state the same amount of advantage and facility for self-development.

The case for Bengal therefore is for increase of her federal representation on the principle of equality in franchise, and increase of allotment of revenue for her own domestic needs in proportion to her population. She claims release of the proposed federal hold on such sources of her revenue as income-tax and jute, which she has developed by her own efforts and enterprise of which the fruits should belong to her.



NOTES

Calcutta University Chair of Ancient Indian Fine Arts

The Calcutta University Chair of Ancient Indian Fine Arts, named "Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts," has been vacant for some time past. As the University authorities propose to appoint a suitable person to this chair in the near future, it is necessary for the educated public to know what duties the Bageswari Professor is expected to perform.

Those students of the Calcutta University who desire to take their M. A. degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture may take Group I. B—Fine Arts, Iconography and Architecture—as an optional group for study. As this Group belongs to the subject of *Ancient Indian History and Culture*, nothing further need be said to make it plain that by fine arts, iconography and architecture, as included in it, *Ancient Indian fine arts*, *Ancient Indian iconography* and *Ancient Indian architecture* are meant. This should suffice to remove any possible misconception that the Bageswari Professorship has to do with the fine arts of all countries and ages, and should produce or confirm the correct conviction that it is concerned solely with Indian and *ancient Indian fine arts*, etc., as described in the Calcutta University Calendar and indicated by the list of books prescribed by the University for reference and study by students of the group. And students of Indian history (and "pre-history") know that by Ancient India is meant the India of the centuries and ages

previous to 1200 A. D. or thereabouts, speaking roughly.

Since the foundation of the Bageswari Chair, which had the laudable object of the scientific, historical, as well as aesthetic study of ancient Indian architecture, sculpture, painting and iconography—thereby making the Calcutta University the first seat of learning and research in India to attempt a contribution on this vital subject in Ancient Indian History and Culture—the lack of a properly qualified incumbent of it has prevented the University and the cultured public in general from deriving the benefit expected from it.

In the Calcutta University Calendar the duty of the Rani Bageswari and Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira Professors is defined as follows :

"X. That it be the duty of each Professor—

(a) to carry on original research in his special subject with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge ;

(b) to take steps to disseminate the knowledge of his special subject with a view to foster its study and application ;

(c) to stimulate and guide research by advanced students and generally to assist them in Post-Graduate work so as to secure the growth of real learning among our young men."

This clause makes it quite clear that an artist as such, however distinguished he may be in his profession and however estimable as a man he may be, or a mere aesthete or art critic, cannot perform the duties of the Bageswari Professor. He must be a man who has made a scientific, historical and aesthetic study of the subjects professed by him, carried on researches therein and made

original contributions resulting in the extension of "the bounds of knowledge."

We have all along, during the last ten years or so, felt that the whole object of the foundation has been defeated owing to the wrong choice of a professor on two successive occasions and, later, by keeping the Chair vacant. It seems to us that, in considering applications and making the appointment, the committee of selection has always failed to consider whether the person chosen is capable of performing the duties definitely laid down in the original scheme. The Report of the University Organization Committee, appointed by the Senate on the 8th December 1928, lays stress on the desirability of the Bageswari Professor being a member of the *teaching and research* staff of the Ancient Indian History and Culture Department.

The recommendations of the Committee, as adopted by the Senate, are contained in the following paragraph of its Report :

"100. The services of the Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts are not at present in any way utilized for formal teaching purposes. In general it would seem desirable that this should be done. We are aware that, in certain circumstances, the services of the incumbent of the Chair may not even in the future be available for the purposes of regular teaching. In such an event, other arrangements will have to be made, but it will very frequently be the case that the incumbent will be in a position to help considerably in the lecturing work of the University in his subject and, when this is so, every effort should be made to utilize his services in accordance with the conditions already set forth in the rules applicable to this professorship."

By saying that "the services of the Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts are not at present in any way utilized for formal teaching purposes," the University Organization Committee perhaps wanted to suggest very politely that the then Professor was not qualified and competent to teach his subject. In laying down that "in general" the Professor should undertake formal teaching, the Committee perhaps intended to give a broad hint that the next incumbent of the Chair should be a properly qualified person. When the Committee assumed that, "even in the future," "in certain circumstances," "the services of the incumbent of the Chair may not be available for the purposes of regular teaching," was it because it was afraid that some

one might again be chosen to fill the Chair who was not competent to teach the subjects prescribed? "In such an event other arrangements will have to be made"—says the Committee. But is the University in a pecuniary position to make such wasteful arrangements, and would it be morally justified in doing so? We fervently join the Committee in hoping that in the future "the incumbent will be in a position to help considerably in the lecturing work of the University in his subject."

In view of the duty of the Professor laid down in the original scheme and the later recommendation of the University Organization Committee adopted by the Senate, which has been quoted above, the essential qualifications of the incumbent of this Chair, judged by general academic standards, appear to us to be as follows :

(1) He should be a person who has devoted a considerable portion of his career to a careful and specialized study of a large number of the original documents relating to the different branches and epochs of Ancient Indian History and Culture. By documents we mean, in this particular connection, ancient temples and other edifices, sculptures, paintings, and other monuments, historic and pre-historic.

(2) He should be a person who has given tangible proof of his capacity, insight and attainments through his published writings.

(3) He should be a person who, by his prolonged research and publications on the specified subjects, has obtained recognition as an authority on the history of Indian fine arts by writers of standard works on the subjects.

We have throughout been of the opinion that such should—with necessary modifications—be the qualifications of all holders of University chairs. So far the excuse sometimes put forward by the authorities has been that properly qualified persons were not available for this Chair or that. In the present instance the Calcutta University cannot complain of the lack of properly qualified candidates. We do not know the names of all the candidates. We can name at least two whom we know, namely, Mr.

O. C. Gangoly, editor of *Rupam* and author of several works relating to Indian fine arts, and Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, late Superintendent of the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum and author of several scholarly works.

We do not propose to perform the function of the Selection Committee by differentiating between the merits of these gentlemen. But there can be no doubt that both are eligible candidates, which is very much more than can be said about some other alleged aspirants to this Chair—however estimable they may otherwise be. It is not unlikely that there may be other candidates, not known to us, who have studied the architecture, iconography and fine arts of ancient India and given published proofs of such study. If such there be, their claims ought also to be considered.

Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In the course of an article in *Unity* of Chicago on "Gandhi at the London Round Table Conference" the Rev. J. T. Sunderland writes thus of the "generally favourable" impression which the reports of Mr. Gandhi's addresses in the Conference and his other activities there and elsewhere made on the American mind :

While, in some quarters, much fun was made of his dress and his spinning wheel, he unquestionably won wide respect, not only for his highly religious character, but also for his undeniable intellectual ability and his able statesmanship. He probably did more to give to the American public a true understanding of India's great struggle for freedom and to create sympathy with it than previously had been done by any other half dozen agencies, perhaps more than by all others combined. There was a great desire for him to come to America. Many invitations were extended to him, and from the most influential sources.

Dr. Sunderland then proceeds to observe :

There are many indications that all this greatly troubled the British. They have a high regard for American public opinion, and of course desire its public support in their dealings with India. As was to be expected, therefore, they did at the time, and had continued to do, much, through articles sent to our American papers and magazines, and through eminent Englishmen coming here to lecture in our universities and our great cities, to counteract these influences favourable to India and to win public opinion here to their side. Particularly have they wished to change our attitude toward Gandhi. They could not, of course, assail his character ; I would be the last

to claim that they have desired to do so. What they have done has been, not only to condemn in the strongest terms his non-co-operation movement in India, but to represent him as an obstructionist and an evil influence at the London Round Table Conference.

Dr. Sunderland gives the following examples of anti-Gandhi propaganda :

On January 5th (1932), soon after the close of the Second London Conference (the one he attended), the British Government took pains to send out to the American people the following statement :

"Gandhi, at the Conference, was given every opportunity for assisting in the great task of working out a scheme of self-government for India. But from first to last, he made no practical contribution whatever to the work of the Conference."

In line with this, Mr. Gerald Campbell, British Consul General at New York, in a public address delivered March 7th, spoke as follows :

"Mahatma Gandhi was as much a cause for the reported failure of the Round Table Conference as any other figure. He was the one man who made no constructive suggestions. He proved an unbelievable disappointment to those who genuinely wanted his co-operation."

Late in April, 1932, Lord Irwin visited Canada. While there he delivered an address (April 27th) upon the Indian situation, which was widely reported throughout the United States. In his address, he took pains to speak at considerable length of the London Round Table Conference and specially of Gandhi's influence there. While fully admitting the great Indian leader's high character, he criticized severely his attitude at the Conference, and condemned him as not a constructive statesman, because he did not favour the kind of constitution for India which the British there were working to frame.

These are illustrations of numberless similar statements made to the American public from almost every possible British source, aiming to disparage the statesmanship and the influence of Gandhi at the London Conference.

The Reverend gentleman takes care to observe that he does not "cite these utterances of Englishmen as intentional misrepresentations of Mr. Gandhi on their part."

I think they represent the real view of British imperialists generally. In other words, they show how far removed was Gandhi's idea of what the Conference ought to do, namely, prepare a constitution of freedom for India, from what he believed it really was doing, namely, preparing a constitution of prolonged bondage.

Dr. Sunderland then gives the reader his opinion of what Mahatma Gandhi suggested and of what he did not suggest at the Round Table Conference.

Of course, it was true that he did not offer any constructive suggestions for a constitution of *tyranny*. But if the Conference had been working, or if he could have induced it to work, to prepare for India a constitution of *Dominion Status*, or

of *real self-rule*, then nobody could have called his ideas obstructive; instead, everybody would have recognized that they were constructive and valuable in the highest degree.

Lord Irwin and other Englishmen have criticized Mahatma Gandhi because, in their opinion, he could not "compromise," he was rigid, he would not give up some of his demands, he was not conciliatory. But in Dr. Sunderland's opinion the real facts are, that

no man at the Round Table Conference was more conciliatory than he, or more willing to compromise on anything and everything except what meant, as he believed, the life or death of his country. What was the so-called compromise he was asked to make? It was to assist in framing a constitution for India based squarely on the idea that India has no rights of her own, no rights except such as are granted her by Great Britain, and the claim that Great Britain "owns" India, that India and the Indian people "belong" to her, are her "possession," "her Indian Empire," which therefore she has a right to manage as she pleases today and for all future time. Exactly that, and nothing less than that, was the "compromise," the "conciliatory" action, demanded of Gandhi.

In other words, it was a demand that he surrender all that was vital in India's struggle for freedom. It was a demand that he consent for India to remain a *subject people, a vassal people*, during the whole life of Britain's proposed Constitution, if not forever.

How did the Mahatma answer?—as a traitor to his country? or as a patriot and a man of honour?

He dared to stand up before the highest officials of the British Empire, in their own capital city, and in a quiet, low voice, but with a firmness like Gibraltar, declare in effect: India possesses rights of her own, conferred on her by God Almighty and not by any other nation, rights which no nation may take from her without committing a monstrous crime against God as well as against humanity. India does not belong to Great Britain or to any nation on earth. She belongs to the Indian people, and to them alone. Were I, a son of India, to give my assent for you, a foreign power, to frame a constitution and force it on her, all India and all the world would be justified in pointing at me the finger of scorn, and hissing in my face the words, "You are a traitor to your country. You are India's Benedict Arnold."

Gandhi did not oppose in London, and has never opposed anywhere, any plan of Great Britain which he believed aimed to give India Dominion Status or real self-government in any form. With all his soul he wants Britain to give India self-government. For this he has been working with all his strength for many years. For this he worked in every possible way throughout the entire Round Table Conference. Courteously but unflinchingly and over and over again, he said to the British officials at and outside the Conference, I oppose you because, and only because, in my carefully formed and profound judgment you are working to create and impose

on the Indian people a constitution which they do not want, which they will accept only as it is forced on them, which will give them not real self-rule at all, not real freedom at all, not real Dominion Status at all, but a form of government which, while allowing them a few new privileges and liberties in relatively unimportant matters, keeps absolutely all power in British hands, and makes the "steel frame" of India's bondage actually firmer than ever.

It is not, therefore, a wonder that all British Imperialists denied that he was not a constructive statesman and declared him an obstructionist. He was really an obstructionist so far as *their* plans were concerned. But he was deeply and warmly loved by all English men and women who believe in freedom and justice to all men and nations. He was loved even in Lancashire where the people were suffering worst from the boycott of British goods proclaimed by Mr. Gandhi's followers and others. He was loved by the poor in England and loved by English children.

On returning to India, he was almost at once arrested and committed to prison. One of his last acts was to request Mr. Elwin, a dear English missionary friend who was with him, to convey to all Englishmen the following message:

"Tell all your countrymen that I love them even as I love my own countrymen. I have never done anything toward them in hatred or in malice, and God willing, I shall never do anything in that manner in the future."

Readers of *The Modern Review* may be reminded in this connection that in our last May issue, page 600, we wrote as follows:

It may be safely presumed that Lord Irwin has gone to Canada as an anti-Congress and anti-Indian and pro-Imperialist propagandist. He accuses Mr. Gandhi of failure to evolve a considered and constructive policy. Of course, any policy which is incompatible with British policy and interests cannot be a constructive policy. "He (Lord Irwin) criticized the Congress for stressing only its own claims and showing unwillingness to meet the indefeasible claims of other large sections." As Mr. Gandhi agreed to the claims of the communalist Moslems (all Moslems are not communalists) to so great an extent as largely to alienate the Hindu Mahasabha and even some of his own Hindu followers and as Dr. Ambedkar represents only a minority among the Depressed classes, what other large sections remain? It is also quite untrue to say or suggest that Congress is only one of the large sections.

Congress is the only nationwide non-communal political organization. No other organization can compare with it in the least in the number of its followers, their devotion to its principles and in sacrifice and suffering for the same.

Lord Irwin's Attitude Towards India

When Lord Irwin declared that, if he had been in Lord Willingdon's place, he would have acted exactly as the latter had done—that is to say, he would have refused Mahatma Gandhi the interview he sought and would have ruled India by Ordinances, etc., even then some Indian politicians continued to worship the Irwin of their imagination. Recently he has said that the method which Sir Samuel Hoare had declared he would follow in giving India a constitution was not a departure from the R. T. C. method. It would be risky to assume that even this expression of opinion on his part may cool the fervour of his Indian worshippers' devotion. For they may take at its face value his lordship's argument that he would not have accepted a position in the British Ministry if he had not believed in the sincerity of the British Cabinet's declared intentions.

There is no question that all British politicians in office, irrespective of party, want to prolong the period of our political powerlessness to the best (or is it worst ?) of their ability.

Vikramkhole Cave Inscription— a Link between Mohenjo-daro and Brahmi Scripts

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal writes to us :

"The news published by the *Associated Press* under date 20th July 1932 on the find of the cave inscription at Vikramkhole (Sambalpur) is that in it an Asokan inscription has been discovered by the Archaeological Department. The fact is that it was discovered by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandey, an antiquary of Bilaspur to whom a *sadhu* gave the information about its existence.

"The inscription is not of Asoka. It is of much greater importance than inscriptions of Asoka. The characters in the inscription (which is about 30 feet long, in double and treble lines) belong to a period intermediary between the script of Mohenjo-daro and Brahmi. Some letters still retain their original or secondary Mohenjo-daro forms and some have assumed the Brahmi or proto-

Brahmi forms. This proves the origin of Brahmi to be Indian, and throws a flood of light on the history of writing, as from Brahmi the Phoenician and European scripts are derived. This latter view, published by me in the *Journal of the Research Society* (B. & O.) about 12 years back, has been now confirmed by Mr. Langdon in his study on Mohenjo-daro writing (*Mohen.* vol. II, p. 424). The missing link is supplied by the Vikramkhole inscription. I hope to publish it in the next issue of the *Journal of the Research Society*.

K. P. JAYASWAL."

Publicity of India's Case Abroad

In a letter printed on another page the joint honorary secretary to the Friends of India Society in England complains that "there is a general apathy among Indians to make known to the world what is happening in India today, and the issues on which the present struggle is based." We do not think there is any *general* apathy—whatever the case may be with some sections of educated Indians. There is no dearth of Indians who would gladly send correct news abroad, if the certainty of such news reaching their destination were greater than the uncertainty. The risk involved in transmitting correct news also acts as a deterrent in some cases. But in spite of the uncertainty and the risk, it is believed that some persons succeed in communicating with their friends abroad.

Sir C. V. Raman's New Appointment

It has been announced that, with effect from April next, Sir C. V. Raman has been appointed Director of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore for fifteen years. A similar announcement was made some time ago, but was contradicted as a little too previous. Perhaps the news recently published is not incorrect. Both because of Professor Raman's eminence as a scientist and because he is a patriotic Indian and, as such, is expected to be animated with whole-hearted zeal for promoting India's industrial advancement, the appointment should command general approbation. Some time

ago he had told the world what he could and would do for industrial research if adequate financial resources were placed at his disposal. It is hoped that he would now be able to carry out his plans. Apart from facilities for carrying on his own researches, which he has always conducted with single-minded assiduity and skill, he will, if he accepts the appointment, have the advantage of having as his students mostly perhaps those whom he likes to train as researchers and whose interests in their future careers he would like to promote as a patron.

"A World Congress Against War"

The New Republic suspects that, on the Manchurian front, the Japanese seem to have introduced a censorship, "so that we no longer read of their dangerous progress toward the Siberian border. Perhaps they have decided to dig in for the summer, and organize the huge territory already conquered before making any further advances." After describing the situation in some other regions, the American paper observes that, "whatever the temporary solutions offered from month to month, the underlying causes of the next war remain as ominous as ever . . . Perhaps, when the explosion comes, it will be all the worse for the delay." It adds :

In a situation like this, it is heartening to learn that a peace movement is being started along new lines. An international committee headed by Henri Barbusse, Albert Einstein, Romain Rolland, Heinrich Mann, H. G. Wells, Bernard Shaw, Maxim Gorky and Mme. Sun Yat-sen, has called for the organization of a world congress against war. The congress is to be composed, not of statesmen, but primarily of people who fought in the last War or would be forced to fight in the next. There will be representatives of labour unions in all countries—especially of unions organized in the various war industries—as well as members of peace societies. They will meet in Geneva on August 1, not far from the building where diplomats have been conducting their long debates. The means they will adopt for preventing the next war are still to be decided. But from the temper of the delegates already chosen, one thing seems certain—namely, that the congress will not be pacifistic. It will try to initiate nothing less than a general war against war, a campaign to be waged on all fronts by every possible appeal to public opinion. This is a time, moreover, when such an appeal might be decisive. There are a dozen forces driving nations towards war, but there is also a disposition among statesmen to hesitate and count the costs of it. In such a period of doubt, a clear programme based on popular support, a clear state-

ment that in the event of war so many workmen would strike and so many conscripts refuse to be conscripted, might be successful in preventing a world calamity.

Against War

We are very glad to publish the following appeal which has been received, in its French original, from Villeneuve, near Geneva, and is signed by M. Romain Rolland :

"War is coming, coming from all the quarters. It menaces all nations. It may burst upon us tomorrow. If it sets on fire one corner of the world, it can no longer be localized. In a few weeks, perhaps days, it will devour up everything. It will be the nameless thing, the destroyer of the entire civilization. Civilization as a whole, the entire world, is in peril.

"We give the alarm. Awake ! we appeal to all nations, to all parties, to all men and to all women, who are right-minded. There is no question here of the interests of a particular nation, class or party. Everything is at stake. Deliverance can only come from the hands of all. Let everybody be up and doing. We must put a stop to the discussions which rend us. Let us all unite against the common enemy. Attack war ! Let us put a stop to it.

"We are inviting you to a great congress which will be a powerful demonstration of all parties against war. We are inviting all parties, from whatever point of the social horizon they may emanate,—Communists, Socialists, Syndicalists, Anarchists, republicans of all shades, free thinkers and Christians, men of no party; all associations of pacifists and war resisters, conscientious objectors, men in individual capacity, in France as well as in other lands, who are determined to prevent war by every means. We appeal to them immediately to nominate their representatives to a Committee of Organization of the World Congress, which will settle with the shortest possible delay the place, the date and the practical procedure of the Congress. There is not a day to lose.

"We cannot formulate a plan of action in advance. It will be an encroachment on the freedom of those whom we are inviting. It will be for them to explain the different plans of action freely in the Congress and afterwards to seek an agreement among them with a view to action. What we wish to do is to raise an immense wave of opinion against war—whatever it may be, from whatever quarter it may come, and whatever the people whom it threatens. We wish to make the will of nations—of whatever is sane in humanity, thunderingly articulate. Let them stand up against the contemptible and equivocal failure of Governments to chain the iniquitous instigators of war,—the armament manufacturers, their whole clientèle of agents provocateurs, the low Press, and the rabble which intrigues for war in order to fish in blood-stained waters. Let us muzzle war !

June 1, 1932.

ROMAIN ROLLAND."

Tagore on Aerial Warfare

In this issue Miss Muriel Lester informs the readers in a letter published elsewhere

how the "Peace Army" in London protested in June last against the use of the air for the purpose of killing. That reminds us how, when Rabindranath Tagore, who performed his journeys to and from Persia by air, was recently asked by the Chaplain of the Royal Air Force in Iraq for a message for his people, the Poet gave the following message :

From the beginning of our days man has imagined the seat of divinity to be in the upper air from which comes light and blows the breath of life for all creatures on this earth. The peace of its dawn, the splendour of its sunset, the voice of eternity in its starry silence have inspired countless generations of men with an ineffable presence of the infinite urging their minds away from the sordid interests of daily life. Man has accepted this dust-laden earth for his dwelling place, for the enacting of the drama of his tangled life, ever waiting for a call of perfection from the boundless depth of purity surrounding him in a translucent atmosphere. If in an evil moment man's cruel history should spread its black wings to invade that realm of divine dreams with its cannibalistic greed and fratricidal ferocity, then God's curse will certainly descend upon us for that hideous desecration and the last curtain will be rung down upon the world of man for whom God feels ashamed.

Besides being characteristic, the message was appropriate as coming from an air-voyager and addressed to an air-force chaplain. Whether the latter thought so, is not known.

Rabindranath's Birthday in Persia

Rabindranath Tagore's last birthday was celebrated on May 8, at Teheran by the public and the officials with due splendour and enthusiasm. A photograph of the Poet, wearing a garland, taken on the occasion in a room decorated with roses was published in our last issue, page 81. A Persian poem was presented to him on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Minister, which runs as follows in translation :

How fine is the addition of a year to a life which adds a new blossom to the spiritual tree ;

Nay, a new tree for the spiritual garden of which each bud opens the lip to tell a secret ;

The secret of the Eternal Love which immortalizes the heart of man when it inspires it.

At dawn, I heard the nightingale singing this melody for our newly arrived master :

"Thou art welcome to the gardens of Persia, and may the new year of thy life be welcome to thee."

Rabindranath responded by dedicating the following poem to Iran (Persia) :

Iran, all the roses in thy garden

And all their lover birds

Have acclaimed the birthday of a poet of a far-away shore
And mingled their voices in a paen of rejoicing.

Iran, thy brave sons have brought

Their priceless gifts of friendship

On this birthday of the poet of a far-away shore,

For they have known him in their hearts

as their own.
Iran, crowned with a new glory by the honour
from thy hand

This birthday of the poet of a far-away shore

finds its fulfilments,

And in return I bind this wreath of verse

On thy forehead, and cry : Victory to Iran.

Plague Continues

So far as the modern period of Indian history is concerned, plague first made its appearance in India in 1896. Since that time, there has not been a single plague-free year. The figures for the latest week available, that ending the 2nd July last, show that during that week in British India there were 212 attacks and 99 deaths and in the Indian States and Agencies 73 and 51 respectively—the grand total for the whole of India being 285 and 150 respectively. For the corresponding week of last year the figures were 30 and 15, and the quinquennial mean (1927-31) 105 and 60. So this year's figures are higher than last year's and higher also than the quinquennial mean. For a large country like India the figures are small. But that is not the most important point to be considered. The question is, is there any other civilized country which has not been able to show a single plague-free year for 37 years at a stretch ?

Travancore Maharani's Welcome Heterodoxy

Her Highness the Junior Maharani and the First Princess of Travancore have concluded their European tour and are due to return here this month. The matriarchal system of succession prevails in Travancore. The Junior Maharani is the mother of the reigning prince, who is 18 years old and came to the throne six months ago. The First Princess is his sister and will be the mother of the future ruler of the State. The family has been hitherto extremely

orthodox, and hence the fact of the Maharani and the Princess crossing the seas has a special significance. The people of the State have not adversely criticized this breach of custom but, on the contrary, welcomed it. This is good. For like other people, royal personages require to see the world for self-improvement and the advancement of the people committed to their charge. The Junior Maharani has utilized her foreign tour to study the administrations and customs of Europe. This will enable her through her son to make progressive Travancore still more progressive. Her son the Maharaja will also go to Europe to see things for himself.

We have already dwelt on the advantages of travels abroad. Hence, if we point out that Travancore is in the front rank of our Indian States in progressiveness in spite of its rulers not having visited foreign countries, it is not with a view to deprecate foreign travel, but only to emphasize the principle that the acquisition of experience should not be made an excuse for pleasure-seeking and the indulgence of vicious habits, as unhappily too many Indian Princes have been doing.

Non-Congress Non-co-operation

The significance of the use of the expression "Liberal Non-co-operation" by a Liberal statesman of the standing of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, or of the dissociation of himself, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the bulk of the other British-Indian R. T. C. "delegates" from Sir Samuel Hoare's new method of constitution-forging for India, will not be lost upon any one except Sir Samuel and Tories of his kidney. The Indian Princes, too, generally do not support his plans. Nor are most of the distinguished Moslems on his side. But Sir Samuel thinks that he has and will continue to have many Indians to back him. So far as the counting of heads goes, he may be right, though those on whom he would depend are men of little following and influence. But even if the Secretary of State had no Indian to back him, is he not powerful enough, with the overwhelming Tory majority in the House of Commons, to please himself?

The Non-co-operation of the Liberals

with the Secretary of State is a proof of their self-respect and political wisdom. It remains to be seen whether they will singly or in concert with other Indian political groups devise a plan of operations to bring pressure to bear on the British people and Government to accede to the Indian national desire for freedom.

A "Draw" Makes Sir Samuel Unhappy

Sir Samuel Hoare wants to crush the Congress thoroughly—he won't be satisfied with a "draw." The word "draw" is his own. Its use by him is an indirect admission that Government, after six months' rigorous enforcement of the ordinances, with *lathis* and firearms to back them, has not yet been able to inflict a defeat on the Congress, though the latter also cannot claim a decisive victory—not having been able to paralyse the administration. This plain though indirect admission is, however, ignored by Sir Samuel. He claims that civil disobedience has been thoroughly brought under control, and has asserted that the Ordinances have been renewed only in order that there may be a weapon at hand to fight the recrudescence of civil disobedience. But it is not easy to discern proofs of Sir Samuel's claim in the actual political condition of India. The figures of arrests, etc., of Congress delegates at Delhi and elsewhere alone show that, in spite of the Congress having been declared unlawful, more than a thousand of them at least attended or tried to attend the last Delhi "Clock Tower" session of the Congress, presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. This has been followed by a good many provincial and district conferences of Congress men and women. Picketing, boycott, processions and national-flag-hoisting continue. So does the distribution of unauthorized news-sheets. The police continue to have to disperse unarmed crowds by *lathi* charges and firing. In many places owners of houses are being ordered to vacate them within 24 hours. The "No-tax" movement has spread to very many villages. And so on and so forth.

Our reading of the situation is supported by what the *Servant of India* has written in its issue of the 21st July :

It is not of course to be supposed for a moment that the physical strength of either disputant has been or will soon be exhausted. In fact it is almost illimitable on both sides. The Congress has obviously inexhaustible reserves of man power to draw upon. The more its leaders are put out of action and its activities brought under check, the greater incentive will it afford to people who might otherwise be rather cool towards the Congress to step into the breach as it were and carry on the fight. In a country as wide as India there will never be wanting men and women who, whatever their own political views may be, will be goaded into action in support of the Congress by the very appearance of demoralization in the Congress ranks. There will therefore be always an unending stream of Congress recruits coming forward to carry on picketing, issue unauthorized bulletins or break the Government's orders in one respect or another.

If Congress strength is thus nearly inexhaustible, so is, we are convinced, Government's strength. The utmost that the Congress can at any time expect to achieve is that its country-wide activities will greatly harass Government. In this it has undoubtedly succeeded; but its success from the very nature of things cannot extend further. It will never be able so to deplete Government's strength that it will at any time lack police or military forces to put down outward manifestations of the Congress movement. This is equally obvious.

As from the days of Lord Irwin downwards the official opinion has been that only 5 per cent of the people in general or of the politically-minded people (it has never been clear to us which) hold the Congress view, Government may not agree that the Congress has an inexhaustible reserve of man-power to draw upon. Similarly, Congress-men may think that in course of time the mentality of the masses may so change that Government may find some difficulty in replenishing its police and military forces, if the present policy remains unchanged; and that a depleted treasury may also increase that difficulty. But whatever the two parties may think as regards their probable strength in the near or distant future, there has not yet been any decisive victory on either side.

Capital Punishment Suggested for Diabolical Crime Against Women

One reads almost daily in the vernacular newspapers of Bengal and often in the English dailies, too, of abductions of women and of "gang-rape." Recently the Jessore District has become notorious for such crime.

In one or two cases last month somewhat deterrent sentences have been pronounced. But generally the magistrates and judges do not pass such sentences. And Government is too preoccupied with ferreting out "conspirators" and hunting down political offenders to pay adequate attention to the agonies of women. Hence, it would not be an act of supererogation to draw the attention of the Government and its executive and police officers and the judiciary to what the Rt. Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali wrote in his memoirs in relation to "gang-rape." Said he :

"A form of crime which happily was not then (c. 1895) common in India had become frequent in the unruly district of Rajsahi. Bands of hooligans, I regret to say not all of them young, took to what is called in the annals of crime "gang rape." This required stern repression. Sessions Judges trying the cases were wont to inflict sentences varying from four to ten years' imprisonment, which had very little effect in stopping the outrages. Gangs continued to break into the houses, mostly mere huts, of inoffensive peasants, and carry off the married and unmarried women, and after outraging them returned the poor half-dead creatures to their own doors.

"I applied to Government to pass a short Act legalizing capital sentences in such cases, as was done in Melbourne, where outrages by the "larrikins" were thus ruthlessly stopped. But the Indian Government had not the courage of the Australian, and I received a polite refusal. My colleague and I then took the matter into our own hands. The sentences came before the Criminal Bench [of the High Court] for revision, and often the Legal Remembrancer appeared for the Crown on the ground of inadequacy of sentence. Our procedure was to issue notices to the accused to show cause why their sentences should not be enhanced. They almost invariably appeared by counsel or pleader and after a full and patient hearing on the accused's behalf, if we upheld the sentence, we enhanced it to "transportation for life" to the Andaman Islands.

"In a few months we had the satisfaction of hearing that these brutalities had ceased."—From the Memoirs of Syed Amir Ali in *Islamic Culture* for April, 1932, p. 174.

A few years ago it was enacted in East Africa that any assault or attempted assault on white women by natives of Africa would be punished with death.

In many cases the girls ravished have a fate—a kind of horrible death-in-life—much worse than if they were murdered. Hence the infliction of capital punishment for such crimes would not be morally unjustifiable. But as we are generally against capital

punishment, we think transportation for life and vasectomy would be a proper punishment.

"No-Chaukidari-Tax" Movement in a Village

In order to give our readers some idea of the state of affairs in many villages, we give the following translation of the letter of the special correspondent of the vernacular daily *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of the 16th July last, sent by him from Dantan (Midnapur). It relates to what happened in a village on the 12th July last. We cannot, of course, vouch for the accuracy of the account.

"Chintamani Ghosh (employee of Purna Ghosh, who is the Chaukidari-tax-collector of Union No. 3 of Dantan *thana*), *Dafadar* Mahendranath Pani, 8 Chaukidars and 7 armed Gurkhas came to village Bandagora to collect Chaukidari tax at 7 A. M. on the 12th July. At that time the peasants had come out with their bullocks to plough the fields. As directed by Chintamani Ghosh, the chaukidars, the *dafadar* and the Gurkhas ran to seize the bullocks. At this, on the villagers trying to go towards the eastern fields with their oxen, the police obstructed their path and threatened to fire. So the villagers let go their cattle. On the police making towards the *thana* driving the bullocks before them, five women of the village came to them running and asked them to give up these plough-cattle and take other property in lieu of the tax. The police not listening to them, the women stood in front obstructing their path. Then, it is alleged, the Gurkhas beat the women with *lathis* snatched from the hands of the chaukidars. At this stage the chaukidars and the tax-collector's man Chintamani began to drive the cattle before them. When the Gurkhas, leaving the women, had gone forward a little, those women again tried to prevent the oxen from being taken away and asked that they might be given up. Then some four more women joined the first five. It is alleged that then a Gurkha struck one woman with a *kukri* (a heavy knife) and another Gurkha struck her with a *lathi*. Seeing this, some village men rushed forward with cries to defend the women. It is alleged that on this a man styled the *havildar* of the Gurkhas fired five times successively and another Gurkha twice. Two men have been wounded as the result of this firing. At this time the tax-collector's man and the chaukidars were proceeding towards the *thana* driving the oxen before them. Again the women, going near the railway line, stood blocking the passage of those men, and some more village men arrived. At length, on the Gurkhas surrounding those women, the tax-collector's man and the Chaukidars drove away 50 heads of cattle. The Gurkhas also then left the place. It is said that two men have received injuries from firing and ten women and one man from *lathi* blows and *kukri*. Fifty cattle of ten villagers have been seized. Their estimated price is Rs. 750. Nine out of these ten men had to pay taxes.

On the 13th July the police Superintendent has come to this village with an armed police force. The village has been surrounded by them. It is reported that the villagers have left the place with their families. The neighbouring villages are being searched for these runaways."

It has, no doubt, not been reported that firing has been resorted to in all or most of the villages where there has been a no-tax campaign. But we have given a translation of the letter of a newspaper correspondent by way of sample, mainly to show that even illiterate peasant women of villages have not been left unaffected by the prevailing political mentality.

Some Uses of Emergency Powers

In the village of Dhalghat in Chittagong district Lieutenant Cameron was killed in what has been called an "action" by Anglo-Indian papers with some alleged absconding revolutionaries, two of whom were killed. On the inhabitants of this village a collective fine of Rs. 5,000 has been imposed. To convince the public that this punishment has been just, proofs should be forthcoming that the two men killed were really revolutionaries and that all or most of the adult population of the village had harboured them knowing that they were revolutionaries.

Let us assume that such proofs exist somewhere in some official pigeon-hole. But what is the justification for ordering the managers of the high school in that village to vacate its building in order that military police may be quartered there? It has not been alleged or suggested that the school was a nursery of revolutionaries or terrorists, though, if the school boys remain idle at home for lack of a school to go to, they may be captured by disgruntled people. The local Magistrate has told the school managers to erect a temporary school shed by subscription. Government has undoubtedly ampler resources than the villagers of Dhalghat and could have far more easily built temporary quarters for the police. The deprivation of educational facilities—which is a two-edged weapon—added to a heavy fine does not appear axiomatically statesmanlike and just.

In many places, houses used as Congress offices or for other real or supposed Congress

purposes, have been taken possession of by Government. As the law and ordinances stand, such action can be understood. But many other houses have been ordered to be vacated by their owners without any guilt on the part of their owners being alleged, as would appear from the following items of news reproduced from *Advance* of July 26 :

"In pursuance of notices under sections 5 and 22 of the Special Powers Ordinance 1932, served, Sjs. Kishoripati Roy, pleader and zamindar, and late Chairman of District Board of Midnapur and Manmatha Nath Das, pleader and a prominent Congress leader of Midnapur, have vacated their respective houses for being utilized as quarters for Punitive police force.

A similar notice was served on Sj. Atul Chandra Bose, pleader, late Vice-Chairman of District Board and editor of *Satyabadi* and Manager of "Bijoya Press" of Midnapur to vacate his house. He has already vacated the house.

The following is a true copy of the order for taking possession of a building under section 5 of Special Powers Ordinance, 1932 :

"Whereas in my opinion the building specified in the first column below can be utilized as quarters for the additional police force of Midnapur for a period of one year for the public advantage,

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred under sections 5 and 22 of the Special Powers Ordinance 1932 I hereby require you Babu Atul Chandra Bose of Colonelgola of Midnapur Town, the occupier of the said building, to place at the disposal of Government on and from the 27th day of 1932 at 4 p.m. together with all fixtures, fittings, furniture and other things specified below (in the second column).

Specification of fixtures, etc.—Nil.

Description of building :

Municipal holding No. 162 (1932-33), Colonelgola.

It is bounded as follows :

North—Kumar Devendralal Khan.

East—Garden of Kumar Devendralal Khan.

South—Srimati Susama Bala Mittra, wife of Upendra Nath Mittra.

West—Public road.

E. Evans,
(Designation) Superintendent of Police, Midnapore.
This 21st day of July 1932."

In Ireland and In India

In India hundreds of persons have been deprived of their liberty without any charge or trial on the alleged suspicion that they are revolutionaries or terrorists, though it cannot be proved that they committed or aided or abetted any revolutionary or terroristic acts. The suspicion really appears to be that they want their country to be free. In Ireland, the majority of the representatives of the Irish people, with the support of their

electors, have openly declared themselves opposed to the oath of allegiance to the King of England. This all the world knows—not merely supposes or suspects. But in Ireland not a single upholder of its freedom has been fined, imprisoned or subjected to a *lathi* charge.

In India, numberless people have suffered in a variety of ways—seizure of property, fines, *lathi* charges, firing (sometimes ending fatally), imprisonment, etc.—in connection with the refusal to pay paltry sums demanded from them as taxes. In Ireland, very large sums payable to England as land annuities have been withheld. But no Irishman has suffered for this repudiation of liability.

In India people have resorted to the boycott of foreign goods in general and British goods in particular and the picketing of shops selling such goods. This has brought untold suffering of various kinds on large numbers of them. In Ireland, the representatives of the Irish people have erected a high tariff wall against British goods. The British Government in its turn has erected a similar tariff wall against Irish goods. The Irish have not been subjected to *lathi* charges, imprisonment, etc.

British statesmen, from the Premier downwards, have been all courtesy to Mr. De Valera. But the leaders of the national movement in India have to rot in jail, and, with the exception of Mr. Gandhi—perhaps because he has to be exhibited to all the world as a sample British-Indian prisoner, their health has greatly deteriorated in jail, a few being physical wrecks.

What is the cause of the differential treatment meted out to Ireland and India ?

The Sufferers

We are not so absorbed in high politics as to forget even for a day the sufferings of many of our country men and women in jail and of more of them outside. A modern Dante would be required to envisage the agonies of some of them.

It would be mere affectation to claim that our sympathetic realization of the condition of these our suffering sisters and brothers—some of them the flower of India's womanhood

and manhood, though obscure—is such as to cause us any misery equal to theirs. But we do humbly say that we feel their misery to the full extent of our sensibility and we also feel the humiliation of being powerless to relieve them in anyway—particularly of being unable to tell the world of the how and why of what they are undergoing.

"Stim"

Under the above heading *The Servant of India* writes :

Among the R. T. C. delegates who have stood aloof from the policy of non-co-operation the most prominent are the representatives of Indian commerce, Sir Purshotamdas Thakordas and Mr. G. D. Birla. They have not blessed the change in procedure ; on the contrary, they have condemned it as vehemently as others. But the manifesto issued by the delegates commits them to non-co-operation in the future stages of constitution-making, and because of this these two delegates have refused to sign it. In the statements issued by them they pretend as if they never cared for the R. T. C. and its works—since Mahatma Gandhi dropped out of it. As shrewd business men they no doubt calculate that the invocation of the Mahatma's name and the apparent homage they pay to his policy may be made to serve as a cloak to hide from the public their own unwillingness to be involved in non-co-operation. "I never thought," says Mr. Birla, "that the Consultative Committee and other Committees in which Gandhiji could not take part will be of the slightest use. Liberals have discovered it only now, and therefore feel surprised and disappointed. To me there is neither surprise nor disappointment." This makes quite a brave show. Only their antecedents make the commercial representatives a little suspect. For it is known that Sir Purshotamdas declined to accept membership of the Consultative Committee, not because Mahatma Gandhi was not included in it, but because an intrigue in his constituency balked him of the prize. Nor is it known that Mr. Birla was wholly disdainful of a seat on the Consultative Committee. Anyhow it is very significant that the violent condemnation of the new procedure by these commercial magnates does not include support of the policy of non-co-operation.

Even some high British and Indian saintly political authorities will perhaps bear us out when we say that the possession of riches and their occasional clever disposal in part ought to cover a multitude of—"slimnesses."

It is not professing or real Congress men alone who have thought that the non-participation of the Congress, *i. e.*, of Mahatma Gandhi, in constitution-building, has made it certain that India is not going to have the kind of constitution she wants. After Sir Samuel Hoare's announcement Mr. Sriniva-

sa Sastri was reported in the papers to have declared in effect that, with the Congress out of the political field, there was not much hope of getting any substantial measure of self-rule. We apologize to him for not being able to quote his exact words. But we believe we have given the gist of his opinion correctly.

When Mahatma Gandhi and most of his greatest immediate followers were thrown into jail, the duty of those members of the R. T. C. who, like Mr. G. D. Birla, swear by him and consider him all-important and indispensable but were not imprisoned, was quite clear. They ought to have given up all connection with the R. T. C. at once. This duty of theirs became more urgent still when the Secretary of State gave up the R. T. C. method of constitution-building by agreed decisions arrived at after consultation on an equal footing with the Indian delegates, and in consequence of which action on the part of Sir Samuel Hoare even the most distinguished of the non-Congress R. T. C. delegates, who did not swear by the Mahatma, non-co-operated with that British politician and his colleagues.

On the other hand, it was open to those members of the R. T. C. who never swore by Mahatmaji, to continue to co-operate with the British Government even after the outlawry of the Congress and the imprisonment of all active Congressmen. Because, though they might have thought, like Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, that Mahatmaji's presence in the field of consultation was of very great value, they were not precluded from honestly holding that even without him they themselves might be able to get something from the British Government. It was only when the representative of that Government, in the person of Sir Samuel Hoare, the Secretary of State for India, told them in effect that their co-operation was unnecessary—nay, a hindrance,—it was then that, like the self-respecting men they are, they non-co-operated.

The Plea of "Speed"

Sir Samuel Hoare has said that he has adopted the new method of constitution-forging in order to give India a constitution very quickly. But the question for Indians, who are most concerned, is not to get some sort of constitution as quickly as possible,

but to get a constitution which would serve their purpose, and which can be had only if they themselves frame it, or, at the very least, if their demands are not for the most part set at naught in framing it.

If it were merely or above all a question of speed, why did the British Government waste so much of India's money in holding two R. T. C. sessions, appointing a Franchise Committee, a Finance Committee, a Consultative Committee, etc.? They could have given India a constitution exactly to the liking of the British Imperialists in the course of a week or two, and that long ago. But they wanted to make the world believe that they were going to give India a constitution to the liking of Indians and so got together a so-called R. T. C. of which even the Indian members were chosen by the British Government! And now even that show has been sacrificed ostensibly on the altar of speed.

Down with Politicians and Up with Men of Business

Sir Samuel Hoare has decided to settle the question of commercial and financial safe-guards after consultation with traders, bankers and industrialists. He does not like to consult politicians.

Sir Samuel is quite logical. Commercial magnates and financiers are experts in matters of trade, industries, etc. So their advice would be most valuable in those matters. Similar would be the value of the opinion of legal experts in matters constitutional and other laws, of educational experts in matters of education, of military, aerial and naval experts in matters of offence and defence, of transport experts in matters relating to shipping, railways and aeroplanes, of health experts in matters of hygiene and sanitation, and so on. Hence, the politician is out of court altogether. As Sir Samuel Hoare is to solve India's constitutional problem in all its aspects, it must be taken for granted that he is an expert in everything—a veritable encyclopaedic expert. And, of course, he is not at all a politician.

Our merchants and industrialists are undoubtedly able to take care of their own

personal interests. Their interest is to make money. If the merchants can do so best by selling foreign goods, they will do so, as hitherto they have done. There are no merchant selling only swadeshi goods who are as rich as those who sell foreign goods. But the interests of the country can be promoted better by finding purchasers for swadeshi goods. As for the industrialists, they also have been for the most part bent on making money for themselves. When a quarter of a century ago there was a great demand for swadeshi cloth in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency millowners grew rich by raising prices, and many of them cheated their Bengali purchasers by supplying damaged or rejected goods or goods of inferior quality and of shorter length than that printed on the fabrics. Even now, whenever the millowners cannot compete with their foreign competitors, they ask for more and more protection but would not improve their methods of production and distribution nor go in for better and better machinery. Protected industries like the Tatas' favour foreign so-called experts more than Indian experts.

For these and many other reasons, Indian merchants and industrialists—particularly those to be chosen by the British rulers of India—cannot be depended upon to safeguard the interests of India, though they can perhaps be depended upon to choose the shortest cut to personal enrichment.

When on the 27th of March last the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce passed a resolution asking that "questions connected with trading rights, financial safe-guards, etc., be referred to a Committee composed of an equal number of British and Indian experts," etc., did they ask for the exclusion of politicians?

Social, Religious and Linguistic Maps of Bengal

Mr. A. E. Porter, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census Operations in Bengal, has been pleased to send us a communiqué for publication which is printed below *minus* the portion which is advertisement.

In connection with the recent census Maps are under preparation showing for the province of Bengal and for Sikkim the distribution of the

population by social or religious groups and by the languages spoken as mother tongue and subsidiary language.

The Social and Religious Map will show by coloured rectangles for each district or state of the province and for Sikkim the numbers of primitive tribes, distinguishing within them persons of different religions, of Hindus, distinguishing from other groups Brahmans and members of castes included for census purposes in the depressed classes, of Muslims, of Buddhists and of Christians. The Linguistic Map will show somewhat similarly the numbers speaking as mother tongue Bengali, Hindustani, Naipali and languages falling within the Austro-Asiatic, Tibeto-Himalayan and Tibeto-Burmese groups of languages: it will also show to what extent persons speaking these languages as mother tongue are bilingual in other languages.

What the intention of the Government is in publishing a "social" map of Bengal showing the depressed classes of the Hindu community alone, need not be discussed. Similar maps were not prepared in connection with previous censuses. In recent years, persistent efforts have been made by many high-caste Hindus and by many depressed castes to raise the social status of the latter and to obliterate the distinction between high and low castes. These efforts are becoming increasingly successful. But equally persistent has been the zeal of the enemies of the Hindu community to divide the Hindus into hostile camps by political and other means, and thus destroy the growing solidarity of the Hindu community.

The preparation of "social" maps of the kind described above exclusively of the Hindu community cannot but be strongly condemned for that reason. That community is not stagnant. Great social changes have been taking place. Castes which were considered depressed some years ago, are no longer so considered. Nobody can say definitely who are "depressed" and who are not. Most of those castes which are officially styled "depressed," resent such an epithet. It has been pointed out more than once that official estimates of the number and numerical strength of the depressed castes have been different at different times. For example, in the *Report of the Indian Franchise Committee*, vol. i, page 119, we find the following figures in millions of the depressed classes in Bengal: Southborough Committee, 9.9; Sir Henry Sharp, 6.7; Census Commissioner 1921, 9.0; Simon Commission, 11.5; Census

Returns 1931, 10.3; Provincial Government 1932, 11.2. The Provincial Committee's estimate is only .07 millions or 70,000.

A little humour can also be extracted from the official enthusiasm to brand as many men as possible with the stigma of "untouchability," "unapproachability," "un-their-water-drinkability," etc.

According to the Bengal Census Report of 1921, about 40 castes were treated as depressed classes, and their total came up to 11.4 millions. The Bengal Government in its Supplementary Memorandum to the Indian Franchise Committee treated 85 castes as depressed classes. Their total came up, according to the Census of 1931, to 8,071,201, i. e., some 3 millions less than the previous figure. In this list even the Kichaks, numbering 2 souls in the whole province of Bengal, have been included. Realizing their mistake, they sent a telegram to the Franchise Committee, by which they added 5 more castes to the list of depressed classes, corrected a few errors, and raised the total to 10,311,268. The concluding portion of the telegram is very interesting and significant.

"Local Government's decision as to the communities which should be included as belonging to depressed classes has not yet been reached and will not be available before end of April at earliest."

Has that decision been taken? If so, will the Government be pleased to publish it with their reasons?

According to the published decision of the Government, 90 castes are depressed, but the Government-nominated depressed-class representative on the Bengal Franchise Committee in his separate note gives a total of 86 castes only. So not only has the Bengal Government added 4 more castes to the black list, but perhaps contemplates adding more.

As the advertisement portion of Mr. Porter's *communiqué* states that the maps "will be accompanied by full statistical details," a word as to the accuracy of the figures may be allowed. The Bauris numbered 184,671 in 1921, they now in 1931 number 331,238, i. e., they show an increase of about 80 per cent. The Kairas numbering 3,350 in 1921 are now in 1931 some 38,287, i. e., they show a phenomenal increase of 1200

per cent ! The Koras numbered 29,881 in 1921 ; they now number 46,789, showing an increase of about 150 per cent in a decade ; and so on for several other castes. One is tempted to ask for the causes of such phenomenal increase in some castes.

It has been pointed out repeatedly that there are depressed classes among Mussalmans, Indian Christians, etc. But the British neo-Manus are busy with dividing and subdividing the Hindus alone. Numerous passages could be extracted from Government official publications to show that there are depressed classes among Muslims. It is with difficulty that we can find space for the following :

From *The Peoples of India* by Risley—

"In some places a third class, called Arzal or 'lowest of all' is added. It consists of the very lowest castes, such as the Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Abdal and Bediya, with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground."

From *Gait's Bengal Census Report 1901* :

"Among the social offences of which the [Musalman] panchayet takes cognizance may be mentioned...marrying women of other castes (whether of higher or lower rank is immaterial), eating with or smoking from the *hukka* of outcastes, etc."

That officer has quoted the following opinion of Mr. Abu A. Ghuznavi, a landholder of Mymensingh :

"The Muhammadans of lower rank, who belong to certain functional groups, are just as strictly endogamous as the members of Hindu castes."

From *Bengal Census Report 1921* :

"A Sheikh will not marry a Kulu and in some parts one class of Muhammadans will not even feed with another. In Tippera there are Muhammadan Beharas, who carry palkis, with whom the ordinary Muhammadan cultivator will not sit down to a meal."

In *The Guardian*, a Christian weekly, a Christian gentleman has written a series of articles on caste in the Christian Church, from which we extract only one passage below.

"Some time back a Pastor working in a village church came to Madras to attend a Church Committee meeting. He was to take food in the Catechist's house. Being an Adi-Dravida, he was asked to sit in the verandah of the Catechist's house and was served with food. After eating, the Pastor had to remove the leaf-plate himself. In the Committee meeting, the Pastor was the Chairman ; in the dining-hall, he was but an outcaste Pariah.

"The transfer of Pastors from place to place

is to a certain extent influenced by ex prejudices. There are certain congregations which are entirely composed of Adi-Dravidas—e.g., mass-movement area. It has been regarded more or less as an unwritten law that Pastors of same community should be chosen to work among them. When this custom is sought to be broken and a Sudra Pastor is sent there, he regards the Pastorate as a place where every prospect is pleasing but man alone is vile—(is an outcast and seeks to escape the order. If he is forced to go there, he seeks to live there exclusively with contaminating himself by touch or inter-dining."

This refers to the Madras Presidency ; but similar caste distinctions among Indian Christians may perhaps be found to prevail more or less, in other provinces, too.

But whatever may be the case with Muslims and Christians, the Hindu community alone must be proved to be a house divided against itself and its dividing walls, which they exist, must be made strong and permanent, because perhaps of all communities the Hindus have made the greatest efforts in obtaining self-rule, as well as for social reform !

In this connection the following opinion of *The Guardian* will be found worthy of consideration :

Mr. Datta estimates that 20 to 25 per cent of the Muhammadans in Bengal are usually regarded as low castes. Whatever the actual figure, there is little reason to doubt that a large number of Muslims are in no better condition than the Hindu Depressed Classes.

In other Provinces too there are depressed classes among Muslims who do not enjoy equal social liberties. References to these may be found in some of the Provincial Memoranda furnished to the Lothian Committee, though no one is pressed for separate representation for them. It is reasonable to argue that if Hindu Depressed Classes need protection, so do their fellow sufferers among Muslims. The same principle may be applied to Christians also. It is one of the inconsistencies of separate representation that Hindus alone are compelled to make special provision for their Depressed Classes.

"Franchise that Mocks"

This is the heading under which Mr. Bernard Houghton, I. C. S. (retired), writes the following and other paragraphs :

By the three great safeguards for British rule—namely, the swamping of both houses at Delhi with British liegemen (the Princes), the reservation to the Viceroy of all the subjects, especially the Army, and the dictatorship of the Viceroy, MacDonald constitution makes even the pretence of self-government illusory. The Report of the Franchise Committee reduces that pretence to

farce. No Indian so blind but must see the intent of these proposals that is writ so large in every line. That intent is so to split and divide the voters as to make mass action, national action, impossible.

But, in Mr. Houghton's opinion, "the cream of the proposals, that which discloses most clearly imperialist strategy, lies in the plan for special electorates," for the Muslims, for the landlords, for Anglo-Indians, for Indian Christians, for English and Indian commercialists, for the depressed classes, for labour, and, "incredible as it may seem, even for women."

Lahore "Free Press" Case

The People writes :

Mr. P. Dutt, Editor in the Lahore office of the Free Press, has been convicted by the Additional District Magistrate of Lahore and fined Rs. 100, for circulating a news item saying that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's residence at Utmanzai had been burnt down. The news item subsequently proved to be false and without doubt it was a very sensational item, too. It was established by Mr. Dutt that his office had received the news from no less a responsible source than the Acting President of the Indian National Congress—S. Sardul Singh Caveeshar. Further precautions were ruled out by the extraordinary conditions then prevailing. Postal and Telegraphic communication was not possible because of drastic censorship. A special messenger for investigation could not be sent because special permission was necessary for that also. What precaution could a journalist so situated possibly take? Should he in such circumstances refuse to do his duty of giving news to the public, because all the precautions ordinarily possible had been rendered impossible by the authorities?

And what did the authorities do after the news had been disseminated? They kept absolutely quiet for a good many days. Then they decided to issue a contradiction, but sent it only to Delhi papers and did not send it to Lahore newspapers or news-agency offices. For contradiction purposes they thought Delhi was more important. For criminal proceedings they thought Lahore and Amritsar were more important than Delhi. All the Punjab newspapers that had used the item were in trouble. But on expressing regret they were let off. The cases started against them were withdrawn. The Managing Editor of the Free Press of India expressed regret, if anything, more profusely than others. But the case against this agency was not withdrawn. Mr. E. S. Lewis, Additional District Magistrate, admits in his judgment that the Free Press had not intentionally circulated false and sensational news. We wonder if under such circumstances the offence was an offence at all. But if it was, a fine was not called for. Merely recording that the accused was guilty and a technical "warning" would have been enough.

Alleged Firing and Deaths at Udaipur

The special correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* sent to that paper, from Ajmer on July 15, the following particulars of the troubles at Udaipur, Rajputana :

Reliable enquiries about rioting and firing at Udaipur show that certain new taxes were recently imposed much in opposition to the popular clamour and resentment. Added to this came the huge depreciation in value of the local coin as against the rupee by the currency policy of the State, which affected the trade of the state adversely and helped to drive the discontent deeper. All efforts at making their voice heard and their grievance redressed, having failed, the people thought of approaching the Maharana in a large body and consequently on the 9th July last, a huge crowd peacefully proceeded towards the palace near the Peecholya lake. The crowd was stopped by the police near the palace gate on the bank of the lake, and efforts were made by the police to disperse the crowd first without force, but later on, a lathi charge was made. At this the crowd got enraged and attacked the police in retaliation and broke open the doors of the courts nearby and destroyed some furniture and records. Military was called in the meantime : but, it is said, the military refused to fire upon the unarmed crowd. On this armed police and the Bhil corps were summoned, and fire was opened on the crowd to disperse and prevent it from doing further injuries to the courts and the palace. Heavy casualties are reported. About 15 persons are said to have been killed and over a hundred injured. In the confusion that followed, some people including a few children fell into the lake and got drowned. In the riot some police constables and officials are also reported to have received some injuries.

On the other hand the Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharana has wired to the papers :

"On the 8th July, a riot was staged by misrepresentation of laws recently passed on British Indian lines. A crowd of the rowdy elements in the city broke into some of the State offices and behaved in a riotous manner. Stones were thrown at the police who behaved with great restraint and eventually the Magistrate on the spot warned the rioters and called upon them to disperse. As they did not do so and continued to throw stones, four shots only were fired in the air and these were followed by a lathi charge by some fifty men which dispersed the crowd. There was no loss of life. There was no attack on the Palace. There was no firing by the military. The situation in Udaipur is now normal. An unqualified apology having been accepted by the Maharana, no further trouble is expected."

The conflicting character of the official and non-official versions makes an independent inquiry an urgent necessity. Recently there have been reports of firing in other Indian

States also, *e. g.*, Alwar. Competition with British India for record-breaking in this respect should and can be avoided in the States.

Bikaner Enters the Field

Competition with British India in another direction has been started in Bikaner. A sedition and conspiracy case has been going on there. That State has already won in the preliminary rounds. For the accused are undefended. They wanted permission to engage counsel from outside the State. This was refused. It is to be noted that the Bikaner Dewans are opposed to the citizens' rights being safe-guarded in an All-India Bill of rights.

All-India Women's Conference on Women's Franchise

The Joint Memorandum of the women of India, placed in the hands of the members of the Indian Franchise Committee "demanded unanimously that

the principle of equality between men and women should form the basis of the new Indian Constitution, having realized to the full that true political emancipation only could effectively release them from the shackles, social and economic, that had hitherto enchained them and prevented them from attaining the civic equality to which they aspired. Further, the women of India were deeply and painfully conscious of the incalculable harm that the demon of separatism had effected hitherto in the body politic of their beloved land and were determined at all costs that such a pernicious spirit should not be allowed to enter into the sphere of women's activities."

But what has been the result of their labours? The All-India Women's Conference say in their statement :

One baneful result of reservation of seats and special representation with which it is proposed to saddle us contrary to our expressed wishes—will be to introduce the poison of communalism in our sphere—a contingency that will meet with the most determined and united opposition of the womanhood of India. Special expedients or qualifications, too, can only be destined to bring women on an artificial equality with men in the political life of the country and, as such, tend to lower us in the estimation of the other sex and to perpetuate the inferiority complex among women themselves. Inequalities and discrimination between the sexes, the dependency of the wife upon the husband—a tacit admittance of her inferiority—will be perpetuated as a result of the recommendations of the Committee. A further and more glaring example of the injustice with which

our cause has been treated is the iniquitous proposal of reserved seats and indirect election thereto in the Popular House of the Federal Legislature. It would seem that India's women had perforce, because of the unenviable position in which the Committee found itself, to be treated as an appendage rather than as a vitally integral part of the body politic. All such anomalies we shall resist with all the strength of which we are capable. We frankly admit that we have not been impressed by the mere increase in the electorate proposed for us, inasmuch as figures, however impressive, cannot of themselves palliate the total disregard of basic principles in their calculation. We look in vain for "the bold proposals which by their very character will command the support of the whole of India."

The statement concludes by asserting that "nothing short of the recognition of the principle of equality of the sexes and the grant of full civic rights on a non-communal basis will be acceptable to the women of India."

We fully sympathize with the aspirations of the advanced section of Indian women. We do not want that wives should be economically or otherwise dependent on their husbands. But the fact ought not to be lost sight of that, in the vast majority of cases, Indian women are dependent on their male relatives.

That some women are proposed to be enfranchised on the ground that their husbands possess the required property qualifications appears to be galling to the All-India Women's Conference. But women can get the right to vote on their own property and literacy qualifications also. So, they are not entirely dependent on the male sex for the vote. As mere men, we may not be able to perceive why women should object to an increase in the number of women voters by the enfranchisement of those wives whose husbands possess property rights, seeing that these wives do not object to honourable maintenance as members of their families. If equality must be insisted upon, the All-India Women's Conference may propose or suggest that those husbands who are not otherwise qualified for the vote should be enfranchised if their wives possess independent property qualifications. The existence of such husbands is not imaginary.

"A Planet and a Star"

From our next issue we shall publish serially Mr. Nagendranath Gupta's "*A Planet*

and a *Star : A Romance of the Thirtieth Century.*" Mr. Gupta does not require any introduction to our readers.

To Publishers of Vernacular Books

The attention of those publishers of books in the Indian vernaculars who have been hitherto courteously sending them to us for review, is drawn to a notice at the foot of the last page of our REVIEWS SECTION in this number. The reasons why we have decided to discontinue the review of vernacular books are given there. We take this opportunity to thank those gentlemen who have hitherto reviewed those books for our journal for their labour of love. We are particularly grateful to Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal Mohanlal Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., who has with unfailing regularity sent us reviews of Gujarati books, at the sacrifice of so much of his valuable time, for the last quarter of a century. We hope we shall not be deprived of the literary help of Mr. Jhaveri and other reviewers in other ways.

Srimati Swarnakumari Devi

The death of Srimati Swarnakumari Devi, an elder sister of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, at the age of 76, removes from our midst the oldest Bengali authoress, who was in her generation and of her sex the foremost Bengali novelist, dramatist, poet, essayist, writer of songs, and writer of popular scientific and other school books. English translations of two of her novels have appeared under the names of "The Fatal Garland" (originally published in this *Review*) and "The Unfinished Song." A collection of English translations of her short stories has also appeared. A German translation of one of her plays has been published under the name of "Kalyani."

She edited the now-defunct famous Bengali monthly *Bharati* with ability for years. She was the first among our ladies to edit a monthly. The Calcutta University honoured her by conferring on her the Jagat-tarini Medal in 1926. She was the elected president of the 29th session of the Bengali Literary Conference. She was the first lady

to act as its president. More than half a century ago she set the example of not observing purdah. It required great courage in those days. The women of Bengal are now enjoying the benefits of her and her colleagues' and successors' courage and of the obloquy which fell to their lot. She founded the Sakhi Samiti in 1886. It was a Ladies Association of which the objects were :

(1) To promote friendly intercourse among Indian ladies and foster in them the growth of an active and enlightened interest in the welfare of the country.

(2) To provide a home for and educate poor Hindu girls, so as to enable them to become useful members of society.

(3) To secure for them employment when fit for it and to help in the spread of female education by sending them out as *Zenana* Teachers.

An annual *Mela* or Fair used to be held under its auspices. It was conducted by its members alone and was open only to women, who were regaled with music and theatrical performances.

At the sixth session of the Indian National Congress, held in Calcutta in 1890, she was one of the two Bengali lady delegates. She was president of the Ladies' section of the Theosophical Society of Bengal in 1885-86.

Indian Millowners and Japanese Competition

One result of the "collapse" of the yen has been that Japanese textile manufactures are selling at even lower prices than before in the Indian market. So, many of our millowners have raised the cry of protection against Japanese goods by a 100 per cent tariff, which means that the consumers of Indian swadeshi goods must pay higher prices than usual. They may agree to do so. But our millowners must prove that they have been scrapping old machinery and getting the most up-to-date plant instead and also improving their methods of sale, etc., and ameliorating the condition of their operatives. People should not be asked to pay higher prices simply for enriching the millowners and their wholesale and retail vendors.

Germany Demands Equality in Armaments

A *Free Press* message runs as follows :

Berlin, July 26.

General Schleicher, Defence Minister, who in recent weeks has been regarded as the guiding hand behind the present German regime, delivered an important outspoken broadcast speech to-night.

In the course of the speech he bluntly accused France of hypocrisy on the disarmament question and advocated reorganization of German defence even though it might mean defiance of the Versailles Treaty. He said Germany alone in all the world stood defenceless to-day and only two methods had remained open to them to increase their security :

"Either other powers should decrease their armaments to the same level as ours which they are legally and morally obliged to do by the Versailles Treaty or we should so organize our defence that it will be a powerful instrument. This is the course we shall have to take unless other powers decrease their armaments."—*Free Press*.

Whether France is hypocritical or not, we cannot say. But General Schleicher is justified in making the suggestion he has done.

New Manufacturing Industries

It is a pleasure to note that Mr. Bamadas Chatterji, M. SC., has entirely remodelled the talkie machine at the Picture House, Dacca. Its sound has been perfectly synchronized. He has also constructed talkie machines in Calcutta with most of the parts made in India.

Mr. Bepin Behari Das has been constructing motor cars.

Bulbs for electric lamps are being manufactured here by more than one expert.

Swadeshi Commercial Museums

The Swadeshi Commercial Museum, which the Calcutta Swadeshi Sangha has been organizing, will be a permanent exhibition of countrymade goods. The Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation will also serve the same purpose.

Compulsory Education of

Allahabad Girls

The Allahabad Municipality is going in for the compulsory education of girls. There is already in Allahabad a sort of university for girls of which the examinations are conducted in their mother tongue.

Beginnings of Compulsory Education of Calcutta Boys Delayed

The Bengal Government has not sanctioned the Calcutta Municipality's proposal for the compulsory education of the boys of one Ward. The official objections do not appear to us to be insurmountable. When open air schools have been coming into vogue in various western countries, including England, why should not schools be open air ones in this our land of open air schools? Our ancient system has been working very well in Santiniketan for more than thirty years.

U. P. District Boards to Have Women Members

The United Provinces Legislative Council has passed the Bill piloted by Mrs. Kailas Srivastava to amend the U. P. District Boards Act with the object of providing more adequate representation to women on these bodies, especially where there was no chance for them to get in by election. The Bill enables the Government to nominate one woman member to every District Board in the Province. Did any M. L. C. in the U. P. propose that at least one elected member of each District Board must be a woman?

Imperial Preference

It is one of the objects of the Ottawa Conference to impose Imperial Preference on India. But the bulk of India's produce is exported to countries other than Great Britain and her dominions and colonies. Seeing that other countries are our largest customers, why should we give any kind of artificial preference to goods coming from the British Empire in our purchases? Preference ought not to be given to merchandise coming from British Dominions and colonies for another reason. They would allow our goods to be landed on their soil when they can get them cheaper than from elsewhere or cannot get them at all from elsewhere, but they discriminate against human beings from our country.

40th Anniversary of Bangiya Sahitya Parishat

Last month the Bengali Literary Academy, known by its Bengali name of *Bangiya Sahitya Parishat*, celebrated its 40th anniversary. It is a very valuable and useful institution. It has a hall, a library, a museum and a portrait gallery of authors of Bengali books and promoters of Bengali literature. Its buildings have already grown too small for their contents and subscriptions are being raised for increasing its accommodation. Its quarterly journal, edited by Professor Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, has published numerous important articles and continues to be marked by the scholarly character of its contents.

Moslem Contribution to India's Defence

In their notorious manifesto the Aga Khan and his followers based their preposterous claims to a disproportionate share of political patronage partly on the Indian Moslems' contribution to the defence of India. Laying aside the question of with whose help in men and money mainly India was *acquired* by the British, which also is a very important consideration, let us consider which community contributes most of the money and men for India's defence. We refer to money, because it really constitutes the sinews of war. It is well known that even in Bengal, where Moslems are in a majority and where their number is more than one-third of the total Muhammadan population of India, the Moslem Bengalis contribute only about 30 per cent of the revenues of the province. Taking the whole of India, the Musalmans contribute much less and the Hindus much more to the public treasury than they should on the population basis. During the Great War, India's contributions in money and materials came more from the Hindus both actually and proportionately. As for soldiers, during the rule of the British sovereigns recruiting from particular classes and areas has been guided not solely by considerations of fighting capacity but mainly by political and partly by economic considera-

tions. Hence, if particular areas or communities have been drawn upon more than others, that does not show that other areas and communities were incapable of furnishing recruits and should therefore be politically discriminated against.

But let us come to figures. For details the reader is referred to articles on the subject in *The Modern Review* for July and September 1930 and January and February 1931 by Mr. Nirad Chandra Chaudhuri. Before the Great War, Musalmans in the Indian Army formed less than 25 per cent of the total. After the War, they have been recruited, mainly for political reasons, to the extent of less than 30 per cent of the total. It is particularly to be noted that of these 30 per cent or so, 22·6 per cent are Panjabi Musalmans and 6·35 per cent belong to some (not all) Pathan tribes of the N.-W. F. Province. Musalman soldiers are not recruited from Burma, Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, U. P., Bombay and Madras. And even the Panjabi Musalman recruits are taken, not from all Panjab districts, but overwhelmingly from those beyond the chenab.

If because about 30 per cent of the sepoys belong to a few N.-W. F. Pathan tribes and a few trans-Sutlej districts of the Panjab, *all* Musalmans throughout India are to be considered entitled to special rights and privileges, why should not the Hindus of all parts of India be considered much more worthy of them on the ground that more than seventy per cent of the sepoys are Hindus and the Hindus contribute a disproportionately large share of the revenues which go to maintain the army and finance all wars?

The Aga Khan on India's Scale of Armaments

The Aga Khan "represented" India or rather the British Government of India at the Disarmament Conference, and he has been appointed to lead that Government's delegation to the League of Nations. The reason for this double patronage bestowed on him is to be found probably in the facts that his interest in India is coterminous with some narrow communal claims and that he is out of touch with Indian public opinion. His appointment

is only somewhat less absurd than the appointment of the Man in the Moon would have been.

In the course of his speech at the Disarmament Conference he said that "India's scale of armaments allows no margin for aggressive uses," and that "in India we have constantly borne in mind the underlying principle, namely, the maintenance of forces that shall be no more than adequate to guarantee peace and order on and within her borders."

Let us test this last statement of His Racing Highness. It can be safely asserted that it is entirely wrong.

In reply to the following question asked by Mr. S. C. Mitra in the Assembly :

"Will Government state (a) on how many occasions troops were called out in compliance with requests of civil authorities for military aid in the nine Governors' provinces during the year 1930 ? (b) What was the strength of troops sent out on each occasion ? (c) And on how many occasions they actually took part in the suppression of disorders and on how many occasions they only stood by ?"

Mr. G. M. Young replied on the 27th January 1931,

"(a) 27. (b) and (c) I am afraid that I cannot furnish the figures for occasions on which the troops were called out, but merely stood by. Troops took part in the suppression of disorders on six occasions only. I lay on the table a statement showing details of the troops employed on these occasions.

1. Chittagong. 19th April 1930 and subsequent days.

100 East Frontier Rifles (Military Police). 100 Surma Valley Light Horse.

2. Sholapur. 8th May 1930 to 21st September 1930.

1 Company Indian Infantry, 1 Battalion British Infantry.

3. Almora. 27-28th May 1930.

1 Platoon Indian Infantry.

4. Rangoon. 27th May 1930 to 8th June 1930.

2 Companies British Infantry. 100 (Auxiliary Force, India.)

5. Sukkur. 7th August 1930—18th August 1930.

One Company British Infantry.

One Company Indian Infantry.

6. Tharawaddy. 26th December 1930—12th January 1931.

3-20th Burma Rifles. 1 Company. 2-15 Panjabis.

1 Company The Buffs.

It is to be noted that the year 1930 was marked by great disquiet. During such a

year, troops aggregating only some 2500, were called out on six occasions to maintain peace and order, and these 2500 were not called out all at the same time.

In reply to another question put by Mr. S. C. Mitra, Mr. G. M. Young's reply on the 27th January 1931 was as follows :

The present arrangements contemplate the allocation of the following units to Internal Security duties on general mobilization :

British Cavalry—one regiment.

Indian Cavalry—nine regiments (2 squadrons each).

British Infantry—twenty-eight battalions.

Indian Infantry—twenty-seven battalions.

Armoured Car Companies—five.

Internal Security Units are available for interchange, if necessary, with units returning from the field army for rest. They do not, however, form a regular reserve, and would not normally be drawn upon in war otherwise than in the manner I have stated.

Mr. G. M. Young's replies show that in theory and in actual practice, the Army in India is much larger than would be required by adherence to the principle enunciated by the Aga Khan, namely, "the maintenance of forces that shall be no more than adequate to guarantee peace and order on and within her (India's) borders." When Lord Curzon denied that the purpose of the Indian army was merely to maintain order on and within India's borders and declared that it was also intended to fight the battles of the British Empire and that with that object in view it was kept in readiness to start at a moment's notice for any part of the world, he was quite right ; for the army regulations authorize the use of part of the Indian Army, as an expeditionary force for the latter purpose also.

But, of course, the principle referred to by the Aga Khan *ought to be* the one to be both laid down in theory and strictly adhered to in practice. But it is neither. Poverty-stricken India has been saddled for British Imperialist purposes with larger armaments than she requires for her own purposes, and so her armaments are capable of considerable reduction. Such reduction the Aga Khan ought to have urged at the Disarmament Conference with all his might. By not doing so, but on the contrary by defending the present military equipment of India, he proved a traitor to the cause of India.

Dr. Moonje's Resignation of Hindu Mahasabha Presidentship

We were surprised to read the following telegram in some Calcutta morning papers of the 29th July 1932 :

Allahabad, July 28.

It is understood that some prominent members of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha object to Dr. Moonje's still continuing to be a member of the Consultative Committee in view of the changed procedure.

It is possible that he will soon be asked by cable to resign.—*Free Press*.

As by the publication of this telegram, people may be misled into believing that Dr. Moonje was or would be compelled to resign the working presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, which is different from resignation of membership of the R. T. C. or the Consultative Committee, we have no alternative but to publish the fact of his resignation of the Working Presidentship which, as an absolutely single-minded and sincere well-wisher of the Hindu community, he wanted to be kept confidential for the present.

The fact is, Dr. Moonje *has already resigned the Working Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha* by a letter, dated London the 14th July last, addressed to Mr. Ganpat Rai of Delhi, honorary secretary to the Mahasabha, which the latter received by air mail on the 25th July and of which the editor of this *Review* has received a copy as a member of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha. He is thus now quite free to remain or not to remain a member of the R. T. C. or of the Consultative Committee *in his private capacity*. We are sorry, it has become necessary to quote Dr. Moonje's exact words from his letter to Mr. Ganpat Rai :

"I am extremely sorry to learn that I have not been able to give satisfaction to Bhai Ji (Bhai Parmanand) in the discharge of my duties as Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha. Besides, a man has no right to be holding that office continuously for the last 3 or 4 years. It is, therefore, wise that I should resign rather than be the cause of internecine controversies and quarrels which are bound to be ruinous to the cause of the Mahasabha. I, therefore, resign hereby my office formally of the Working Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha. Please convene a meeting of the Working Committee and place this letter of resignation before it for acceptance.

My earnest request is, however, that at this critical stage in the destiny of the Hindus, we must

keep our ranks closed...I therefore pray that our differences and controversies should not be taken to the public press."

But, some busybody in Allahabad, connected with or in the secrets of a clique, of the Mahasabha has already done what Dr. Moonje earnestly wanted not to be done.

We do not know who exactly are the members of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha who were for asking Dr. Moonje by cable to resign. Perhaps Bhai Parmanand was one, though we are not sure. From Mr. Ganpat Rai's circular letter to members of the Working Committee we learn that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya summoned Mr. Ganpat Rai and Mr. Padmaraj Jain to Benares "in connection with the silence and non-resignation of Dr. Moonje from the Consultative Committee and the Round Table Conference," and, when they reached there, Panditji

"enquired as to why we too were doing nothing and have not so far called a meeting of the Working Committee, wherein this attitude, that is to say, the silence and non-resignation of Dr. Moonje should have been deliberated upon and he should have been called upon by now to resign from the Consultative Committee, etc., and that he asked us to forthwith call a meeting at Benares for that purpose."

So Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appeared to be in favour of cabling to Dr. Moonje to resign his membership of the Round Table Conference and the Consultative Committee. As Dr. Moonje has already resigned his Working-Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, the members of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha cannot now, either individually or collectively, call upon him to sever his connection with the R. T. C. or the Consultative Committee. As journalists we think, of course, that no Indian Nationalist should have anything to do with the R. T. C. or the Consultative Committee; but that is a different matter. There is some force in Mr. Ganpat Rai's contention that "Dr. Moonje might be watching the announcement of the communal award."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's insistence on Dr. Moonje's resignation of the membership of the R. T. C. because of the latter's connection with the Hindu Mahasabha, makes

one curious to know whether the Pandit has similarly insisted on Mr. G. D. Birla's resignation of his connection with the R.T.C., as the latter is also prominently connected with the Hindu Mahasabha.

Mahendranath Gupta

The late Babu Mahendranath Gupta, known, particularly among the followers of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, as Master Mahashay, has passed away at the age of 78 years. He was a pious soul and a prominent teacher of Bengal, having been the founder and headmaster of the Morton Institution. But what will keep his name alive, in spite of his shunning the limelight, is the report of the sayings, parables and conversations of Paramahansa Ramkrishna in Bengali which he published. They have been the cause of the spiritual enlightenment of multitudes of men and women. These have been translated into English also.

Indian States Enquiry Committee's Report

The Report of the Indian States Enquiry Committee (Financial) has been published. We received a copy of it on the evening of the 27th July last through the Associated Press of India, for which we are grateful. It is a volume of 277 pages with two useful maps.

The careful and laborious examination and elucidation of intricate financial details by the Committee and its recommendations, which the volume contains, will be useful, if and when a Federated India comes into existence. For, as the Report reminds us, the Committee's recommendations are applicable only in the event of Federation and that there is no compulsion on the States to Federate.

It is probable that the act of Federation when complete may impose a fresh financial burden on British India. This we may be prepared to bear if there be a really autonomous Federated India. For, as the Report says, "By the very fact of their entry into Federation, the States make a contribution which is not to be weighed in golden scales." But the passage from the official summary of

the Report printed below raises some apprehensions, as it implies some suspicion that the people of what are called the provinces will not be as careful of or competent to look after the interests of what are known as the States, as the officers of the Crown have been or may be and as owing to this suspicion and much more from the desire to continue to dominate over India the British Government may not agree to India obtaining real self-rule.

"The all-India services of public utility function in the States as well as in British India, and taxation through sea customs and the salt tax is largely of all-India incidence. But the States still lack the means of influencing policy in these matters, and the measure of autonomy already vouchsafed to British India has made it difficult for the Crown to safe-guard their interests in the economic sphere. Hence the Committee regard it as inevitable that, in the process of transferring further responsibility in such matters to Indian hands, provision should be made for the due participation of the States."

We do not, of course, object to the due participation of the States.

Alleged Violence on Anil and Phanindra Das

"No less than eight members, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momin, Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul Haq, Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta, Messrs. Satyendranath Roy, Norendra Kumar Basu, Syama Prosad Mookherjee and Mr. S. M. Bose have given notice of resolutions demanding appointment of an enquiry committee consisting of officials and non-officials to investigate into the allegations of the treatment of Anil Kumar Das, an under-trial prisoner, at Dacca, since dead and of Phanindranath Das, another under-trial prisoner at Midnapore and into other cases in which allegations of maltreatment have been made and to recommend means for the purpose of ensuring the security of persons under trial.

Such an enquiry committee is urgently required. No non-official that we know of can or does believe that Phanindranath Das's serious injuries which brought him to death's door could be involuntarily self-inflicted in a state of hysteria. The cause of the cerebral congestion of which Anil Kumar Das is alleged to have died has not been assigned and explained. Rumour has been busy circulating a description of the cause.

All-India Depressed Classes Conference

Last month a successful session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference was held in Bombay under the able presidentship of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, in spite of disturbances caused by some persons. Several Resolutions were passed,

the first of which stated that the Conference was of opinion that the true interests of the depressed classes so far as their relation to political administration was concerned, could best be promoted only by means of joint electorates, and in pursuance of that conviction accepted unreservedly the Rajah-Moonje Pact, which embodied that principle.

The second resolution urged upon the British Cabinet the desirability of including proper and effective directions for securing effective representation to the depressed classes by means of instructions to the Governor-General and Governors.

The third resolution repudiated the London Minority Pact, while the fourth urged unity in the ranks of the depressed classes.

The fifth resolution demanded age limit as qualification instead of education and property qualifications for franchise.

The sixth resolution urged Government to take a fresh census of the depressed classes.

The seventh resolution deputed Mr. M. C. Rajah to go to England in order to develop sound public opinion.

Associated Press

Germans to Seek Power From Wind

The New York Evening Post has published the following interesting news :

Berlin.

German engineers hope to begin work this summer on a project for harnessing the winds to produce cheap electric power for the cities of the Reich.

Hermann Honnef, engineer, whose plans for producing electricity from wind power have won wide approval from technical societies, believes that funds will be available soon for an immediate start on his first experimental station, intended to supply power for Berlin.

The German Labor Association and the Reich's Ministry of Labor are greatly interested in the scheme, because it offers a possibility of giving work to thousands of jobless. The Labor Ministry may partially finance the giant power station, the cost of which has been estimated at \$1,000,000.

EXHIBITION GROUNDS CHOSEN

The exhibition grounds in the west end of the city have been designated as the site for the experimental station.

Honnef plans to erect here a steel tower, 1,200 feet high, which will carry five huge vanes, each 240 feet in diameter. These vanes would drive dynamos, and Honnef estimates the output of the experimental plant at 70,000,000 kilowatt hours yearly.

The City of Berlin already has agreed to purchase current from the plant. The tower, under present plans, will be made to pay an additional profit as a tourist attraction. It will contain a nine-storey restaurant and will be topped by an experimental television laboratory.

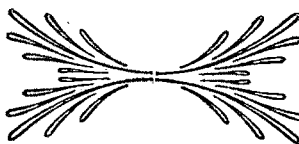
WOULD SUPPLY NATION

Honnef's project calls for the building, eventually, of sixty similar plants throughout the Reich. These, he declares, would be sufficient to supply cheap power for the whole of Germany, completely independent of coal supply.

Technicians seem to be of the opinion that the project is not as fantastic as it sounds. The chief advantage promised by the project is the cheapness of the electricity produced. The inventor has figured the consumption price at one pfennig—one-fourth of a cent—per kilowatt hour.

A rush of orders from all concerns of the globe is expected, for Honnef has had his "air turbine" invention patented in all countries.

The Germans have developed many novel methods in the field of engineering, especially Chemical Engineering. During the world war they manufactured "Nitrate" from the air. They are the pioneers of making oil from "brown coal." They are trying to make rubber artificially, and now they are going to use air force to produce electricity. How backward are the people of India in comparison with those of Germany! Indian Nationalists must use their best energy to increase national efficiency.—T. D.



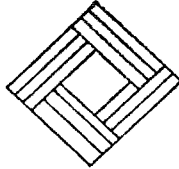




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HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

LONGFELLOW is undoubtedly the most widely read and best beloved poet of America. I think, too, it would not be extravagant to say, that, until Rabindranath Tagore, India's great poet, came on the scene, he was the most widely read and best beloved poet of the world. I know this seems a very strong statement: but when we attempt to call to mind any other poet to place before Longfellow in these respects, where are we to find him? Perhaps we may believe that England has poets who are more widely read and loved. But who are they? Very likely we may suggest Shakespeare. The almost universal verdict is that Shakespeare is England's greatest poet; many men of highest judgment not only in England but in other lands rank him as the world's greatest. But, as a fact, he is not very widely read outside of the literary classes; and he does not reach the hearts of the people of England or of any country to anything like the extent that Burns reaches the hearts of Scotchmen, Thomas Moore the hearts of the Irish, Schiller the hearts of Germans, or that Longfellow reaches the hearts of both Americans and Englishmen.

Shall we say that Tennyson is more widely read and loved than Longfellow? This does not seem to be true even in England; certainly it is not true in America; nor does it appear to be true in any of the countries of Continental Europe.

During the last half of Longfellow's life, no American was more highly honoured at home or abroad than he. When he travelled in England and on the Continent of Europe, he was everywhere shown the greatest consideration by all classes, from royalty and the most distinguished authors and scholars, to the humblest working people. He was shown the same consideration at home. When distinguished foreigners came to America, they nearly always wanted, if possible, to meet Longfellow. Many such were entertained in his home in Cambridge. When he was in England, he visited Windsor by the invitation of the Queen. England's two proudest universities conferred upon him their highest degrees. When he died, his bust in marble was placed in England's sacred Westminster Abbey. This was the first honour of the kind ever conferred upon an American.

His works have been translated into all the leading languages of the world. Parts have been rendered even into Latin, Hebrew, Chinese and Sanskrit.

I found Longfellow better known in India than any other poet of America, or any of England except Shakespeare. In Bombay, I was requested by the students of the University to give them a lecture on Longfellow, as America's greatest poet, which, of course, I was glad to do.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson tells the

story of a poor immigrant boy from Ireland whom he met in Cambridge (Mass.) vainly inquiring the way to the spot where once grew the "spreading chestnut tree" which Longfellow had made famous by his poem, "The Village Blacksmith." The boy had read and loved the poem in his far-away Irish home, and now on the very day after landing in America, he wanted to find the places where the "village smithy" stood and where the writer of the poem lived.

No other American poet, and no English poet except Shakespeare and possibly Tennyson, has been so extensively and so splendidly illustrated as Longfellow. The English publishing house of the Routledges paid Sir John Gilbert two thousand pounds for his illustrations of a single one of their editions of Longfellow's poems.

These facts show how Longfellow's writings have found the hearts of humanity, alike the old and the young, alike the most intellectual and the most exalted and the most humble, all over the world.

Nor is Longfellow thus popular in his own and other lands, for any reasons but the highest and best. His popularity is a credit to universal human nature. He does not stoop in his writings to flatter or encourage the weaknesses or vices or passions or foibles of men, and thus gain their applause. He never stoops to anything low or unworthy. The sentiments he expresses are always high and pure. He appeals to the best that is in men—to self-respect, to honour, to aspiration, to duty, to right, to love, to sympathy, to unselfishness, to patriotism, to reverence and trust and worship,—to all those deep sentiments and instincts of the soul, which bind men to their fellowmen and humanity to God, and which constitute the glory of our universal human nature. To Longfellow's appeal to the best in men, the best everywhere responds. This is the explanation of his widespread popularity. It is the noblest kind of popularity, and it is the most enduring.

Strange as it may seem to us who think of Longfellow only as a poet, his earliest writing was not poetry at all. It was the very unpoetical writing of text-books in connection with his teaching of modern European languages, as a college professor,

first for six years at Bowdoin College, Maine, and later for seventeen years at Harvard College, in Cambridge, near Boston. By his studies in America, supplemented by four years or more of study in Europe, he had made himself master of some five or six of the leading European languages. As a result, he wrote no fewer than seven college text-books for students of French, Italian and Spanish.

Few persons today have any knowledge of the large amount of careful, laborious, scholarly work which he performed in his early years in connection with his vocation as a college professor of modern languages.

Fortunately for the world, in a few years he gave up this kind of writing, which other men without his literary genius could do essentially as well, and devoted his whole time and strength to that which they could not do at all, but for which he was born, and had a divine call, as seen in the very fact that he was endowed with that power of imagination and that creative literary genius which constitute the true poet.

After he laid aside his text-book writing, he still wrote more or less prose for a time. His first book of creative literature was a work not of poetry but of prose,—his *Outre Mer*, a volume of travel. It grew out of his extensive journeyings and studies in Western and Southern Europe, and consisted of charming sketches, or I may say pictures, more or less idealized, of places where he had been, scenes which he had witnessed, and the life of the people among whom he had mingled, together with interesting old tales and legends which he had gathered in the course of his journeyings. It was altogether a delightful book, and was well received. Four years later, he wrote another prose work called *Hyperion: a Romance*. It was much the same kind of thing as the *Outre Mer*, only a little more elaborate, a little more of a story, a book containing a little more thought, at least a little more of his own thought. This, too, was well received by the public. Many compared it with the *Sketch Book* of Washington Irving and thought it not much inferior. Indeed, this work made it plain that Longfellow was master of a prose style well-nigh as light,

graceful and picturesque as Irving's. Add a touch more of humour, and its charm would have been declared as great as that of Irving.

By this time, however, Longfellow was turning his attention more and more to poetry, and realizing with increasing clearness that in this direction was to lie his real life work.

He wrote only one more book in prose, a short work of fiction called *Kavanagh*, ten years later, seemingly produced as a change and rest from strenuous, poetical composition. *Kavanagh* is a short, simple, pleasant story of New England village and country life, entertaining, but showing plainly that Longfellow's genius was not that of a great novelist.

So much for Longfellow's career as a prose writer.

Turning to his career as a poet, we find that he did a large and very valuable service to his generation in translating into English much of the best poetry of France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Scandinavian countries. A large volume of these translations, entitled *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*, was published and had a large sale.

Only one of his translations can be mentioned here. That one is the latest and most important, namely, his rendering into English in poetical form, of Dante's *Divina Commedia*. Longfellow was a fine Italian scholar and a lifetime admirer and lover of the great Italian poet. His translation, which was the work of years, and a true "labour of love," possesses essentially all the charm and the merits of an original composition, so fully did Longfellow put his heart and his own poetical genius into it. Of the several translations of the great poem into English that have been made, his is by far the best. Want of space forbids quotations from the poem itself, but we make room for one of the sonnets with which Longfellow introduces the poem. Longfellow conceives of the great poem as a vast and stately cathedral, rich in art, a symbol of the soul of man, uplifting yet awful in its glories and its glooms. As he stands before it, he writes :

"How strange the sculptures that adorn these towers!
This crowd of statues, in whose folded sleeves
Birds build their nests ; while canopied with leaves
Parvis and portal bloom like trellised bowers.
And the vast minster seems a cross of flowers !

But fiends and dragons on the gargoyle eaves
Watch the dead Christ between the living thieves,
And, underneath, the traitor Judas lowers !
Ah ! from what agonies of heart and brain,
What exultations trampling on despair,
What tenderness, what tears, what hate of wrong,
What passionate outcry of a soul in pain,
Uprose this poem of the earth and air,
This mediaeval miracle of song !"

We pass now to Longfellow's original work as a poet. Of course, it is this, not his translating of the poetry of others—however valuable that work might be—that gives him his place among the world's great singers.

The amount of Longfellow's original poetry is large,—larger than that of any other American poet, though considerably less than that of Shakespeare and a little less than that of Tennyson.

If we try to classify Longfellow's poetry, it is convenient, first of all, to divide it into two groups, the long poems and the short. Such a division is somewhat arbitrary : but it is practically helpful.

The long-poem group comprises five poems, namely, "The Spanish Student," "Christus," "The Song of Hiawatha," "Evangeline," and "The Courtship of Miles Standish." Let us glance at each separately.

The earliest written was "The Spanish Student." It is a comedy, bright, gay in parts, and an interesting picture of Spanish life ; but it is the least important of the five poems. It is oftenest called to mind in America by the fact that in it is found the fine lyric entitled a "Serenade to a Gypsy Girl," which was early set to fitting music by an American composer, and has ever since been one of our most popular songs. Its first stanza reads :

"Stars of the summer night,
Far in your azure deeps,
Hide, hide your golden light !
She sleeps,
My lady sleeps."

Much the longest of Longfellow's poems is "Christus." This is a drama : or rather it is three subordinate dramas so connected as to form a greater drama. Moreover, each one of the shorter dramas is composed of a group of separate short poems each complete in itself, but so joined as to supplement one another and all together tell a story or produce a dramatic effect. The first of the three subordinate dramas is called "The

Divine Tragedy." It is a retelling in poetical language and form of the Gospel story of the life and tragic death of Jesus. The second of the three is called "The Golden Legend" and is composed of a number of legendary stories portraying in a graphic and interesting way the superstitious but devout religious life of Germany and Italy in the thirteenth century. The third of the three is called "The New England Tragedies." It is made up of narratives of the cruel persecutions of the "Quakers" of Boston and the "Witches" of Salem between the years 1665 and 1692. Well may these stories be called tragedies. We shudder as we read them, and wonder that such inhumanities can ever have been perpetrated in New England. The stories are told with much dramatic power.

The thought of Longfellow in writing the three subordinate dramas and uniting them into one was to show the high ethical and spiritual character of Christianity at first, as it originated in the life and teachings of Jesus, its founder; and then, how far away from its original pure character it wandered in the superstitious Roman Catholicism of the European Middle Age, and in the stern Protestant Puritanism of America in the seventeenth century. The poet concludes his tri-partite drama with the following simple but beautifully described vision of the Christian world at last becoming conscious of its wanderings and returning in humility to the pure religion of Jesus.

"From all vain pomps and shows
From the pride that overthrows,
From the false conceits of men;
From the narrow rules
And subtleties of Schools,
And the craft of tongue and pen;
Bewildered in its search,
Bewildered with the cry:
'Lo, here! lo, there, the Church!'
Poor, sad Humanity
Through all the dust and heat
Turns back with bleeding feet,
By the weary road it came,
Unto the simple thought
By the great Master taught,
And that remaineth still:
Not he that repeateth the name,
But he that doeth the will."

By far the most popular of Longfellow's long poems are his "Hiawatha," his "Evangeline," and his "Miles Standish." They are much more read than any other of his writings

except perhaps twenty or thirty of his short poems. Indeed, probably no other poems of the same length are so much read in the whole English-speaking world. Space permits only a few brief words of descriptions of them, without any quotations.

"The Song of Hiawatha" consists of twenty-two legends of the red Indian aborigines of America, portraying in a very simple but really fascinating manner the main features of the life of that in some ways gifted race of people who possessed the country before the Europeans came. The picture which the poem gives is much idealized; and yet as a portrayal of the finer side of the life and civilization (or semi-civilization) of the early Americans, it is essentially true. As a gallery of unique and very charming literary portraits of an interesting race that is fast passing away, the poem is historically important and is sure to live.

"The Courtship of Miles Standish" is a happily told, half humorous, tale of the first English settlers of America, at Plymouth, Massachusetts. It possesses a charm which is never lost, however often one reads it.

"Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie" is the tragic story of a colony of early French settlers in Nova Scotia who were driven from their homes when their country was conquered by the British. Evangeline, the heroine of the tale, and the young man Gabriel, her lover, whom she was about to marry, migrated to Louisiana in the far South (which was then a French colony). But they were separated, and the story tells of her long, arduous, weary, patient, loving, devoted and often perilous search for her lost lover, which ended at last in her discovering him an old man, in a hospital, nigh to death. One may search long to find a more romantic or a more pathetic story, or one more beautifully told.

We come now to Longfellow's large and rich array of short poems, nearly three hundred in number, consisting of ballads, sonnets, poems of description and reflection, legends told in verse and lyrics.

All his life Longfellow was a lover of legends. During his years in Europe, he delved deeply into the legendary lore of the Old World, and later with equal diligence into

the interesting legends of the North American Indians. Out of these studies came many of the most charming of his poems and groups of poems, as seen in his "Golden Legend," "Hiawatha" and "Tales of a Wayside Inn."

As a writer of ballads, Longfellow has few superiors, among his best known being "The Skeleton in Armour," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," and "Paul Revere's Ride." It hardly seems possible to conceive of stories told with more life and fire.

Longfellow is conspicuous as a writer of sonnets, giving us not fewer than sixty-six of his own, besides nearly a score in translations. Many literary critics regard the sonnet as an important test, if not the supreme test, of a poet's vigour of thought, power of condensation, sense of form, and precision as well as felicity in the use of words. How does Longfellow stand the test of the sonnet? Better than any other American poet. American critics believe he justly ranks with the best sonnet writers in England, that is, with Wordsworth, Keats, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Shakespeare. I have already cited one of his sonnets (connected with Dante). Here is another.

THE SOUND OF THE SEA

The sea awoke at midnight from its sleep,
And round the pebbly beaches far and wide
I heard the first wave of the rising tide
Rush onward with uninterrupted sweep;
A voice out of the silence of the deep,
A sound mysteriously multiplied
As of a cataract from the Mountain's side,
Or roar of winds upon a wooded steep.
So comes to us at times from the unknown
And inaccessible solitudes of being,
The rushing of the sea-waves of the soul
And inspirations, that we deem our own.
Are some divine foreshadowing and foreseeing
Of things beyond our reason or control."

Longfellow is one of the first of lyric poets, at least in the English language. The test of the lyric is whether it can be sung, whether it readily adapts itself to music and as song reaches the popular heart. Judged by this test, how does Longfellow stand? An answer may be given in a concrete form. In looking through the catalogue of a leading American music publishing house, I find fifty-two of Longfellow's poems set to music, some as solos, some as duets, some as quartets, some as elaborate cantatas,—and by the foremost

musical composers of America, England, France, Germany and Italy. How does Longfellow compare in this respect with such famous song writers as the Scotch Robert Burns, the English Tennyson, and the German Heine? In this catalogue, I find set to music forty-seven lyrics of Tennyson, twenty-seven of Burns, and thirty-nine of Heine. Thus all fall below Longfellow.*

Longfellow has rendered valuable service to the world as a poet of nature. Lovers of nature, lovers of the great world of earth, air, sky, field, woods, mountain and sea will always love him for his nature-pictures found in so many of his short poems and scattered everywhere throughout his long poems. True, he often shows in his descriptions of nature that he is not technically speaking, a scientist. There is in him nothing like that sharpness of minute knowledge and observation, which we find in the trained scientist, or in such a writer as Thoreau or John Burroughs. There are persons who, for this reason, have spoken disparagingly of his poems of nature, and his descriptions of natural objects and scenes. But such persons forget what poetry is, what ends it serves, and how it differs from science. The scientist sees the physical or material fact: the poet sees that possibly not so sharply or accurately as the scientist, but besides that he also sees beauty, suggestion, symbol, spiritual meaning, something which relates that physical fact to himself, to mind, to the infinite energy from which it came, to the universe of things and of thought. Has the scientist a right, then, to sneer at the poet? There is need for the scientist's careful observation of external facts and manifestations. But there is not less need for the poet's deeper vision, which sees nature's spiritual significancies. Longfellow saw and felt nature as you and I may see and feel her, if we will lay aside our haste and be still, thoughtful, reverent in her presence; if we will stop in our rush and fever, and love the flowers at our feet, and not merely glance at them; lie down on the grass and

* Here we may well be reminded of India's great poet, Rabindranath Tagore, whose lyrics are more numerous than those of any Western writer. Great numbers of his lyrics have been set to music by the poet himself, and sung by millions.

rest on its bosom ; bare our heads in silence under the night skies ; walk in the woods, and drink in their spirit ; sit down on the seashore and let the infinities of the sea speak to us of the infinities of God and our own souls. There are few ways in which Longfellow has done more for humanity than in writing poems of insight into nature's heart,—poems which are windows for ever inviting men to look through the seen to the unseen and the eternal.

Longfellow has value as a teacher of history, particularly American history, as seen in his "Evangeline," "Miles Standish," "New England Tragedies," and some fifteen or twenty of his shorter pieces. Of course, in reading the historical poetry of Longfellow, or any one else, one should understand the difference between ordinary history written as such in prose form, and history written with poetical ends in view and in poetical form. The erudite prose historian with no poetry in his soul, writes history, or is supposed to write it, with every date exact and every minute fact and event in its place with scrupulous accuracy. But when it is done, very likely it is all "dry as dust" ; and if so, almost nobody reads it. The poet comes along, with imagination and fire in his soul, and writes of the same events, tells the same historical story ; but he puts it into pictures ; he causes the story to pass like a panorama before the sight ; he makes everything in it alive. The result is everybody reads it. Which is the better ? Of course there is a place for each. But certainly we should be thankful for the poet, who has the genius to make history live and breathe.

It is hardly necessary to say that Longfellow is not a "problem" poet ; or in any technical sense, a philosophical poet, or a poet of psychological analysis. If you want any of these qualities in poetry, go to Emerson, or Matthew Arnold, or Wordsworth, or Shelley, or Browning, or Goethe.

Comparing Longfellow with other American poets, Lowell is more purely intellectual, more brilliant, richer in ideas ; Holmes is incomparably more witty ; Bryant is more stately ; Poe is perhaps more subtle and delicate (at least he is more artificial) ; Emerson is more profound ; Whittier is

more deeply religious and more fervent as a reformer. But Longfellow is wider in his sympathies than any of the others ; more successful in reaching the universal heart of humanity ; more perfectly endowed with that poetical genius (than which none can be higher) which instinctively recognizes the poetry, the beauty, the spiritual significance, the worth, the glory, that exists unseen, waiting to be revealed in every object of nature, in every event of life, and especially in every human soul, whether king or beggar. His lines in "Hiawatha," written to describe another, in some respects at least suggest himself :

He the sweetest of all singers,
Beautiful and childlike was he ;
Brave as man is, soft as woman ;
All the many sounds of Nature
Borrowed sweetness from his singing ;
All the hearts of men were softened
By the pathos of his music ;
For he sang of peace and freedom,
Sang of beauty, love and longing,
Sang of death, and love undying
In the land of the hereafter.
For his gentleness they loved him
And the magic of his singing."

"There is no topic so homely that the divining rod of Longfellow does not find the poetry in it, and set it singing like the statue of Memnon smitten by the sunrise." This is a great and precious gift. The common life which men live all around us has in it so much that is heavy and hard, so much of lead and iron, that he is a benefactor of the truest kind who can come along and touch the lead and iron, even if only in spots and patches here and there, and turn them into the silver of joy and the gold of beauty. He is the truest poet, as well as the noblest friends of his kind, who can sing such songs that feet which before had dragged and plodded, begin to tread with vigour and spring ; who can touch eyes which before were dull and heavy, and by his touch make them see the world full of light, and life full of meaning. This making common things reveal new beauties and glories, and common everyday life take on new worth, is the noblest work of poetry or religion ; it is the place where poetry and religion flow together and become one ; and whenever a singer appears among men gifted of heaven

with power to do this, the nations rise up and call him blessed.

Longfellow was a man of high culture and large learning. Why did not these cut him off from access to the common mind? Why did they not come between him and the child at its play, the man at his toil, or the woman in her sorrow? It was because his culture was true culture, and not sham. It was because his learning had been made thoroughly a part of himself. It was not something attached to him, which lumbered and cumbered him, as is so often the case with learned men; it was a part of him, saturating all his thought and life, making him a larger and finer man, and all his thinking and writing more wise and true and beautiful. Hardly any poet of modern times except Goethe has been possessed of so broad, varied and ripe a scholarship as Longfellow. In ten thousand ways his writings show evidence of his large and rich stores of knowledge. But all his culture, instead of making him unnatural, makes him more perfectly natural. Exquisitely artistic, he is never artificial. His art is so true that it only helps nature to be more perfectly herself. This is the perfection of art, the consummation of culture.

America has produced no poet more loved by children than Longfellow. The reasons why are plain. What other poet has carried children and childhood so sacredly in his heart through all his years? Hear him sing,

"Ah! what would the world be to us
If the children were no more?
We should dread the desert behind us
Worse than the dark before.
Come to me, O ye children,
And whisper in my ear
What the birds and winds are singing
In your sunny atmosphere.
What are all our contrivings,
And the wisdom of our books,
When compared with your caresses,
And the gladness of your looks?"

As I read his lines, I cannot but think of that other lover of little ones, in Galilee, of old, who said, "Suffer the children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

I do not wonder that the children loved Longfellow! I do not wonder that they wrote him letters, and ran to meet him and greet him on the street, and thronged about him

to take him by the hand, and when they went by his home pointed and said, "That is Mr. Longfellow's house." I do not wonder that the children of the public schools in so many parts of America, yes and of England too, delight to celebrate his birthday. I do not wonder that the children of Cambridge where he lived, commemorated his seventy-second birthday, by presenting him with a beautiful arm-chair made from the "spreading chestnut tree," under which the "village smithy" stood, which he had so beautifully sung. I do not wonder that with so much love for childhood in his heart, he never grew old. Swedenberg tell us that the angels in heaven grow younger as they grow older. Surely then Longfellow must have been an angel; for at seventy-five he was still as young at heart as a child.

Perhaps it is a just criticism of Longfellow that he was not conspicuous as a "reformer," that he did not use his pen to aid the great moral, social, religious and political reforms of his day to the extent that Whittier, Lowell and Emerson did. As a matter of fact, however, he was in sympathy with essentially all reforms that were intelligent and deep-rooted, and in a general way he supported all. But he was not by nature an agitator, an advocate or a propagandist. His method of reform was that of evolution; not at all that of revolution. At least two of the great reforms of his time he distinctly supported with his pen. He wrote a series of poems against slavery, warm and earnest, though not white hot like those of Whittier. And he wrote at least one really ringing poem against war. Here are some of its strong lines:

"Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the world from error,
There were no need for arsenals and forts.
The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation, that should lift again
Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain.
Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say, 'Peace!'"

The whole poem is one of great beauty and power.

If inquiry is made regarding Longfellow's religion, the answer is that it was the religion of the Golden Rule and the Lord's Prayer of Jesus. He declares its aim to be

"To build the Universal Church,
Lofty as is the love of God
And ample as the wants of men."

In other words, Longfellow was a Unitarian. His brother, Samuel Longfellow, was a distinguished Unitarian minister eminent as a hymn writer.

There are critics who declare that Longfellow's poetry is not great, because it is simple, because so much that he has written can be understood by the unlettered, because all his writings make so strong an appeal to universal human experiences and to the universal human heart. But if these qualities destroy greatness, then the songs of Burns are not great, for no verse can be simpler than his, and none goes straighter to the universal heart of men. By this test Millet, the painter of the "Angelus" was not great in art, for his

pictures are of humble Breton peasants. By this standard the Psalms of the Old Testament are not great, for no lyrics were ever more simple, or ever had more power with the common people. By this standard Jesus must be denied greatness, for in His incomparable Sermon on the Mount each utterance is like a dewdrop for clearness, and of his wonderful parables each is like a perfect flower in its simple beauty. Teachings cannot be simpler, teachings cannot go more straight to the heart of humanity, than those of Jesus. Does this show that Jesus was not great? Rather, it shows that He was supremely great. Simplicity instead of detracting from greatness, is an essential element of true greatness. We should bear this in mind in judging of Longfellow's poetry.

THE INDIAN PRINCES AND ALL-INDIA FEDERATION

BY NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A.

FOR the last two years the idea of an All-India federation has engrossed our mind and almost monopolized our attention. The federal idea was of course not new to the British Indian delegates when they went over to London in the autumn of 1930 to attend the first Round Table Conference. They had been familiar with it since the beginning of the century. Lord Curzon's policy of pumping all powers out of the provincial and the local authorities and of concentrating and centralizing them in the hands of the Government of India could not but have its reaction. With his retirement from the viceroyalty, decentralization became the political cry of the Indian intelligentsia and federal principles were accepted as the basis on which this decentralization was ultimately to be effected. The despatch of Lord Hardinge's Government to the Secretary of State in 1911 accepted in effect the federation of the British Indian provinces as the goal towards which the policy of His Majesty's

Government should be directed. The constitution set up by the Government of India Act of 1919 is really a half-way house towards federalism. British India has thus been on the road to a federation for the last one decade and more, and the fact that the future progress of Indian constitutionalism is inseparably associated with principles of federalism has also been established by the attitude of the All-Parties Conference of 1928. The Nehru Report which is the fruit of this conference has without hesitation accepted federal principles as the basis of the future constitutional structure of British India. The idea of a federation was thus not born at the first Round Table Conference in London in 1930. But the federation which the British Indian politicians had so long contemplated was to be confined to their part of the country alone. The Indian States were beyond the purview of their imagination. In no discussion of the political and constitutional problems of India, the States ever found a place. They were

invariably a taboo. The Conference of 1930 widened for the first time the constitutional horizon of India. The federal scheme that was so assiduously discussed in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee and tentatively accepted by it, was intended to bring the two Indias together and bind them by the ties of a common Government.

It is time for us to examine how far the circumstances are ripe for an all-India Union on the federal basis and how far British India is to profit by such a union. It cannot be denied that some of the conditions which generally make for a federal union are adequately to be found in India. "The crimson thread of kinship" which Sir Henry Parkes, the famous Australian statesman, emphasized so much while advocating the federal union of the several Australian colonies runs through the people of the different parts of India. Racially, linguistically and culturally, no clear, definite line can be drawn between British and Indian India. The existing division between the States and the provinces is clearly arbitrary and cannot be perpetuated. The territories of the Indian States are so interwoven with those of British India that mutual help and co-operation are indispensable between them. They are cut out for union by nature herself. Besides this geographical factor, there are some other conditions also which are equally favourable for a union between British India and the States. Although the Princes are under the treaties expected to enjoy sovereign authority, *Pax Britannica* has run so dominantly throughout the different parts of this country during the last one century and a half, that a uniformity of laws and traditions has now been accomplished in some important fields, and, what is still more to be noted, a sense and spirit of union has also been created.

While the presence of these conditions which make for union should not be lost sight of, the factors of separatism should also not be neglected at all. Dicey has observed that for a federation to come into being, a very peculiar sentiment should imbue the component elements. "They must desire union and must not desire unity." For certain specific purposes, they must like to come together and establish a common government. In

other fields of activity, however, they must continue to cherish their separate traditions and maintain separate governments. A federal union in other words is possible only when the centrifugal and the centripetal forces in a country balance each other. Now, the question in India is whether the spirit of separation is adequately balanced by a countervailing spirit of union. It is an unfortunate fact that while we talk of a federation between British India and the Indian States, we have to mean a federation between the people of British India and the Princely Heads of the Indian States. The people of the latter territories do not count at all. Their voice is stifled and their opinions go absolutely unrepresented in every conference and committee which happen to discuss the future of our country. If it was a question between the peoples of the two halves of India, difficulties of federation would have been considerably overcome. The Princes however who are the real federating units on the side of the States are too much particularistic and too little of unionists. They put too much of emphasis upon their new-found sovereignty and pay too little of attention to the common interests of the country. Nor is this unnatural and unexpected. In their States, they are absolute masters, and enjoy authority quite unchecked. The more powers remain in the hands of the States, in the projected federation, the more would therefore be the opportunity for exercising their absolute authority. The powers made over to the federal Government will no doubt be influenced to some extent by their opinion. Individual authority, however, they will lose altogether over them. This personal factor cannot be eliminated from the discussion of the federal problems so long as the Princes and not the people of their States are one of the contracting parties. So long as the Princes are the States, the forces of particularism are not likely to give way. The balance will remain heavily inclined on their side. They have in fact put all the emphasis up till this time only on their local attachments and sovereignty and shown distrust of the projected central Government almost in every item. In other words, they not only do not desire unity, but they also do not desire union worth the

name. The first and the most essential condition of federalism does not therefore seem to be present now in the Indian States.

The distribution of powers between the central and the State Governments is also a fundamental and essential feature of federalism. A federation implies a double government, a double loyalty and a double citizenship. There must be two sets of authorities working side by side, each in its own way, unhampered by and independent of the other. There must be a clear and definite delimitation of authority and jurisdiction between the two Governments. Some of the functions of public administration will be vested in the central authority and some will remain entrusted to the State Governments. The central Government will be supreme so far as the powers entrusted to its care are concerned, and the State Governments will be similarly supreme with regard to the functions still vested in them. The people of the country will be directly associated with and loyal to both the Governments at the same time. To the extent of the powers and functions made over to the federal Government, they are the citizens of the federation and must be in that capacity directly loyal to the federal Government. The federal authority will act on them direct and straight and not through the Governments of the States. In other words, to the extent of the powers given to the federal Government, the citizens cease to be under the control of the State authorities and pass direct into the jurisdiction of the central Government. The Indian Princes, however, do not seem to appreciate this principle of federalism at all. They have been accustomed to control the destiny of their subjects in every sphere of life. They have been too long used to an absolute jurisdiction over their State affairs to be reconciled now to the partial sovereignty only which the institution of a federal mechanism will leave to them. They cannot understand why their subjects should cease to be loyal to them personally with regard to certain spheres of life and owe allegiance to that extent to a distant central Government. In the federal Structure Sub-Committee, the Princes consistently claimed sovereignty not only over

the functions which would be left to the States, but also over those proposed to be made over to the Federal Government. The full implications of federalism could not be brought home to them even by the lucid exposition of federal principles by men like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr Sastri. Sir Tej Bahadur had to warn them not unoften against their being imbued too much with the existing arrangement of things. The present system, he emphasized, would not fit in with the federal mechanism. The Princes must therefore disabuse their mind of the existing system and accommodate their ideas and outlook to the changed situation created by a federal union. The arguments and appeals fell, however, mostly on deaf ears. The Princes could not so easily forgo their deep-seated ideas as to their jurisdiction and sovereignty.

Not only were they not ready to make over to the projected federal Government any long schedule of powers and functions, but even in the transference of those powers which they agreed to fix on the federal Government, they were not frank and whole-hearted. Even in these "transferred" fields, they were inclined to keep up to some extent at least their individual authority and jurisdiction. When in the Federal Structure Sub-Committee discussion settled on Posts and Telegraphs, the federalists naturally wanted that this should be a federal subject with all its implications. They were of opinion that this should be a monopoly of the federal Government which alone would be entitled to pass the requisite laws on the subject and administer them in different parts of the federation. The Maharaja of Bikaner was, however, not inclined to make over all control over the Post Offices to the federal Government. He thought it would infringe his sovereignty which he wanted to maintain intact. Sir Akbar Hydari, the Minister-Delegate of the State of Hyderabad, was more outspoken still in his opposition to the complete federalization of the subject under discussion. He gave it out that the Posts and Telegraphs were the insignia of the sovereignty of the State he represented and he could not on that account consent to the withdrawal of all State control

over them. A halting decision had consequently to be come to. It was laid down that Posts and Telegraphs would be federal functions, subject however to the rights which some of the States must continue to enjoy in these fields.

A similarly lame decision was come to, when the subjects of currency and coinage had been discussed. The representatives of some of the States refused to allow them to be completely federalized. These were in the first place a good source of revenue and, secondly, they were an emblem of the sovereign authority of the States. On both these grounds they contended that these subjects should not be wholly taken out of the control of the States. Nor was a more clear-cut conclusion arrived at with regard to the Railways. Some of the British Indian delegates spoke convincingly on federalizing the subject. The Princes and their ministers, however, were unwilling to give up their local control over their existing lines and their right to build up further lines in the future in their own territories. The British Indian delegates emphasized the danger of competitive lines in the country. They also thought that the local control over the railways would hamper the progress of trade and industry. The Princes, on the other hand, attached all the importance to the fact that the railways were a source of considerable income which they could not forgo by accepting an exclusive federal control over them. The Maharaja of Bikaner also raised the question of sovereignty in this connection. He thought he would suffer considerably in prestige as a sovereign Prince if he lost his power of building and controlling railways in his own State. "We cannot agree," he said, "to sink into a British province."

Civil and criminal laws, the uniformity of which has been of so much advantage to British India were not allowed to be included in the federal subjects at all. The Princes set their face completely against these functions being taken out of the hands of the States. In the U. S. A., criminal law is indeed a States subject, with the result that it varies from State to State. What is a crime in New York may not be a crime in California. What may be a capital offence

in Ohio may be only a venial offence in Maryland. It is no wonder that confusion should accrue from a system like this. The architects of the Canadian Federation profited by the American experience. They refused to leave this important subject in the hands of the component units. They federalized the criminal law. Our Princes, however, would not allow their sovereignty to be infringed in this field and federated India must consequently suffer on that score.

Lastly we come to customs. It falls into two groups (i) Sea customs and (ii) inland Customs. As to the former the maritime States were willing to forgo their sovereign right to chalk out the tariff policy and vest it exclusively in the hands of the federal Government. But with regard to the administration of that policy they demanded it to remain in the hands of the States. The administration of the tariff policy, observed Sir Prabhaskar Pattani, the Minister-Delegate of a maritime State (Bhavnagar), involved the question of the jurisdiction of the States, any interference with which would not be helpful to the growth of the Indian union. "The rights of management of the administration," he further emphasized, "belong to the State, because it is a sovereign State." What was really in the mind of Sir Prabhaskar was a customs union with British India. He did not really want the federalizing of the customs department, otherwise possibly he could not have emphasized so much the question of the sovereignty of the State in the same breath as he proposed the transference of the tariff policy to the federal Government. Anyway, according to his scheme, the federal Government would determine the conditions under which goods will flow in and out but these conditions must be enforced only by the agents of the States. In other words, the federal Government must be dependent upon the States authorities for the execution of its policy. In matters of tariff, legislation and determination of policy are important indeed but the actual administration of tariff measures is also equally important. The federation is very likely to be a rickety structure if it is to depend in such a vital matter upon the efficiency and good faith of the component Governments.

With regard to inland customs, the attitude of the States has been more truculent still. States like Hyderabad and Bikaner eke out a considerable income by imposing duties upon goods coming into their territory from other parts of India. Hyderabad raises through this source an annual income of two crores, Gwalior sixty lacs and Bikaner twenty-two lacs. These incomes they are not ready to give up. Now, if the different units of the federation have the right to raise tariff walls against each other, that will certainly make for irritation, rivalry and antagonism. The spirit of union will certainly evaporate and a sense of separation and division will predominate. Nothing creates a greater sense of unity than a common tariff and nothing engenders a greater spirit of division than local tariffs. Of the many causes which were responsible for the failure of the American Confederation (1781-1789) the most vital was certainly the local tariffs which the Component States were entitled to raise against one another. It created such a spirit of hostility among them that the better minds of America could not but advocate the complete centralization of all questions of tariff, and in the new constitution set up in 1789 the States Governments were deprived of all authority over this subject. The Australian people had also the same experience. In the Melbourne Conference, Mr. Deakin was constrained to observe that "a common tariff is a *sine qua non* of national life. There can be no true union which does not include a customs union." Similar was also the verdict of Sir Henry Parkes who thought it an absolutely necessary condition of anything like a perfect federation that "there should be no impediment of any kind between one section of the people and another; but that trade and general communication should flow from one end of the continent to the other with no one to stay its progress or call it to account." Thus the local tariffs on which the Princes insist will not only weaken the federation, but kill it outright.

From the above it will be clear that the unionism of the Princes is only skin-deep. As soon as we enter into some details the intensity of their localism comes out into

relief. If the demands they have pressed for on behalf of their sovereignty are not considerably slackened, the federation that is contemplated will not be worth its name. The Princes have tried to justify their demand for some control even over functions they have agreed to declare as federal by pointing to the examples of concurrent jurisdiction in some modern federations. But the meaning of concurrent jurisdiction does not seem to have been quite clear to them. Even in subjects where there is concurrent jurisdiction, the States Governments in these Federations can act only in the absence of any federal law. If at any time, the federal Government think it worth while to pass any law on any of these subjects, the State law will *ipso facto* go to the wall and only the federal law will become effective. In the U. S. A., *e. g.*, both the States and the Central Legislature have jurisdiction over bankruptcy, pilot-laws and harbour regulations. But the States authorities can exercise their jurisdiction only in case where the federal Government refrains from passing any law on these subjects. Any time that the Congress will pass a measure with regard to them, it will become effective and the States laws will be superseded. What however the Princes demand is that over certain subjects the States and the Federal Governments will exercise jurisdiction simultaneously. This will only introduce confusion and undermine federal authority hopelessly. This is in fact the negation of federalism.

It is essential in a federation that the two fields of authority should be clearly separate. But there can be no definite and uniform rule as to how and where the line of demarcation between them should be drawn. "The exact position of the line" says Justice Clement in his Law of the Canadian Federation, "is not of the essence of federalism." It may vary according to circumstances. The jurisdiction of the federal Government of Canada is far wider than the jurisdiction of the Government at Washington. But although there can be no uniform practice as to the distribution of powers between the central and the State Governments, it must be borne in mind that if the federation is to be strong and stable, the Common Government must be given

adequate powers. But the federal Government as contemplated by the Princes and their ministers would be too weak and rickety for the interests of the Union to be properly safe-guarded.

The representatives of British India should search their heart very carefully before accepting the federal scheme which may have the effect of destroying the fruits of common government for over one hundred years. There is a considerable difference in the outlook of the British Indian provinces and the Indian States as represented by their Princes. The provinces have indeed pinned their faith to the federal principles. But they are not on that account ready to lose the advantage of uniformity of law and administration in respect of the functions which they have learnt to regard as common to them all. They want diversity only in matters which affect the local interests. To them, the common Government is not to be an exception. It would be as much a rule as the Governments of the provinces. A strong Government at the centre is of vital importance to them. Appreciating this difference in the outlook of the provinces and the States, Diwan Bahadur Mudaliyar advocated in the Federal Structure Sub-

Committee two federations, one confined only to the British Indian Provinces and the other comprising the States as well. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar was also constrained to think that under the existing circumstances it would be wise to visualize two federations. But one who runs may see how complicated and confusing would be the operation of the two federations at the same time. Three sets of Governments will, in case of a double federation, be working side by side, the Provincial Governments, the Central Government (federal Government for British Indian Union) and the Federal Government. There are many people who think a system of administration like this would be unworkable. Instead therefore of entertaining any such proposal of establishing two federations to be working side by side, the representatives of British India should concentrate their attention on the building up of the British Indian federation. The Indian States do not seem yet to be ready for a true federation. It would be consequently wise to leave them alone till they cultivate a greater sense of union. Instead of running after a chimera and a mirage, we should now turn to what is immediately possible and practicable.



THE RUIN OF A BENGAL DISTRICT

By SIR P. C. RAY

EXCAVATION of tanks and cutting of canals for internal communications and erection of reservoirs for the storage of water for use during seasons of drought were a regular and recognized feature under the Hindu and Muhammadan rule.* But with the establishment of British power in Bengal this vital factor in the economy and health of its people began to disappear. Colebrooke, writing forty years after the battle of Plassey, observes, "reservoirs, ponds and water courses, dikes more generally in a progress of decay than improvement." This point may be well illustrated by studying the condition of Bankura from 1770 onwards.

The great famine of 1769-70 which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal spent its fury markedly on Bankura and its adjoining district Birbhum, which had already suffered heavily during the Mahratta depredations. Language fails to describe the horror it brought in its trail.

"The ancient houses of Bengal, who had enjoyed a semi-independence under the Moguls and whom the British Government subsequently acknowledged as the lords of the soil fared worse. From the year 1770 the ruin of two-thirds of the old aristocracy of Lower Bengal dates,† and yet the land revenue was exacted from the zemindars and revenue farmers to the uttermost farthing. Lord Cornwallis after visiting some of the desolate lands pronounced in 1789: 'The land remained untilled, ... one-third of the Company's territories in Bengal to be a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts.' "†

It is on record that the Rajah of Birbhum was hardly permitted to pass the first year of his majority before being confined for arrears of revenue and the venerable Rajah of Bishnupur (Bankura), after weary years of duress, was let out of prison only to die.

Nor was this all. The descendants of the Rajah of Bishnupur were gradually ruined and impoverished and the vast territories over which their ancestors once ruled with almost sovereign powers were one by one lopped off or sequestered and made over to new revenue farmers. In 1806 a considerable portion of it was purchased by the

Maharaja of Burdwan. He in turn under Regulation VIII of 1819, enacted for his special benefit, granted 341 *pattani taluks* (leases) fixing the rent in perpetuity at his discretion. The holders of the *pattani taluks* called *pattanidars* again sublet them in turn to under-tenure-holders of third degree (*darpattanidars*) and so on. The system which thus came into vogue has been the direful spring of woes unnumbered for Bankura as also in a lesser degree for other districts in Bengal.

The resident Rajah of Bishnupur held perpetual sway over his own tenantry. He constructed thousands of *bunds* in which the abundant, superfluous water of the monsoon season was stored up for use during the months or seasons of drought. Under the Permanent Settlement, the East India Company was converted into the greatest of absentee landlords ever seen in the world, with its proprietors or shareholders assured of the land revenue under the "Sun Set Law." The zemindars under the Company were again assured of their share of the revenue from their under-tenure holders. It is said that everybody's business is nobody's business; so the arrangements for irrigation constructed with admirable skill, wisdom and foresight were doomed to neglect.

Mr. G. S. Dutt, who was Magistrate and Collector of Bankura, and tried his best to repair some of these old *bunds* with the help of locally started Co-operative Societies, says:

"The story of rural decay in Western Bengal is intimately bound up with the story of the decay of its irrigation tanks and *bunds*. Visit any district in Western Bengal and you will be impressed with the wisdom with which, to counteract the vagaries of rainfall and to conserve every precious drop of water falling from the sky or trickling down the soil, a past generation of benevolent landlords had provided the districts with a network of reservoirs for the storage of water of the monsoon rain and of the sub-soil drainage. ... Nowhere was the system of irrigation tanks and *bunds* constructed with such systematic thoroughness and far-seeing wisdom as was done in Bankura and the other parts of Western Bengal, covered by the old land of Mallabhum, by its old benevolent landlords and by the Raja of Bishnupur who ruled over it. Nowhere again has the narrow selfishness, folly and suicidal blindness of subsequent generations conspired to bring this elaborate system of tanks and *bunds* on which the health, prosperity and the very life of the population depends, into such utter decay and destruction. ... The larger *bunds* were supplied with inlet channels for the reception of the water of their catchment areas and with an

* Hunter: *Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 61.

† "In the 18th century the family rapidly declined; the Mahrattas impoverished them; the famine of 1770 left their kingdom empty of inhabitants; and the English treating these tributary princes as mere land-stewards, added to their public burdens at pleasure and completed their ruin."—Hunter: *op. cit.* p. 446.

elaborate and carefully worked out system of distributaries for serving the water to the lands protected by them. These tanks and *bunds* not only supplied water to the field but furnished a sure and adequate supply of drinking water to men and cattle.

"Subsequent generations have proved themselves false to this rich heritage bequeathed to their health and agricultural prosperity. For year after year and decade after decade these precious reservoirs have been allowed to become silted up and converted into dry land and half dry pools of stagnant dirty fluid; their embankments have been allowed to fall into decay."

Then, again, in another place Mr. Dutt writes :

"As a result Bankura today is a district of dead tanks, and large *bunds* which have either completely vanished out of recognition or of which only a fragment of an embankment here and there remains to indicate the evidence of their previous existence, or of their shrunk and mutilated remains in the form of shallow silted up pools of water.

"Thus, surprising as it may seem, comes the irresistible conclusion that in the district of Bankura famine and poverty, disease and crop failure, malaria and leprosy are all alike the direct consequences of the neglect, apathy and inaction which has allowed the old tanks and *bunds* of the district, numbering 30,000 to 40,000 on a moderate calculation, to fall into disrepair and decay."

Bengal being a permanently settled province, the Government is assured of the fixed land revenue and there is no chance of its being enhanced on account of the increased yield of the soil due to irrigation and hence it has been relegated to criminal neglect. The welfare and prosperity of the people do not count a feather's weight in the scale, in the scheme of our beneficent Government. In marked contrast with this policy of *laissez-faire* is the policy of over-activity in this respect in the arid region of Sind. The Sukkur Barrage project which will irrigate a vast area is calculated to cost twenty crores. No doubt the scheme is expected to make an appreciable addition to the production of food supply (notably wheat), but the policy underlying this colossal project is evidently the consideration that the new area to be brought under cultivation is eminently fitted for the cultivation of long-stapled cotton. Lancashire is anxious to be independent of America in this respect; hence the tight grip over Sudan and the enormous expenditure of the Indian tax-payer's hard-earned money. Here again Imperial considerations play a prominent part.

No one for a moment would maintain that the British Government has maliciously or of set purpose brought about the ruin of this fair district; but my contention is that its *laissez-faire* policy is responsible for it. Mr. Dutt's diagnosis stops short at the root cause; as a bureaucrat he naturally fails to place his finger on the right spot.

Our economic decadence has everywhere synchronized with the British connection—with painful, unerring and fatal precision the ruin of this fair district has followed in the wake of the "White man's burden," like the withering blast that accompanies the flapping of a revengeful angel's wings. The connection between cause and effect can here be proved to demonstration.

Mr. Dutt quotes the following glowing account of what co-operation has done in America :

"Harold Powell, writing on co-operation in agriculture, remarks on the striking fact that in the United States of America in 1919, of the total area of irrigated land, *viz.*, nearly 14 million acres, no less than one-third was under co-operative enterprises and he goes on to observe : 'I believe it is safe to say that in no other industry in the United States is there so large a percentage of co-operation as in irrigation.' It is an interesting feature of co-operative irrigation in America full of rich significance to the people of the arid regions of Western Bengal and other parts of India that co-operative irrigation in America had its origin in the development of the arid wastes of the country of Utah which were more devoid of water than are the plateaus of Western Bengal or Behar today."

"It may be said that co-operation is the key-stone of the development of Utah. The success which attended this form of organization of water from streams spread to other industries. This is shown in the co-operative creameries, co-operative canneries and co-operative stores that abound in the State."

Mr. Dutt eloquently appeals to the inhabitants of Bankura to follow in the wake of the Utah colonists but he fails to lay his finger on the plague spot and reveals himself as an official of the deepest dye. He conveniently forgets that the colonists of Utah belong to the Anglo-Saxon stock amongst whom from the days of the Witenagemot the principle of self-government and self-reliance as also individualism had been fairly rooted. In India, on the other hand, whatever germ there was of self-help was destroyed when the old structure of village community was made short work of under the foreign regime.

I have laid above the misfortune and calamity of Bankura at the door of the permanent settlement with its interminable series of under-tenures. After the above was written I have come across the following passage in Sir W. Willcock's diagnosis of the situation :

"The permanent settlement of your land taxes, meant for the good of the peasantry, broke down your inherited power of co-operation, and the delicate machinery of your irrigation system stopped working and poverty and malaria took its place."*

Again, this high authority says :

"Bengal has poured millions upon millions of money into the common treasury of the whole

* 'The Restoration of the Ancient Irrigation of Bengal,' p. 24.

of India, and, all this while, these two sub-provinces, between which has lain the seat of Government for 150 years, have become poorer and more unhealthy. True is the Indian saying that 'there is no darkness like that under the lamp'."

The necessity of irrigation and of providing the people of this country with cheap and abundant water was fully recognized by our Muhammadan rulers to whom another English writer has referred in the following terms :

"Will the unprejudiced historian deny that the Afghan Sovereign of that day (*i.e.*, of the 14th century) was wiser in his generation, more philanthropical in his principles, more liberal in his plans and labours and more worthy of the love of his subjects and of the blessings of their children's children, than the body of the merchant princes, who satisfied with self-praise, have viewed, with apathy, if not aversion, all plans for the improvement of India, and watched without shame the gradual decay of those wonderful monuments of industry and civilization, over whose destruction even time still lingers, that provided water for a parched up land, and converted arid wastes into some of the noblest provinces of the world. Those who carefully and without prejudice will examine the present condition of public works in India must acknowledge that the millions of India have more reason to bless the period of 39 years passed under the Afghan Feroze, than the century wasted under the vaunted influence of the Honourable East India Company's rule."—(Quoted by B. D. Basu, *Welfare*, June 15, 1929. Cf. Burke's *Speech*, p. 433.)

Then again we find in a Government document :

"The Sultan, perceiving that there was a great scarcity of water, resolved in his munificence to bring a supply of water to the cities of Hissar Firoza and Fatehabad. He accordingly conducted two streams (jui) into the city from two rivers ; one from the Jumna, the other from the Sutlej. That from the Jumna was called Rajiwah, and the other Alaghkhani. Both these streams were conducted through the vicinity of Karnal, and after a length of about eighty kos, discharged their waters by one channel into the town of (Hissar)......Previous to this time.....the spring harvest failed, because wheat would not grow without water. After the canals had been dug, both harvests came to maturity.....Numerous water courses were brought into these places, and an extent of from eighty to ninety kos in these districts was brought under cultivation.*

"The Rohtak canal derives its origin from the first attempt of Ali Mardan Khan to divert water from the old channel constructed for the irrigation of the hunting ground of Hissar Firoza (Firozabad) to the city of Delhi, which occurred about 1643

A. D. seeking to avail himself of the former line as far as possible, the great engineer took his canal out of that dug 250 years before him at Joshi and followed the natural depression of Nai nadi Gohana."*

The above almost reads like a romance. Verily, our enlightened Government which boasts of engineers trained at Cooper's Hill and latterly at the British Universities' Faculties of Engineering has yet much to learn from Muhammadan rulers of the 14th century.

The cup of misery of the inhabitants of this doomed district has lately been filled to the brim. The reeling of thread from cocoons as also weaving it into cloth of various descriptions found occupation for thousands ; the brass and bell-metal industry, again, also gave employment to a numerous class of *Kansaries*. Both the industries are now on the point of extinction.

Silk cloth industry is perhaps the most prominent industry in the district of Bankura. Hundreds of families live upon the earnings of silk looms. Red, yellow, blue, violet and green silk *sarees* and marriage *jors* are manufactured by the weavers of Bishnupur, Sonamukhi and Birsingha. These silk cloths are sent out to various places of India by the local *mahajans*. These *sarees* and *jors* are largely used by the middle-class people on the occasion of marriages. Five or six years ago each family of weavers used to earn from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 per day in one loom. A few months after the British Empire Exhibition the price of the Bishnupur silk cloth began to decline. The price of the raw-materials such as silk thread, *jari*, etc. remained as before. The price of the silk cloths went on declining till it has come down to such a low level that the weavers have been compelled in many cases to give up weaving clothes.

"So far no earnest effort has been made either by the leading people or the Government to enquire into the real cause of such a disastrous condition. Bishnupur is an industrial town. The bulk of the population of this town are weavers, blacksmiths and *sankaries*. The weavers are extremely distressed and the blacksmiths have also been badly hit.

"The brass industry is extremely dull. It is said that the decline of this industry is due to the import of aluminium and enamel utensils ; this industry has no chance of further revival.

"The old town of Bishnupur being thus deprived of two primary industries has become miserably poor and the people who have been affected are gradually leaving this place and going to some other towns. Seventy per cent of the population of the town are suffering from the decline of her trade."

[From Sir P. C. Ray's forthcoming work, *Life and Experiences of a Bengali Chemist*.]

* Cf. also : "In the summer in Lombardy rain is rare beyond the lower Alps, but a system of irrigation unsurpassed in Europe, and dating from the middle ages, prevails, so that a failure of the crops is hardly possible."

* Rohtak District Gazetteer, 1884, p. 3.

THAT STRANGE LITTLE BROWN MAN, GANDHI*

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THE above is the unique and arresting title of a really fascinating book just from the press, written by the Reverend Frederick B. Fisher, D. D., until recently the Methodist Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta, India.

Few men living are better fitted to write about Gandhi and also about India than Bishop Fisher. He has lived in India twenty-eight years, carrying on missionary activities in different parts, and ten years occupying the highest official position connected with the Methodist Church there. He has been acquainted with Gandhi personally ever since the return of the latter to his native land from his great career in South Africa, travelling with him, at times living with him, enjoying his intimate friendship and in important ways working with him.

We have many books about Gandhi, several of them valuable. But this work of Dr. Fisher I do not hesitate to place in a class by itself, as *the one* to be chosen, if readers confine themselves to a single volume. And for two reasons.

First, because it gives a clearer view, a more definite understanding of the Mahatma (Great Soul) than do the others,—answering more distinctly and with less confusion the questions which all thoughtful Americans are asking about him.

Secondly, because it is a work of greater breadth and wider outlook than any others. From the title of Dr. Fisher's book, one may very easily suppose it to be confined narrowly to Gandhi personally, in the limited way of an ordinary biography. But it is not thus confined. Gandhi is distinctly and emphatically its central figure, and it gives us a thoroughly comprehensive and graphic portrayal of him; but it also reaches out to much beyond him,—to his background and his setting; to a thoroughly informing description of the great struggle for the freedom of his country which he is so devotedly and ably leading; to British rule in India and its effects; to British, French, Dutch and other imperialisms in Asia and Africa and their effect in both continents; to Christian missions, the relation which Gandhi bears to these, and the blighting influence on them which "Christian" opium, liquor, and guns are having in India, China, South Africa and elsewhere;—all these subjects and others of living and world-wide importance are treated with knowledge, insight and daring, yet with marked candour, balance of judgment, fairness and justice, in this timely and powerful book.

Space does not allow me to do anything more than mention these wider and larger features of Dr. Fisher's work, important as they are. I confine myself to a few of the striking and significant things he says about Gandhi himself.

1. Is Gandhi a fanatic?

Dr. Fisher's answer is: He is an ardent, determined, daring leader in a great and just movement for human freedom; for which he is willing to sacrifice his life. He is not a fanatic, unless Mazzini, Garibaldi, Kossuth, Washington, Jefferson and Patrick Henry were fanatics.

2. Is Gandhi's spinning wheel a folly?

Dr. Fisher affirms that it is a thing of great, of almost the greatest conceivable, value to India. Nearly eight-tenths of the Indian people are farmers. Climatic and other conditions are such that during four or five months of each year they cannot work on their little farms. Thus they have nothing to do. By introducing simple spinning and weaving into their homes, Gandhi enables them in those otherwise idle months to almost double their pitifully small incomes. Thus millions are clothed who otherwise could not be, and vast numbers of them are saved from actual starvation. The fact seems to be, that no other statesman in the world has rendered such vital, practical help, and on so vast a scale to his unemployed and suffering countrymen, as Gandhi has done to the starving millions of India by his spinning wheel.

3. Is Gandhi a friend to the poor and the depressed classes, the so-called "Untouchables"?

His spinning wheel sufficiently answers. However, much more is to be said. Dr. Fisher shows that in a hundred ways he has proved himself their friend and helper; that his constant effort is, by education, by giving them the franchise, and in other ways to lift them up to an equality with the rest of their countrymen; that in the past seventeen years he has done more for them than the British Government has done in all its history.

4. Is Gandhi opposed to progress and improvements?

Dr. Fisher shows that he believes in these and endeavours to promote them in every department of life, only so that they be *real*. He works for schools and better schools, for better homes, for the advancement of women, for better methods of agriculture, for social reforms of all kinds, for religious reform; for everything that he believes is calculated to lift up the people.

5. Is Gandhi opposed to all machinery?

No. He uses machinery. His spinning wheel is a machine. So is his simple loom. He rides in autos and on railways. What he opposes is the too rapid introduction of machinery, and in ways to exploit and ruin the masses of the people in the interest of the rich, in ways to pile up wealth for the rich. He favours the introduction of machinery if it can be, and in so far as it can be, controlled and made to benefit all the people. What he opposes and seeks to prevent is an India machine-ridden, its higher life crushed and its common people crushed by the machine, as he believes is largely the case in Europe and America.

6. Is Gandhi opposed to medicine and surgery?

Yes and no. He is opposed to them much as many intelligent hygienists in America are. He is

* *That Strange Little Brown Man, Gandhi*. By Frederick B. Fisher. Publishers, Roy Long and Richard R. Smith. New York. Pages 239. Price \$2.50.

afraid of their abuse. He wishes to guard the Indian people against ignorantly and superstitiously relying on drugs and medicines, especially quack medicines, as he believes many in the West do, instead of guarding their health as they ought and taking care of themselves as they ought in natural ways. Perhaps he goes too far. He has himself employed surgery and been grateful for its service. He does not forbid others from employing it. There is a system of Indian medicine which he believes is better than the prevailing system of the West. He is himself a great student of natural health conditions, hygiene, sanitation and everything of the kind, and he does all in his power to diffuse knowledge of these among the people.

7. Is Gandhi a Christian?

That depends upon what is meant by the word. He does not take the name Christian. But if by Christianity we mean the religion which Jesus taught and lived then, Dr. Fisher holds, he is a real Christian. He is a teacher at whose feet all the churches may well sit and learn lessons of the highest spiritual life.

8. What is Gandhi's attitude toward Christian missions?

He is warmly friendly to them, in so far as they seem to him to teach and manifest the religion of Jesus. If they come to India to crush out the native religions of India, he believes they are evil. If they come to recognize the truth in those religions, to supplement it with the truth that is in Christianity, and to co-operate with all earnest and good men and women, to make India's religions and Christianity too, purer and better, then he believes they are a benefit to India.

9. Is Gandhi a statesman?

Dr. Fisher believes he is—a wise, not supremely wise, no statesmen are, but a wise, practical and *great statesman of peace*—the *greatest statesman of peace* that the modern world has known.

10. Is Gandhi a Friend of Great Britain?

Dr. Fisher, who is himself a warm friend of Britain, sees in Gandhi Britain's true friend.

11. Does Dr. Fisher believe, with Gandhi, that India should have self-rule?

He strongly believes she should. He points out that she ruled herself for thousands of years before the British came, and was one of the world's most illustrious nations. Why then, he asks, should she not be allowed to rule herself again and once more take her rightful place among the great nations? He insists that she can govern herself better than any foreign nation can possibly govern her. She has able and competent men, better fitted to fill all her official positions, from highest to lowest, than the British or any other foreigners can possibly fill them. To the objection of her illiteracy he answers: "India has more living college graduates than England; she has more students pursuing university education than are in all the British Isles; she has more millions of literates than the total population of all the British Dominions."

12. When does Dr. Fisher believe India should have self-rule?

He emphatically answers, NOW! After carefully examining the whole subject, he finds *no ground whatever for any delay*.

A PLANET AND A STAR

A ROMANCE OF THE THIRTIETH CENTURY

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

The Passage

I

ONE reads with complete detachment and only with a faint interest of the time when humans on the earth were trying to establish some sort of communication with the planet Mars. They dreamed all sorts of things: they thought of flashing a message through some instrument; they might have laid out some contrivance to record a greeting transmitted through ether and space; they made all kinds of surmises about the geography and atmosphere of their neighbouring planet; they must have assumed that the red planet was peopled by a race whose intelligence corresponded with that of man, as otherwise no communication could be exchanged. Writers of fiction gave imaginary descriptions of the Martians. They did everything they could to find out something about Mars and life on it, and they knew nothing.

All this happened so long ago that one

thinks of these things without any emotion. They called themselves civilized and enlightened in those days because they had invented infernal machines for the wholesale slaughter of their fellow-creatures. In the churches and temples they called on God; outside, they plundered and slew one another. They wrote and talked of primitive savage peoples who lived much as the wild beasts, and prided themselves upon their superiority. But while the primitive races killed hundreds or thousands these so-called enlightened races killed millions.

It was an odd sort of civilization. There were many languages and many books were written. Only a few have survived and these appear to be good. There were great teachers who were apparently revered, but whose teachings were rarely followed. The strangest of all things was that men prided themselves upon their skins. There were whiteskins, blackskins, redskins, and

yellowskins. When the whites were powerful they despised the others, when the yellows overran the countries of the whites they called them by contemptuous names; and when the blacks had their turn, they declared that the whites were suffering from a skin disease. And the books taught that all men were brothers! They fought for religion, they fought for land, they fought for wealth, they fought for women, and they fought for nothing. They did not pause to consider that the pigment of the skin was due to climatic conditions and signified nothing. It never occurred to them that the most majestic things on earth, the mountains, were black, covered with snow or vegetation, just as men put on clothing.

There was frightful inequality in the distribution of wealth. Millions toiled and lived in the most abject and squalid poverty so that a few might roll in untold wealth. They talked of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, but never treated avarice as a sin or crime. Men were punished, cruelly punished, for petty thefts, but the man who hoarded millions that should have rightfully gone to others was looked upon as a wonderful being and people spoke of his wealth with bated breath. Now, it would have made no difference to the world if all the gold and silver and precious stones in the possession of a few men had never been dug up from the bowels of the earth. Justice was retributive, never curative or preventive. The one dominant idea was vengeance. Their conception of God, in many instances, was a God of vengeance and they looked upon themselves as the vicegerents of God for exacting vengeance. No man was ever given the right to deprive another either of life or liberty, but man usurped this right in the name of justice. The murderer was slain solemnly in the name of the law and men were put to death for other offences. For thefts and other crimes men and women were locked up and humiliated, and became hardened in evil. They never thought of a remedy but only of retribution. Crime was not regarded as symptomatic of a moral disease but as a physical wrongdoing to be expiated by corporal punishment. Instead of healing methods they pursued exasperating and galling courses. There were hospitals for the treatment of physical ailments, but none for the curing of moral disorders. What they called punishment was merely a means of aggravating a disease. Those whom they called incorrigible offenders were really cases of moral illness made incurable by ignorant, perverse and vindictive treatment.

II

We live, however, in the present and not in the past. The past is only a memory that affords food for reflection and comparison with the present. It may be a corrective or a stimulant. There was a prevalent error which placed

the Golden Age in the past and compared the present with the past to the disadvantage of the former. The real attraction about the past is that it cannot be recalled and there is always a fascination about the unattainable. Otherwise, the past is often a record of lost opportunities that were not turned to account, errors that seemed insignificant at the time but later on loom large before the mind's eye, ignorance that seems almost incredible in the light of later knowledge.

In the centuries that have passed since the existence, now nearly forgotten, of a false civilization amidst warring nations, the world has moved to fuller knowledge and truer ideals. The debasing materialism that was regarded as the practical aspect of life has yielded place to the supremacy of the ideal, which alone makes life worth living. The lesson of the universe is the conveyance of an idea, the culmination of a thought, and not an attachment to gross matter. There is nothing in this world that we can retain in our grasp: not life, for it passes; nor possessions, for they perish. What is the whole phenomenon of the universe but a never-ending sequence of kaleidoscopic changes? There is nothing constant, nothing changeless. But behind this incessant change there is a clear, definite and changeless purpose and that is the reality in the midst of unreality. Behind the veil of mist that clouds our vision is the reality, and it is a thought, not a substance. The whole creation moves to the fulfilment of that purpose.

The millennium of which men dreamed in the past is now upon earth. But the ancient conception of this age was somewhat exaggerated. It is not a personal rule by Christ Jesus for a thousand years. It is an era not of ecstasy, but of peace, than which there can be no greater happiness. All motives for contention have disappeared. Jealousy, covetousness, the desire for aggrandizement, the sense of superiority, the contempt of one race for another are things of the past. There are no kings and so there is no incentive for the conquest of an empire; there are no armies and no organizations for waging war; no one is permitted to own individual wealth, and hence there is no poverty, no disqualification of class or sex, and thus there is no agitation against rights withheld; there is no death penalty anywhere and murders are rarely reported; crime has practically ceased because moral delinquencies are treated as diseases and not punished with all the rigour of savage laws passed by civilized men; national pride cannot exist because all institutions are international; secrecy has everywhere been discarded in favour of publicity; individual effort has been replaced by concerted action; all departments of science have been internationalized; the immense sums that were wasted on armies, navies and devastating wars have been set free for the service of humanity.

and the cause of science; the mineral and other wealth of the world has been exploited on a scale never dreamed of before. The world is very different indeed from what it was some centuries ago.

There have been no distractions to interrupt the work of scientific research, with the result that nature has been made to reveal many secrets hitherto unknown to man. There is no longer the prostitution of science for inhuman purposes; there are no laboratories and factories for the manufacture of instruments and engines for the wholesale destruction of human life. Life is regarded sacred everywhere and all the resources of science are employed in preserving and prolonging it. The art of healing has advanced with rapid strides; diseases that baffled the ancient physicians and their crude and primitive science are now cured with ease. Many loathesome and terrible diseases have been eradicated. The taint of heredity in disease has been removed. Intoxicating drinks and drugs are neither manufactured nor made available for besotting and drugging the brains of men and women, and degenerates and decadents are rarely to be found. The use of alcohol and drugs is confined to medicinal and scientific purposes. Men and women grow up amidst healthy surroundings and there is work for all. The old quixotic chivalry towards woman giving her precedence in minor things and keeping her out of others that really mattered has been replaced by genuine fellowship, and she has the same opportunities and the same status as man. The old barriers of class and caste, wealth and poverty have been broken down. The only aristocracy is the aristocracy of brains, and these are spent in the service of science, knowledge and humanity. The vanity and pride that marred the human race for so many thousands of years have disappeared, and that is a great blessing. Where all are equal, no one can claim to be greater than another. There is keenness of pursuit without the pride of achievement. Life is seasoned with the sauce of zest and earnest striving, and not with the pepper of pride.

Since strife and contentiousness are at an end, disputes about religion have also ceased. The whole world is a hall of liberty and men are free to follow any religion. The founders of different religions, prophets and saints are revered. Every man is at liberty to extol his own religion, but not to disparage other religions. The doctrines and tenets of different religions are preached without offence to other faiths. If a man has no belief in the existence of the deity, he violates no human law and is left at peace. Faith or want of faith is a matter of a man's own conscience and he is not answerable to any other man, or to the State. Persecution for any man's religious belief is not permissible. All that is insisted upon is right conduct towards fellow-men and in this no laxity is tolerated. A

man's religion is no more a disqualification than his skin. Man cannot arrogate any right that does not rightfully belong to him, and no man can be the keeper of another man's conscience. The truth may be only one, but it may be revealed in a hundred different ways, and no man has any right to stand in another's light. The zeal for religion no longer seeks a vent in the denunciation of other religions or in condemning them as false. In a word, the whole energy of man is directed towards the fruitful channels of constructiveness and not lost in the maelstrom of destructiveness.

III

For some time the idea has been gaining ground that Mars is not beyond the range of exploration. The earth has been discovered from end to end, and Arctic and Antarctic explorers have ceased to excite much interest. Some remarkable discoveries were made in the Antarctic regions and precious new minerals of great scientific value were found. The spirit of adventure is now urging men to a voyage of discovery outside the world. Telescopes of exceptional power have discovered several physical features of the red planet. The Romans named Mars the god of war, probably because of its sanguinary appearance. Warriors were called sons of Mars for the same reason. This also may be the reason why a writer of fiction described an imaginary invasion of the earth by the Martians. Fact seems to be now closer than fiction, and the world is now in a position to verify or disprove the imaginary theories about the particular planet in the solar system about which there has been the wildest speculation among men. Efforts to exchange signals, or to hold some communication with the denizens of Mars have not proved successful. Messages have been flashed from the earth in the expectation that they may attract attention in the other planet; astronomers with the help of very powerful telescopes have noticed peculiar signs in Mars, flashing and waving lights somewhat like the messages of a heliograph but unintelligible either because of an unknown code, or else because they may not be due to any human agency. There is reasonable certainty of the existence of life on the planet since all the ascertainable, natural and atmospheric conditions appear to favour such a conjecture. Intrepid explorers and great scientists have been seriously thinking of an expedition of discovery to Mars and the arrangements are now complete. Whether the expedition will ever return to give to the world an account of its experiences is more than anyone can tell. That is the element of uncertainty, otherwise the personal danger counts as nothing. There will be no difficulty in undertaking the voyage, but it will be an adventure into the unknown and no one can have any conception of the dangers that may

have to be encountered. There are no reliable data about the atmosphere near Mars and air currents. Nothing is known about the density or rarity of the air on the planet. Above all, no one knows anything about the beings and creatures living on Mars, whether there is any race resembling human beings, and, if so, whether they will be friendly or hostile to visitors from another world.

In ancient times different nations made different machines for flying in the air and every nation jealously guarded the secret of the process of manufacture. There was rivalry in this as in other things, because each nation strove to construct flying machines swifter and more powerful than the machines of other nations. We are horrified to read that even these contrivances were used as engines of destruction and were employed in times of war for the purpose of dropping explosive bombs from the sky on peaceful cities and towns, and spreading blind death among women and children, and peaceful civilians pursuing their daily avocations. And some of the civilized nations of those times gloried in these achievements as notable feats of arms by which defenceless and unarmed sections of the population were slain. Even the memory of those times is like a nightmare which the world is trying to shake off. At present the only use for these machines is to accelerate travel and to add to the store of human knowledge by fresh explorations and discoveries. There is no sort of secrecy either about the mechanism or the method of construction, and international scientists and mechanical engineers have been working in collaboration for a long time in perfecting machines that travel at incredible speed through the air and from which the element of danger has been practically eliminated.

All the ancient literature on the construction of air-ships has been carefully preserved. From one of these ancient books an extract may be found interesting. The idea was of constructing 'a rocket ship rocketing towards the stars.' The aeronaut who had projected the design, thought 'it would be possible to reach the upper ether; where the absence of air resistance would allow a speed of 500 miles an hour... The tremendous speed of the air-ship would require breaking power unattainable according to present-day engineering practice. The inventor hoped to achieve this by means of the exhaust gases, as the ship reverses and descends on the water... The first idea was of a trans-oceanic machine which propelling its way through the upper air by means of the rockets on its giant wings, would streak across the Atlantic in two hours. Two hundred miles above the earth the pull of gravity will be overcome and the resistance will be negligible.' This was ingenious, but in the centuries that have since passed science has made immense strides and the dream of the past is about to come true.

For over a year the most skilful designers had been engaged on the construction of a machine which was to surpass in equipment and speed anything that had been built before. It was a cylindrical machine tapering towards both ends so as to offer the least resistance to the air and ether through which it would travel at an unprecedentedly high velocity. It could attain almost any speed, but so long as it moved through the air it could only do so at a moderate celerity lest it should be set blazing like a meteor by friction with the air. It generated its own power for which there was an abundant supply of chemicals and other things unknown in ancient times. It could move in perfect silence like an eagle darting through the air or an aerolite rushing through space. At the same time, it was furnished with reed-like pipes which could produce soft and entrancing musical notes; also wide-mouthed sirens that could raise a very Babel of jarring and hideous discord, these latter being intended to frighten and scare away any hostile monster or predaceous animal from the vicinity of the plane while on the ground. There were no arms for dealing death on board, but there were several instruments for temporarily paralysing an enemy either at a distance or at close range. Instruments of observation and record of every kind were carefully selected. Besides compasses, velocimeters and altimeters, there were several instruments unknown in former times. There was a delicate instrument to indicate the presence of a solid substance such as a lofty mountain or a moving meteor several miles ahead on the track of the airship; another showed air pockets and dangerous air currents long before they were reached so that the airship could steer a safe course. The barometer was a much finer instrument than any known to the ancients. There was a well appointed apparatus for the production of air so that the aeronauts might breathe their own air when passing through airless space. The temperature inside the machine could be regulated at will. The lighting arrangements were all that could be desired and there were searchlights that made objects clearly visible at enormous distances.

Five men from the five continents had been chosen for this expedition. Of these Nabor and his assistant Ganimet were in charge of the machine. They had taken part in building it and they knew every screw and bolt and nut, and they had taken care to have duplicates of every part of the machine. Maruchi was the scientist—a lean, tall man with a slight scholar's stoop, who would attract attention anywhere by his clear, piercing eyes and lofty forehead and thick, dark, curling hair. Orlon was a golden-haired giant, debonair and gay, withal, full of wisdom and encyclopaedic learning. Nabor was a typical pilot, cool-eyed, with a dapper, well-knit figure, intrepid and cautious. Ganimet was

a slouching gorilla, beetle-browed and prognathous, with a shock of unkempt hair and deep-set eyes; a man of uncertain temper but devoted to Nabor, and extremely capable. I, Sahir, was the least among these picked men; I was the medicine-man and had acquired some sort of reputation as a potterer in many things, including the unknown and the hereafter. All five of us were young as our thirtieth year was still in front of us, and we had lived together for some months so as to get accustomed to one another's ways. Maruchi was the leader of the expedition and to him we rendered unquestioning obedience. And never was a leader more considerate or less exacting. He consulted us in everything and with all the qualities of leadership he combined irresistible personal charm and a power of persuasiveness that could coax the heart out of a man.

We made all our arrangements with elaborate care. Provision was made for everything that could be foreseen, though we avoided overloading the ship. It was victualled for twelve months, though the compressed food did not occupy much space. Besides an abundant supply of water we stored various non-alcoholic drinks, a few sips of which satisfied thirst for a long while. We carried clothing specially made for all temperatures. There were numerous celestial charts—I fancy this terrestrial globe is just as celestial as the planets and the stars—and on some of these we had traced the route we intended to take, all things going well.

The organizers of the expedition had given considerable thought to the feasibility of communications between the voyagers and the earth. Some notable advance had been made in ancient times in this direction. Sound could be transmitted to considerable distances and wireless messages could be sent from one part of the world to another. Instruments had been devised for recording and reproducing the human voice and other sounds. But all that the ancients had achieved was confined to the earth, the medium of transmission being the atmosphere surrounding the earth. The problem was whether messages could be exchanged between men on the earth and others at a great distance from it. The basis for experimentation was the known power of light to travel great distances. The stars with which the sky is studded are at an almost unimaginable distance from the earth. Many of them are telescopic objects and invisible to the naked eye. The individual stars in a nebula cannot be distinguished. The galaxy, or the Milky Way, composed of innumerable stars, appears merely as a misty path across the heavens. Visibility is affected by distance and any artificial light, however large or bright, would become invisible at a sufficiently great distance. Thus the idea of the members of the expedition succeeding in making signals that could be seen from the earth was apparently eliminated;

apparently, but not quite. If an instrument combining the distant vision of a powerful telescope with the multiple magnifying power of a microscope could be designed, it would make visible comparatively minute objects at a great distance. This had been actually done and it was hoped that the airship would be followed in its flight for a very long, long distance: how far was to be a matter of demonstration. If ether and the electric fluid in the air can be used as media for conveying messages, cannot the rays of the sun, moonbeams or astral light be utilized for the same purpose? The different colours in the rays of the sun can be easily divided by a prism. Tetractinal rays can be counted. If a vibration could be set up along a ray of light, or if it could be resolved into prismatic colours from a distance, would not the sunbeam become a Mercury running on errands and carrying messages for man? Something like this must have occurred to the men of science, for they had been hard at it for many years and had been rewarded with some measure of success.

The airship had been named 'Mars' in view of the ultimate objective of the expedition. Trial flights had been made and we were satisfied that the machine fulfilled all expectations. At length the day came when we were to venture forth on our great adventure. In the early dawn the machine had been brought out in the open and was standing on the grass-covered land whence it was to commence its memorable flight. It had been painted a deep sky-blue so as to resemble the sky overhead. There was a huge concourse of people waiting in silence. If there was enthusiasm there was also a prevailing feeling of deep solemnity. Men looked on in silence at the great machine—the triumph of the handiwork of man—and at the stout-hearted men who were about to fare forth on an enterprise from which they might never return. For our part, the quintet that was to play a part of which the words were still unwritten, we looked grave, impressed by the gravity of the occasion and the feeling that we were probably looking for the last time on our common mother, the Earth, and our fellow-men. There was no feeling of regret or depression, for the undertaking was of our own choosing, but we felt it was a solemn moment in our lives, charged with thoughts that may come only once in a lifetime. We were surrounded by the men who had conceived and matured the project, reverend and elderly men with thought stamped on their foreheads and features. Hands were closely and strongly gripped and embraces were exchanged in farewell, and the parting words were spoken. The crowd raised a cheer, we waved our caps and Nabor sounded a fanfare, and as the sun rose in the east the great airship rose majestically into the air.

IV

Marsward ho! That was our unuttered cry as we rose from the earth, and after circling once

over the heads of the people standing below with upturned faces the 'Mars' suddenly zoomed into the upper air. In the new sunlight the sky was clear and there was a fresh breeze blowing. With the exception of Nabor, who was steering, the four of us watched the receding earth. As the planet on which we were born fell away from us in the rapidly growing distance and we watched it through our powerful glasses the bulge of the great snow-clad mountains became gradually level with the surface of the earth and the sea, the cities and towns and forests appeared like tiny specks ever growing smaller, the sea covering the greater part of the earth assumed the appearance of a broad sheet of blue-tinted glass, the whole covered by the atmospheric air as by a thin haze. And still as we rushed along at an ever-increasing speed the flat surface of the earth bent like a huge bow with the curve of the arc upward. We could almost imagine the earth revolving on its axis like a ball spinning on a wire passed through it. We thought of the watchers down below peering through their instrument and following our course. The velocimeter was recording a rate of speed never before attained by any flying machine. All signs and sounds of life had been left far behind. More and more distant became the planet lying underneath us. In a few hours the different objects on the earth became indistinguishable, and we could see only a blur of blue and occasional thin streaks of white as through a glass darkly. The sun shone high up in the heavens, and the day seemed interminably long as the sun remained long visible, long after it had set for the inhabitants of the earth. The highest range of cirrus clouds had long been passed and there was nothing in the sky to retain the afterglow of the sunset. Yet the twilight lingered and the stars came out one by one, steady and untwinkling, unlike the trembling and flickering glimmer seen on earth. Soon the gloom deepened and we were projected into the vast void, the unconquerable and inviolate domain of darkness, silence and space.

And such silence! There could be no sound where there was no medium to carry it, no repercussion. Inside the machine we carried the atmospheric conditions of the earth. The pilot sat inside a mica glass case, hermetically covered on three sides by plated mica glass. We had a controllable escape for letting out vitiated air, but it was a safety-valve and not a ventilator for outside there was no air that we could breathe. Except an occasional slight rustle there was hardly any sound within the 'Mars.' We were silent most of the time, conversing only rarely in low, level tones. Once we tried by sliding open a small aperture to throw our voices outside, but the sounds were instantly choked off as if cut through by a keen blade. We were in a manner outside the bounds of creation, passing through primordial and uncreated silence and

darkness, and before us lay illimitable stretches of interstellar space, and again space, and silence beyond the stars. Visitants like meteors and comets pass through this area, but surely no creature having the breath of life could have preceded us on the path on which we were travelling almost with the fleetness of an aerial body. The silence outside reacted on us and we sent our thoughts out on the silence perhaps to find some response somewhere in space.

There was no moon. The stars and the planets merely helped to intensify the all-pervading, cimmerian darkness. It was a gloom of which no conception can be formed on earth. The character of the night was also wholly different from that known on earth. Night is the time for repose, but on the earth the complete cessation of all signs of life and sound is not possible. The pulse of life does not cease to beat and its throb is felt even at night. The rustle of the wind passes over the sleeping earth; in large and industrial cities the sound of machinery is heard at night; in the villages the silence of night is broken by the barking of dogs; the forest resounds with the roar of animals of prey, and in every direction is heard the scampering feet of other animals, the flapping wings of bats and night-birds, the hoot of owls and the chatter of simians, the incessant chirping of insects. The voice of the sea is never altogether silent and varies from the swish of the surf on the beach to the thunder of breakers crashing on rocks. But here in this boundless desert of space silence holds undisputed sway, undisturbed and unbroken by any sound or sign of life. The utter desolation was eerie, weird, oppressive. The silence was more awful than the deafening peal of many thunders. No less impressive and overpowering was the sublimity and grandeur of it all. We sensed the immanence of a vast, tranquil Presence, unchallenging, invincible in its calmness, suggestive of supreme restfulness. In the empyrean flared the beacons of the first night of creation, bright and dazzling as when they were first lighted. We looked at Mars, the haven for which we were making through the sea of space and we recalled the lines of an ancient poem: 'we were the first that ever burst into that silent sea.' And to our eyes Mars looked like a rhododendron in full bloom.

When the next day dawned we looked back at the Earth and saw a dark mass, in which no features of land or water could be distinguished, receding in the distance. As the days and nights passed the earth became another luminary like the moon in the firmament, larger in appearance and with a pale blue lustre at night. When the moon became visible and waxed night after night we saw what looked like two moons in the sky. Later on, both diminished in size and became like other planets in the heavens. Instead, Mars loomed larger and looked like a red moon, growing bigger every night. During the day the sun

looked ever the same and the days grew longer, while the infinity of silence was never varied or disturbed. One night Nabor suddenly sang out, 'Breakers ahead!' We looked at one another for an explanation, which came the next moment from Nabor himself. 'Some solid substance,' he added, 'moving towards us and travelling at great speed.' He veered a point or two, and the next instant a large black mass hurtled silently past earthward. It was a meteorolite which would burst into light on coming into contact with the atmosphere surrounding the earth.

That was the first thrill we experienced. Had that black mass moving at such high velocity and gathering a fearful momentum in its speed struck the machine the airship would have been pulverized and our shattered limbs would have been scattered in all directions.

There was no thought of dismay, for we carried our lives in our hands and they might be snatched away at any moment. Still we looked serious and Orlon muttered, 'That was a close call!'

Maruchi, mused, and formed his lips into a soundless whistle. 'Yes, but we expect such calls while out on this picnic.'

Ganimet grumbled, 'It is hateful to be snuffed out without being able to make a fight for life.'

'One doesn't fight with fate,' calmly replied Maruchi.

I found wisdom in silence.

V

Seldom have men lived in such a home or prison as that in which we had to remain confined for weeks and months. True, we were under no compulsion of any kind. If we had so wished, we need not have left our pleasant homes on earth at all. If prisoners, we were voluntary prisoners who had surrendered their liberty with enthusiasm; if we had left our homes behind, we had done so with eager willingness. We were all unmarried men and heart-free. None of us was suffering from an attack of nostalgia. Still the narrow though not cramped space in which we had to spend our days and nights, the lack of sufficient movement and the freedom of the open air would have filled us with the tedium of monotony if we had not been sustained by the thought that we had embarked on an enterprise that had never before been attempted, though men had dreamed of it. We were, in fact, constantly in a state of intense but subdued excitement so that we were always bright and cheerful, and never cast down. We never knew what the day or the night might bring, and the endless passage through the desert of space did not pall upon us. Hope stirred strongly in our breasts, since we felt that every day was bringing us nearer our goal. We were always on the alert for some new experience, a vision of the unlocated and erratic

minor bodies wandering through space, or the thrilling menace of some new danger. We talked lightly or seriously as the mood seized us, and Maruchi discoursed pleasantly or learnedly as the whim was upon him. Either Nabor or Ganimet was always in the pilot's seat, steady of hand and nerve, keen of eye and tireless in vigilance.

One day the conversation turned upon the immensity of space. I remarked that the heavenly bodies, the stars with their attendant planets, the comets and the flying meteors were almost innumerable. More than five hundred thousand stars had been counted and there must be many more which had never come within the range of any telescope. Each star represented a solar system and who could tell the number of planets revolving round these half million suns? And yet in the vastness of space they appeared no larger than motes in a sunbeam. Whereupon Maruchi observed, 'That reminds me of the striking ancient myth about the midget, one of the avatars of Vishnu. The dwarf appeared before a king who had defeated the gods, but who was very free with his gifts and never turned away an applicant for charity. When asked what he wanted, the dwarf said he wanted land that he could cover by three steps of his own. The courtiers laughed, looking at the pigmy figure before them and thinking that he could not cover even three yards of land by taking three steps. But a wise minister, who knew who the dwarf was, warned the king and entreated him not to grant the prayer. The king, however, was not in the habit of refusing anything to a beggar and granted the dwarf what he wanted. Even as the king said so, lo, and behold! the midget was transfigured into a being whose head rose higher than the stars. In a single stride he covered the whole earth and in the next he took in the whole heavens, so that the king himself had nowhere to live. The third step was never taken and the king was assigned a kingdom in the nether regions. That is a wonderful allegory and a fine conceit, ending with a daring flight of imagination. All human speculation about the measurement of space is like the attempt of Tom Thumb, the dwarf whose name is found in ancient records, to cover the earth by three steps. Imagination knows no limits, but it totters and reels when it attempts to comprehend the entirety of space.'

For some nights we had been observing a comet which had come out of space and was steadily looming larger every succeeding night until it lay aslant like an enormous brush right across our path. The pale phosphorescence of the widespread tail grew into a bright and transparent luminance and appeared to cover the whole sky. The head was away from us and Orlon suggested that we should endeavour to have a closer view of it. Maruchi smiled and shook his head. 'That would be playing truant,' he said,

'and we have no instructions to be gadding about on a roving commission. We go right ahead through this peacock's tail.'

'That will be something to remember,' rejoined Orlon, 'we shall be able to say that we have twisted a comet's tail.'

'If it were a butterfly I would catch it in my net,' said Ganimet.

The vein of pleasantry was upon us and Maruchi turned to me. 'There may be work for you also, my Aesculapius,' said he, 'for it looks like a sick comet.'

'So it is, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of nebulous light,' misquoted Orlon.

And so the gay rally of banter continued and wit was bandied about like a shuttlecock between two pairs of battledores.

At length the night came when the airship entered the wide, luminous streamer of the comet. There was no heat and the light inside did not appear so brilliant as it did from a distance. It was a pale, diffused, misty, shimmering radiation like the light of a huge glowworm spread out over a wide surface. It took us the greater part of the night to pass out of the broad band of tremulous light while the comet itself was moving away from us at a great rate. The night was nearly at an end when the machine darted out again into the open sky and as the morning light became stronger the comet paled and became invisible.

We next wondered whether there was any point in space where the law of gravitation, or the power of attraction of the heavenly bodies was not at work, or was neutralized by the pull in opposite directions. We could fancy our own machine, with its engines stopped, remaining suspended in space, motionless, for there is no difference between a hard surface and empty space once the law of attraction ceases to function, or is baffled. Imagine the stars as so many pendants of light hung without chains or cords in the canopy of heaven, neither swinging nor moving, and at complete rest in the void!

As the moon moved round in its orbit we approached it one night fairly close and saw it as a large, luminous orb shining with a bright, white light. Through our glasses we could distinguish the mountains, bleak and black, standing out against a background of misty white. The old theory was that the moon is uninhabited and is without a belt of air. We have not tried to obtain more definite or positive knowledge, but we have not been able to accept the belief that there are no living beings on the moon. We do not possess exhaustive knowledge about the conditions under which life is possible. There may be a subtler atmosphere in the moon than the air we breathe on the earth and there may be creatures constituted differently from the inhabitants of the earth. It seems opposed to the economy of nature that any planet, large or small, should be untenanted. The moon is not

a gaseous mass like the stars and the comets. It is as solid as the earth and must be quite as habitable. Equally untenable seems to be the other theory that there might have been life in the moon in the remote past, but life is no longer possible upon it. The earth does not exhaust either all the forms of life, or all the conditions under which it may exist. The mere magnitude of the universe should be a warning against drawing conclusions on insufficient data. How much do we know of the created universe, or the infinite variety of which nature is capable? Even the planets are not all alike. Why should Mars be red while the other planets emit a white light? Even our very limited knowledge has enabled us to ascertain that Jupiter has at least eight attendant moons, and the satellites of Saturn may be still more numerous. Conjectures have been made about the bright rings round Saturn, but our knowledge has not advanced beyond that stage. These are mere suggestions of an endless variety; and if the very planets in a single solar system are so different, why should the existence of life under conditions unknown to us be deemed impossible?

Six months went by and every night Mars loomed bigger and redder in the shortening distance. And finally the day came when the planet became clearly visible even in the daylight, a great, pink orb, which glowed a bright red as the shades of evening fell and the stars shone forth bright and clear. Nearer and nearer drew our objective and our hearts were filled with a sense of elation as we realized that the first step in our adventure was within sight of achievement. We could also realize that the directions up and down are merely relative terms having reference to the position of our own bodies. Even on the earth people living in the antipodes have their feet opposite ours, and if we could drop through a straight hole bored through the earth we would find ourselves on the other side with our heads resting on the surface of the earth and our feet in the air! Here we had come up from the earth and had been flying always in an upward direction, and now, without any change in our course, we were swooping down upon Mars. Left to itself, with the engines shut off, the machine would have dropped plumb to the surface of the new planet. We almost seemed to feel the pull of the huge planet-magnet dragging us down, down towards itself. The night was waning when we entered the red veil of the atmosphere of Mars. The deep scarlet seen from a distance dissolved into a thin haze of light pink as far as the eye could reach. We passed through the higher strata of rarefied air. As the light of the dawn penetrated the upper reaches of the air and the first rays of the sun streamed through the heavens the sky all around was filled with a soft, rosy

radiance, through which we could faintly discern the lay of a strange land, mountains such as we had never imagined before, crowned with curious red crests like the comb of a cock, vast expanses of water gleaming in the young sun, the landscape dotted with clusters of habitations unlike anything we had ever seen before; thin, winding silver threads which must be rivers, and somewhere in the distance a thick column of flaming, red vapour, which was not fire, rose apparently from the surface or womb of the planet. We skirted this at a distance because, for aught we knew, it might be an exhalation of some poisonous gas tinted by some unknown mineral colour. This column rose so high that it was lost to sight and then dispersed. We now looked about for a landing place and presently saw a smooth, large sward, surrounded by woods or forests. All the vegetation was strange, though there were some that we could identify. Nabor shut off the engine and we gracefully volplaned in a long, downward glide, there

was a slight jar, the machine taxied a few yards and came to rest.

We descended and stretched our stiff limbs, and filled our lungs with the sweet, fresh air laden with the fragrance of strange flowers from the woods close by. Maruchi turned to the ship on which we had accomplished this amazing voyage. 'Mars has reached Mars and the first part of our mission is over,' said he. 'There is no longer any need to retain a name which may lead to confusion. Besides, this is all that we have brought from the Earth and to us it represents the planet which is our home and which we have left behind. Accordingly, I rename our good ship 'Mundanus'.'

We bowed our assent and spent a few moments in silent prayer.

The dream wonderful had been realized and we were standing on our feet on the surface of Mars!

To be continued

SOME IMPORTANT BRAHMANICAL SCULPTURES

By D. C. GANGULY, M.A. Ph.D (Lond.)

A DIKESAVA is situated on the east of the Kasi E. I. R. Station, Benares city. It is outside the jurisdiction of the Benares Municipality and full of jungles. That the place is of great antiquity can be discerned from the dilapidated remains of ancient edifices here and there, overgrown with weeds. From the other side of the Duffrin Bridge, on the Ganges, a narrow path, after a quarter of an hour's walk, leads to the temple of Adikesava situated on the confluence of the three rivers—Ganges, Varunā and Asi. During the last Pujā vacation I had the opportunity to visit that locality. In my way to the temple of Adikesava I found many stone sculptures lying here and there in the jungles. Majority of them represent Ganesa dancing or seated. But there are few which are of great interest. I select three of them for study in this article.

A little off from the pathway, in front of an old small temple, there is a slab in Chunar sandstone, leaning against a big tree. It is 3 ft. 2 inches X 1 ft. 8 inches, and represents Brahmā, a member of the Hindu triad. Brahmā is said to have been born from the lotus navel of Visnu. In the ancient Sanskrit literature, he is described as a *vakil* of the gods in Heaven. In case of any difficulty of great moment, the gods approached him, and he represented their case before Visnu for solution. Brahmā had originally five faces and Matsyapurāna* narrated a story about their

origin. It is said that he was enamoured of the beauty of his own daughter Satarūpā who was also famous under the names Sāvitri, Gāyatri, Sarasvatī and Brahmāni. Once that girl having



Brahma

* *Matsyapurana*, Bangabasi edition, Chapter III, pp. 9-10.

made obeisance to her father made a *paradaksina* (circumambulation) around him. Brahmā was eager to drink her beauty but felt a delicacy to turn his face in order to follow her movement. Forthwith the faces sprang up on the left, right, back and top of his head to meet his necessities. Later on, Brahmā married his daughter, and the issue of this union is Manu the first of the human being born. The fifth face, *viz.*, the one on the top of his head is said to have been later on severed by Siva. A story is told by *Skandapurana** that once there was a dispute between Brahmā and Visnu on the point who between them was the lord of the world. Visnu decided the case in his own favour. Brahmā being dissatisfied called upon Caturveda to mediate, but the latter rejecting the claim of the both expressed his opinion in favour of Mahesvara. This decision incensed both Brahmā and Visnu. At once a glow was seen overcasting the whole sky. Brahmā recognized him as Mahesvara and cast a haughty look on him with his face on the top of the head. A fight ensued, and Mahesvara, assuming the body of Kālabhairava, severed the top face of his opponent. Since then Brahmā is four-faced.

Brahmā is rarely worshipped as a principal deity. In the temples he ranks among the subordinate figures. *Skandapurana*† gives the cause of Brahmā's degradation to that position. Brahmā was once deputed by the gods to discover the top-end of Sivalinga. Brahmā in order to take the credit for himself lied to them that he succeeded in finding out the end of Sivalinga. But it was later on discovered that Sivalinga was infinite, and had no end at all. For this offence Visnu cursed Brahmā that he would always go unworshipped.

Mr. Gopinath Rao quotes the following attributes of Brahmā from *Rupamandana* :§

He should have four faces, four arms, may be standing or seated either on lotus flower or swan (*hamsa*). When standing he should be in a *padma-pitha* posture, and when seated—in a *yogasana*. He should wear *jatamukuta*, ornaments, *yajnopavita* and white cloths. A Katisutra (waist band) should go round the loins. His body should be covered with a deer skin. The hands may be carrying the following objects or representing the following pose :

(i) The right hands should be holding *Aksamala* and *kurca* (handful of grass), and the left hands *kusa* and *kamandalu*.

(ii) The right hands may be holding *sruk* and *sruva* and the left hands *ajya-sthali* (ghee-pot) and *kusa*.

(iii) One of the right hands may represent *abhaya* and the other may hold *Aksamala* ; one

of the left hands may be in *varada* and the other holding *Kamandalu*.

(iv) One of the right hands may be in *varada* and the other holding *sruva* : the left hands may be holding *sruk* and *kamandalu*.

(v) The right hands may be carrying *aksamala* and *sruk* and the left *pustaka* and *Kamandalu*.

(vi) The palm of the front two hands may be placed one over the other and the back hands may be carrying *aksamala* and *kamandalu*.

Mr. Gopinath Rao also quotes from the *Visnu-purana** that Brahmā should be seated on a chariot drawn by seven swans. To his right should be his consort Sarasvatī and to his left another consort Sāvitrī ; or, Sāvitrī alone may be seated on his left side. According to *Silparatna*, there should be four *Vedas* and *Ajya-sthali* in front of Brahmā.

The slab we have here representing Brahmā is standing in "Sampadasthānaka" pose. Three out of the four heads are visible. The front one is much damaged and possesses long beard. The image is four-headed but the foreparts of all of them from elbows are missing. It wears "karnakundala" (ear-rings), *kanthahāra* (necklace) and *keyura* (armlet). Its wearing cloth hangs down up to the knees, which is held tight in the waist by an ornamented band. From this band hang down upon the thighs beaded tassels. The *uttariya* which is tucked up and which stretches up to the knees, is held up by two arms. To its left on the pedestal is the swan looking to left. To its right is a standing female figure in a *tribhanga* pose holding a cornucopia with the half raised left hand. The forepart of her right hand is missing. Her wearing cloth hangs down below the knees, and she is naked above the waist. She may be identified with Sāvitrī. The date of erection of this image may be placed in the tenth or eleventh century A. D.

In the vicinity of the above statue is a slab containing an image leaning against the trunk of another tree. It is 2ft. 5in. by 1ft. 6in. I am inclined to identify it with Ksetrapāla. The duty of Ksetrapāla is to protect the towns and villages from evil spirits. Mr. Gopinath Rao gives the following description of Ksetrapāla† from various ancient literatures :

The image may be *satvika*, *rajasika* and *tamsika*. When the image is *satvika*, it may have two arms, holding *trisula* in the right hand and *kapala* in the left ; or, it may have four arms—the back hands carrying either—*khadga* and *ghanta* or *sula* and *kapala*, or *sula* and *ghanta*. The two front hands should be in *varada* and *abhaya* poses. Ksetrapāla

* *Setumahatmyam* in *Brahmakhandam* p. 1583.

† *Mahesvarakhanda* pp. 30-32.

§ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. II., p. 503 ff.

* *Ibid.*, p. 505. It is not found in the Bangabasi edition.

† G. N. Rao, *Hindu Icon.* Vol. II, Part. II. Plate CXLI.



Ksetrapala

should have hairs on the head standing erect. He must be standing on a *padmapitha*. Nudity is the most characteristic feature in the images. The sculptures found in Helebidu and Ajmere* however show that hairs may not necessarily be erect and figures may be clothed.

Suprabhedagama narrates* that the image of Ksetrapāla should wear a *nāga-yajnopavita* on its body, and a garland of skulls on the head. If the image is four-handed, it should have *trisula* and *kkadga* in the right hands and *kapala* and *khetaka* in the left.

The slab referred to above bears mostly the characteristics of Ksetrapāla. It resembles in general that found in Helebidu.† It is entirely besmeared with red thick dyes probably to render it a bearing of liveliness and as such is much disfigured. The image is round in the upper portion, and stands on a pedestal in a *tribhanga* pose. It has two hands. The palm and the fingers of the right hand which was holding a *trisula* is damaged. The traces of the head of the *trisula* can be seen on the chest of Ksetrapāla. The left hand grasps an object like *kapala* which is generally held on the palm.

Just like the Helebid image a human head is also held by the left hand together with the *kapala*. It wears a garland of skulls on the head, a *nāga-yajnopavita* and *valaya* (bracelets).

The eyes are wide open, and looks are grim. The date of the image may be placed in the twelfth century A. D.

In the entrance to the temple of Adikesava to the left, in a small room, is a slab representing the images of Laksmi-Narasimha. 1 ft. 7 in. × 1 ft. 3 in. It is in Chunar sand-stone. The slab is loose and is not fixed up in the floor. This suggests that it was brought thither probably from the neighbouring ruins.

The lord Visnu assumed the incarnation of Narasimha for the destruction of Hiranyakasipu.*



Laksmi-Narasimha

Srimad-Bhagavata tells us that after finishing his mission Narasimha disappeared from the earth. But *Lingapurana*† narrates that Narasimha after slaying Hiranyakasipu was tyrannizing the whole world. At this the gods prayed to Siva to make an end of Narasimha. Siva thereupon assumed the appearance of Sarabha and killed Narasimha. The severed head of the latter, he stuck in his garland of human heads, and the skin of the body left, he wore around his own.

The *Puranas* enjoin that Narasimha is to be worshipped by the people just like they do Visnu. The *Brahmapurana* lays down the rules for the worship of Narasimha.§ There are varieties

* *Ibid.*, p. 497.

† *Ibid.*, Plate CXLI, fig. 2.

† *Srimad Bhagavata*, Chap. VII, p. 315.

* Chapters V and VI, p. 166ff.

§ Chap. LVIII, p. 272 ff.

of Narasimha images. They have been elaborately described by Mr. Gopinath Rao.* The Girija-Narasimha, in which is included Kevala-Narasimha and Yoga-Narasimha, is generally a single figure, seated on a *padmasana* or *simhasana* in the *uktata* posture. It may have two or four hands holding the attributes of Visnu.

The Sthanu-Narasimha may have twelve or sixteen hands. Here the slaying of Hiranyakasipu, by placing on the thighs of Narasimha, is demonstrated. The Janaka-Narasimha is seated on the shoulders of Guruda or upon the folds of Adisesa. Adisesa should hold its hood over the head of Narasimha like an umbrella. Mr. Gopinath Rao remarks that† “besides the above types there are a few other varieties whose descriptions are not found in the Sanskrit authorities available.” The Laksmi-Narasimha variety is included into it. But I find a description of this class in the *Skandapurana*. It is stated that the Rsi Bharadvaja, having made an image of the lord Jagannātha with wood, placed it in a superb temple. He requested Brahma to put life into it. Brahma visited the temple accompanied by Indradyumna and others. After Brahma’s incantation of some verses everybody saw the image of the lord Jagannātha converted into that of Narsimha with Devi Kamala seated on his bosom. Narasimha is in calm composure. He is with four hands. His two hands are holding *cakra* and *pinaka* (staff or trident) and the other hand is stretched on the knee. He is seated on the lotus and smiling and looking to the face of Sri. His body is graced with ornaments. Valadeva spreads his thousand hoods and holds them over Narasimha like an umbrella.*

* *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 149 ff.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 154.

§ Mantrarajam tato labdha Indradyumnas-
Caturmmukhat | Nrsimham santavapusam Laksmi-
samsthita vaksasam || 25 Cakram pinakam dadhatam
candra suriyagni caksusam | Januprasaritakara-
sarojadvandvam unnasam || 26 jogapatta samarudham
dvatrimisaddalapadmake | mantravarnamaye madhye

The Laksmi-Narasimha image in the temple of Adikesava seems to have been erected by a sculptor, who had the above verse of the *Skandapurana* in his mind. It agrees almost in every respect with the description laid down in the foregoing paragraph. Narasimha in his calm composure is seated on a lotus with his right knee tucked up and the left leg drawn in on the level of the seat and slightly raised up. He wears *jatamukuta*, *kanthahara*, *valaya*, and a piece of cloth. Over his head Valadeva spreads his hoods from the back. His lion’s face is half open and the tongue is protruded. He is four-armed. His back right hand is holding a *cakra* and the back left a *pinaka*. The front right hand is stretched by the side of the knee in an *abhaya* pose; his front left hand passes round the back of Kamala and touches her left breast. Kamala is seated on his left lap. Her legs hang down. She wears a *mukuta*, *karnakundala*, *kanthahara*, *valaya*, *nupura*, and a piece of cloth. She throws her right hand over the shoulder of Narasimha, and her left hand is possibly holding a lotus. To the left below is seated a small figure of Garuda worshipping Laksmi-Narasimha with folded hands. The date of the erection of this image can be placed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. A. D.

The sculptures described above possess great iconographical interest. They are very rare in northern India. There are few images of Brahma in some Museums, but I do not find in the published catalogues of the Museums of Northern India reference of any sculpture of either Laksmi-Narasimha or Ksetrapala. In Southern India Laksmi-Narasimha type is popular in the Mysore State. It is also found on the coins of some Hoyasala Kings who ruled there during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century A. D.

karnika pranavojjvale || 27 || Sukhasinam sattahasam
viksantam srimumhambujam | satamandita vaktravjam
divya ratnojvalakrtim || 28 || phanasahsram vistarjya
pasacacchatrakrtim vibhoh | dadarsa Balabhadram tam
halalangala dharinam || 29 ||

(*Ibid.*, p. 967).



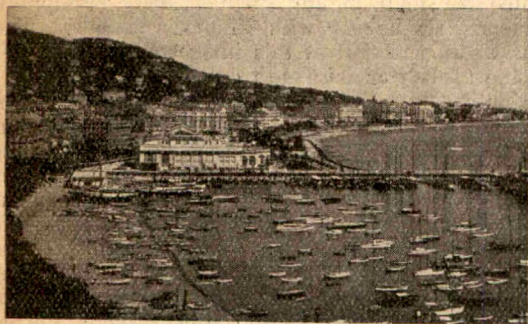
ROMANCE OF THE RIVIERA

CANNES AND ITS ENVIRONS

BY ANIMESH CH. RAY-CHAUDHURI, M. A.

OF all the places I have seen in the Riviera, none appeals to me more than Cannes. Nice is a little too crowded and Monte Carlo a little too gay, but Cannes has a quiet charm of her own quite in keeping with the romantic atmosphere and scenery of the place.

Situated at the mouth of a lovely bay, with the Mediterranean in front of her, and the green hills behind her with terraced villas and wooded gardens, she is indeed a town of enchantment upon which one's eyes and memory would love to linger.



Cannes—General View

I never knew that hills could be so green or seas so blue until I looked on those pretty hills and seas that girdle this town. I could almost fancy her as a beautiful maiden with her two arms outstretched—the Palm Beach Casino at one end and the Croisette at the other—locking the great deep in a loving embrace.

As I stand on one of those arms, the whole panorama spreads out before me in a harmony of colour and a splendour of beauty that is incomparable. The curving sea beach sweeps from end to end with magnificent palm groves and promenades and still more magnificent hotels, and rising above them, tier upon tier, are hanging villas and castles and towers, the topmost point being the observatory at Super-Cannes, whither the funicular takes one winding up the hills. From this point of vantage, one can see the glorious sunrise and sunset, and watch, until the evening shadows descend upon the landscape, and hundreds of lights from pretty villas shine forth upon the blue ocean like starry eyes beneath the starry sky.

An Indian in Cannes would perhaps be reminded of Bombay and of Benares—Bombay with her Malabar Hill overlooking the sea, and Benares (though she has neither hills nor sea) with her gorgeous river-front lined with temples and terraces. But neither in Bombay nor in Benares is there such a promenade by the strand along which you can march for miles and miles with the still waters at your elbow. And this promenade is the real glory of Cannes. Neither is there in Bombay nor in Benares the same harmony in the landscape, the same softness and delicacy of water-curve, as in Cannes.

There is something in the very atmosphere, the atmosphere of the Riviera, which one would miss in either of the two Indian cities to which Cannes seems to bear a remote resemblance at first sight. It is the holiday atmosphere, an atmosphere of rest from labour, of rest from the ordinary preoccupations of man, of leisured gaiety. Hundreds of yachts and canoes lie at anchor beneath the pier, their shadows reflected in the still waters of the lagoon, and at a little distance, a motley crowd of men and women lounge along in beach pyjamas, or bathe in sun and sea, with entire disregard of social convention or ceremony. Further away on the sandy beach, beneath huge multi-coloured umbrellas, that look from a distance like so many butterflies with wings outspread, sit smoking, or gossiping over bowls of liquor, the human butterflies from the ends of the earth.

What an exhilaration it must be to escape from the hurry and bustle of modern life into such an atmosphere of rest and quiet! Here a plentiful feast is offered to you by bountiful Nature of genial sunshine and bracing sea-air, to which add all the comforts and amenities of life in a Riviera hotel, plenty of food and drinks, tables groaning under pyramids of sweets and bottles of champagne and burgundy (provided one is addicted to drinking), motoring and shooting, boating and fishing, gambling and golfing, and whatever else one's heart might desire. In short one has plenty of everything to make life enjoyable on the sensuous and sensual planes, provided one has plenty of money, and leisure combined with it.

WORLD'S PERFUMERY

As for excursions, a few hours' drive from Cannes will take you to Nice, and a few

hours' more to Monte-Carlo and the famous Casino. A few hours' drive backwards will take you again to Grasse, the town which is famous as the supplier of perfumes to the world. For miles and miles, as you drive through the countryside, the air is laden with the scent of mimosas, and jasmines and cherry blossoms that run riot in the South of France.

LEGEND OF THE MAN IN THE IRON MASK

Looking out upon the sea from the windows of your hotel, your eyes are confronted by a grim castle in the wooded isle of St. Marguerite, whither the ferry boat will take you in about half-an-hour. Built on a rocky promontory commanding the sea from a height of thirty meters, and facing the Croisette, this castle has a romantic history quite in keeping with the surrounding scenery.

In this fortress was imprisoned the Man in the Iron Mask whose character and personality are shrouded in mystery. According to legend he was a twin brother of Louis XIV who for some unknown reason condemned him to life-long imprisonment, ordering him, on pain of death, to wear night and day an iron mask in black velvet with steel chin pieces. The Prince

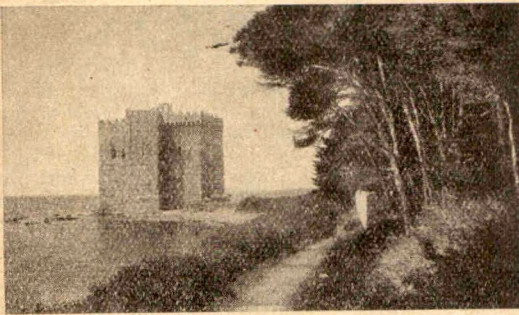
reply. 'Then,' said the Governor, 'you are free and be glad you don't know how to read.' In consequence of this incident the Governor ordered the windows to be protected by three sets of bars, which can be seen to this day.

One does not know what the writing was, but one's imagination would love to think of the Man in the Iron Mask, as some captivated prince in a 'faery land forlorn,' addressing himself thus to the fisherman at sea,

"O Man of the sea,
Come hither unto me
And release me from my captivity."



Cannes—Promenade de La Croisette



Cannes—Chateau St. Honorat

was at first confined at Pignerol, but in the year 1687 he was conducted to the Fort Royal at St. Marguerite accompanied by his guardian M. de St. Mars. Twice the prisoner attempted to escape from captivity, and twice his attempt was foiled by the Governor of the island, who was strictly ordered to show him every consideration and courtesy, and to deny him nothing except his liberty.

It is said that once the prisoner wrote with a knife on a silver plate and threw it through the window into a boat at the foot of the tower. A fisherman picked it up and brought it to the Governor who demanded whether he had read what was written on the plate, and if anybody had seen it in his hand. 'I don't know how to read and nobody has seen it,' was the fisherman's

Another curious legend says that the young prince was allowed by the Governor to be visited by a young lady of Mougins whose beauty enthralled him, and the issue of their secret amours was a bonny baby who was put in a boat and cast to the mercy of the winds and the waves.

Some fishermen of Corsica discovered the boat which the winds had driven to their island, and as they observed the handsome boy wrapped in fine linen, they rescued him, and called him 'Buonaparte,' which means one of good origin.

This legend would give colour to the theory that the Buonaparte family whose founder was this prince rescued by the Corsican fishermen was closely related to the Bourbons, the father of the boy being a twin brother of Louis XIV.

There is yet another pretty island about 1500 meters from Cannes and divided from St. Marguerite by a channel 700 meters wide. This is the isle of St. Honorat, also called Ile de Lerins, which takes us to the beginnings of Provençal history. The island was named after a young nobleman of Tullium who landed there in 405 and founded a big monastery which for several centuries afterwards was recognized as the chief seminary of the Bishops of Provence and supplied a large number of Bishops and Archbishops to the Church of Rome. In 730, when the Arabs invaded Cannes and Provence, they massacred the Abbot of Lerins and his 500 Friars. In memory of these 500 martyrs of their creed a chapel was consecrated and built to the south

of the islands. Quite a large number of Friars, still live in this monastery a life of idyllic simplicity, tilling their own lands and brewing their own wines, and earning their livelihood by the sweat of their brow. No woman has ever been allowed to visit this monastery, which contains innumerable reliques of ancient times.

Thus, legend and history have invested Cannes and its environs with a charm unsurpassed by any other town in the Riviera. The credit for discovering the beauty of this land and its

potentialities as a future health resort goes to an Englishman, Lord Brougham, who, as Lord Chancellor of England, greatly patronized Cannes, and persuaded many of his friends to build villas here, himself leading the way by building "Eleonore Luise." Cannes cherishes the memory of this noble son of England with loving gratitude, as is evidenced by the fine memorial statue erected in his honour, with verses worthy of him and of his French compeers.

THE SAMANVAYA-BHASHYAS OF THE LATE PANDIT GAURGOVINDA ROY UPADHYAYA

By KOKILESHWAR SASTRI VIDYARATNA, M. A.,

PANDIT Gaurgovinda was snatched away by the cruel hand of death at a time when the lovers of Sanskrit literature were just beginning to receive the incalculable benefit of his able pen in the discovery and development of a harmony in the teachings of the great scholars, who represented the

Aphorisms of Badarayana's *Bramha-sutra*, including the teachings of the Bhagvad-Gita. A philosopher of great eminence and a powerful thinker and vigorous writer, his abilities were of a type that made his lines of thought invaluable in constructing work of a unique character in the domain of Indian philosophy, particularly in the Vedanta system. The fervour with which he vitalized the Vedantic movement, providing it with intellectual force, and at the same time inspiring it with a genuine devotional tone, enhanced the value of all his writings.

He was a master of debate in abstruse subjects. His style was always characterized by great lucidity and a remarkable grandeur and dignity. Forgoing luxurious habits and courting the hard life of an ascetic, he dedicated himself to the study of Sanskrit and he has left behind a rich legacy in his immortal works—specially in his *Upanishad* or *Vedanta Samanvaya* and *Gita-Samanvaya*, commentaries of which India may justly be proud. He was second to none in the sacrifice he made for the cause of Sanskrit. Each of the pages of these two monumental works is full of profound and practical wisdom, making them very useful volumes for daily needs and giving solace to stricken souls.

Pandit Upadhyaya seems to have a special gift for finding harmony among ideas which to an ordinary mind appear bristling with conflict and to be a maze of puzzle. The author also utilized the results of modern critical research; and his observations and critical discussions on many a knotty point and on some most obscure and controversial passages of the Vedanta were most illuminating, and his *Gita-bhasya* presents in almost all difficult stanzas the different views of eminent ancient commentators along with his own, enhancing the value of his work. These two works, together with his *Gita-Praparti*—which last is a compendium of the famous *Bhagavata Purana*—embody sublime thoughts on spiritual life expressed in beautiful, pure, charming and chaste Sanskrit. His writings reveal a warm expression of the deeply spiritual side of his nature, coupled with a high sense of purity and love, which will not fail to keep the mind of the reader above the vulgar and sensuous plane, offering at the same time a healthy intellectual treat to the mind.



Upadhyaya Gaurgovinda Roy
Born—1840. Died—March 1, 1912

apparently conflicting theories in the six main schools which have branched out from the same enigmatical

These invaluable Sanskrit works of the late lamented author deserve to be very widely read. And we hope the publishers, if any, will place the works at different centres of India in such a way as to render them easily accessible to those who love Sanskrit and those also who take an interest in our Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gita. We regret to find that there are many who are not even acquainted with the names of such works of the Upadhyaya. It is our firm belief that no spiritual aspirant can read these *samanvaya bhashyas* without experiencing an ennobling thrill of exaltation, both spiritual and intellectual.

The learned author made, for the first time, perhaps, in Bengal, an attempt to reconcile the contested points of disagreement between the two great commentators—Shankara and Ramanuja : and this attempt at reconciliation, which was a *desideratum* for all scholars of philosophy, has, to our view, been attended with a unique success. His very thoughtful and learned discussions on several points of these two apparently irreconcilable and rival systems will, we are sure, carry conviction into the minds of the readers and at the same time throw a flood of light, clearing away several obscure points about them.

The editions already published of these big volumes seem to have been long exhausted and we hope the lovers of Sanskrit will not allow these invaluable gems of Sanskrit commentaries to be forgotten, for a careful perusal of them is sure to repay the labour spent. The diction is so simple and refreshing that interest never lags and no exhaustion of brain is felt, although the discussions on many a passage are often exceedingly deep and penetrating. The Pandit seems to have left no worthy successor who could take up and continue their publication and thus secure the

works against the fate of oblivion, into the gulf of which many a worthy Sanskrit work has fallen and been lost for good. We hope our appeal will not go unheeded.

The idea of unification and the finding of harmony where there is conflict, which marks and characterizes the writings of Pandit Gaurgovinda, received their original inspiration and first inception through his long connection with the New Dispensation Church of the Brahmo Samaj, whose founder was the great Keshub Chunder Sen, who was his master. The grand unification of all the various religions of the world, which the great Keshub Chunder Sen tried to crystallize into a Universal Religion, founded by him in his own Church, effectively contributed to the growth of the idea of harmony which the Upadhyaya sought, like his master, to infuse into his own writings. It was the master's great personality which exerted its beneficial influence upon his worthy disciple, who did not fail to take the cue from him and to give it a practical shape in another direction. It was the light of the New Dispensation which has thus enlivened and left its permanent mark on these Sanskrit works.

His works deserve to be translated into English, so that the result of his researches may be known and published among the learned men of other provinces and countries. His labour on the great work of the grammarian Patanjali, whose *bhashyas* he explained under the title of *Bhashya-sangamani* stands today as witness to his many-sided genius. But this work he could not finish in his lifetime. His was a life whose manifold usefulness could hardly be overestimated, and the country has been left poorer by the removal by death of this outstanding figure.

TEA GARDEN LABOUR

By T. P. SARKAR

LABOUR for the tea gardens, particularly in Assam and the Dooars, is recruited through an elaborate establishment known as the Tea Districts Labour Association which has its offices almost in all the provinces in India wherever labour may be recruited, with a head office in Calcutta.

Formerly, before legislation restricted recruitment, each garden or group of gardens had its or their own arrangement for the supply of labour. But now legislation demands that labour must be recruited through a properly licensed *sardar*, who must be a *bona fide* labourer on the garden, who again must work under the supervision of a

Local Agent who has obtained a licence from the Assam Labour Board.

This round-about way of recruiting has made labour very costly to the gardens. The tea planters in Assam, in their evidence to the Simon Commission, mentioned £20 as the amount they have to spend per head for every labourer landing at the garden. This is no wonder. The Tea Districts Labour Association, through whom Assam tea labour is recruited, is a place where people are paid very handsomely. Local Agents generally start with Rs. 550 a month, plus free furnished quarters and a local travelling allowance. While on tour they get a daily

allowance of Rs. 9-8, first-class journey with a servant and conveyance to the places they have to go and back. If they are travelling by road, they get 8 annas a mile besides the daily allowance of Rs. 9-8. Annual increment is at Rs 100 per annum running to Rs. 1800. Thus it does not take many years for a Local Agent's salary to reach its maximum which he enjoys for many years. There is a second grade for Local Agents, which starts on Rs. 350, with an annual increment of Rs. 50, and rises to Rs. 550 and Rs. 750, other conditions being the same. Generally, the Local Agents are Europeans. The total number of European Local Agents is, so far as our information goes, between 18 and 23, but not in all likelihood less than 18. Over and above this, the T. D. L. A. head office in Calcutta has a few Europeans, not less than three in number. There are Indians who work under European supervision with a starting salary which is not even half the starting pay of a second-grade European Local Agent. Yet, taken by itself, the service is not at all bad. Indians are recruited on a scale of Rs. 150-25-500, with a local travelling allowance which is the same as that of Europeans, but with second-class railway fare and Rs. 5 as daily allowance. Conveyance, if on tour, is paid to them just as it is done to the Europeans. They also get free furnished quarters. If more Indian young men with active habits are recruited, the cost of the establishment will be lessened without in any way interfering with the efficiency of the system.

When a *sardar* (recruiter) comes from the garden, he is paid travelling expenses and as soon as he reaches the local agency office of the T. D. L. A. (Tea Districts Labour Association) he is given an advance up to Rs. 20, in cases more, to go to his native village to get a recruit. Most often he comes back for a second advance with brilliant promises, gets one and goes back. Often he comes many times over and at last brings up a recruit. A *sardar* who has failed to get a recruit, costs a garden train fare both ways, advances given and *khoraki* on way. It is surprising that, generally, average recruitment per *sardar* is 1.... something; in 1930-31 this figure was 1.55 and in the previous season 1.35. And this is generally the figure.

The T. D. L. A. Local Agencies number as follows :

	1929-30	1930-31
Bengal	2	1
Bihar and Orissa	13	16
United Provinces	4	5
Central Provinces	7	10
Bombay	5	nil
Madras	6	7
	37	39

And the total number of adults recruited since 1918-19 is shown below :

Season	Sirdars accredited	Adults recruited
1918-19	45,112	1,72,096½
1919-20	28,721	53,034½
1920-21	6,388	16,188
1921-22	14,148	16,192½
1922-23	19,796	20,183
1923-24	30,880	39,685½
1924-25	26,425	22,681
1925-26	26,736	29,710
1926-27	30,100	32,500
1927-28	30,209	35,412½
1928-29	35,763	60,023½
1929-30	42,829	58,150
1930-31	32,544	50,552

The following are the charges that are made ordinarily by the T. D. L. A. on gardens when a bill is sent on account of the *sardars* :

1. Advances to *sardars* and coolies.
2. Assam Labour Board cess on emigrants.
3. Cost of clothing outfits.
4. The Association's commission charges.
5. Forwarding expenses to Gauhati or Goalundo.
6. Forwarding to and from Gauhati or Goalundo to garden.
7. *Khoraki* charges.
8. Association's capitation fee on *sardars*.
9. Sundries, e. g. legal, hospital and other charges, if any.

Over and above, the garden has to pay commission to the *sardars* who are successful in recruiting. This figure, too, is not low.

There are years when the Association has made a surplus money (profit ?) amounting to

over Rs. 15,00,000 (Rs. 15,12,230-4-11 to be exact).

To control the work of the T. D. L. A., there exists the Assam Labour Board with a civilian as its chairman. This is practically a Government body. Yet, they have, it is surprising to find, on the Board a retired Indian Police officer as one of the supervisors. And there is not a single Indian on the Board, who holds an officer's post excepting one in the Calcutta office.

A garden labourer's income is made mostly from March to October. His daily income, as admitted by a planter, is not more than four annas to five annas, and if we take account of his sickness, etc., he does not earn more than Rs. 8 to 10 a month on the average. Of course, he is given free land for cultivation on most of the gardens, if he so desires. But this is done to serve the interest of the garden, which will not have to incur the trouble and expenditure of getting all the labour force settled on its own lands permanently. Attempts to this end are made most assiduously. And this is why recruitment of family groups is readily encouraged. If one goes about Assam tea areas, one finds villages, known as *bustis*, of labourers thus settled down permanently.

It is stated that sometimes labourers are induced to incur loans in the garden, against the granting of which the garden permanently binds down the man so encumbered, permanently because, it is argued, the loans can never be repaid.

Question of getting back home, whenever a man so wants, is another very difficult matter. Law provides a section for repatriation. But it is certainly not a very easy thing for a labourer to force the law on his European master. Outlets from the garden are always guarded. Seldom has a man sufficient money to pay for the return journey back of the whole family. It is quite likely that everyone does not want to come back, but it is as likely that many would be glad to do so. Generally, tea garden labour is recruited from open countries, where the atmosphere is dry and healthy, and freedom abounds. Suddenly they are plunged, may be of their own accord, in places where conditions of life are quite opposite. Then they realize their

mistake and long to go back. At that time they are helpless.

From this point of view recruiting of short-term labour is not always altogether unwise. Sometimes it is quite advisable from the point of view of expenditure. If conditions are made with labourers who want to go up for short-terms that

1. they will not get back journey fare ;
2. no bonus will be given to them, which is generally given as an encouragement and as a sort of *bakshish* ;

3. no clothing outfit will be issued ;

and

1. T. D. L. A. will not get more than one-fourth commission ;

2. no commission to *sirdars* (recruiters) ;
3. gardens who want such labourers should send *sirdars* expressly for this kind of recruits and notify the Local Agents so that advances to *sirdars* may be cut down considerably ;

4. there will be less medical charges ;
5. Assam Labour Board's cess should be reduced to one-fourth ;

if this is done, much of the recruiting expenses will be saved. If people go up and find the garden a place where earning is easy and work plentiful, and not have too many physical break-downs and too many deaths, they will certainly not like to go back home for an extremely bitter struggle for existence. But if they find the garden a place of a different kind, they should certainly want to go back home.

It is strange that a labourer returned from the garden as a 'name cut,' *i.e.*, returned home not to go up again, never tells his fellow-men any happy news about the place. Most of them say it is a place where people may live somehow hand to mouth, can somehow manage to keep body and soul together, but suffer from sickness most often.

A *tehi* who was taken up to Jhobka Tea Estate (Singloo Tea Company) in Sibsagar (Assam) when a mere child, came back to his own village as a 'name cut' (he said with permission from the manager) after 6 or 7 years. He stayed at home for 10 or 12 years and went up to the Bhurbhuria T. E., Cachar (Ry. Station, Srimangal), as that was a year of scarcity amounting to famine. He came back

home again after 3 or 4 years and remained at home for another 10 or 12 years. Then again he went up to Sanchowra T. E. (Alinagar), Sylhet, as there was again famine in his district. He remained in the above tea estate for about 6 years and this time he came back not to go up again. His son, who was born on a tea estate, does not like the idea of going to a tea plantation at all.

From this statement, an idea may be formed that a man goes up to a tea garden when conditions of living are extreme in his district and longs to return home always. He returns home at the earliest opportunity and does not go up again till circumstances do not compel him to do so. If he remains three years on garden, he stays at home for ten years, perhaps to recoup and regain his former health. His son, who was born and brought up on an estate, is not willing at all to go up to a garden even though he gets only one meal a day. Why is this? Is it due to unattractiveness of the garden and constant sickness of the body and ill-treatment of the managers?

If the tea planters want sincerely to minimize their expenses, if at least they want not to increase them, they would have to look to their recruiting organization. They have to spend so much to get labour that it is almost an impossibility for them to look to the welfare of their labourers to that extent which is essential. If they could save part of this money, they could have been able to make work on the garden more attractive.

A surprising feature of the 'axe' is that whenever necessity for reduction arises, superior services are seldom touched. Only the poorer and the least paid people pay the penalty and suffer. Without a thorough overhauling of their extravagant recruiting arrangements, the planters say, they cannot spend any further on welfare work. No top-heavy administration can go on indefinitely.

How sentiment quickly evaporates, will be seen from the fact that after a labourer is brought down to the depot of the T.D.L.A.,

passed and sent up, he has to go up to the garden under official escort of the T.D.L.A., right from the depot to the garden doors, though he has his own *sardar* with him, who is an old garden labourer himself and, as such, knows the route thoroughly. No doubt, escort is given to avoid certain other matters that may happen on the way, but the chief reason is that very soon the labourer may realize the changes he is going to face and may try to escape. Some do escape, with or without the clothing outfit. But the office peons are an adequate check on such incidents.

It will certainly interest the public, those who are in politics and even those who are not, to know how many people and how many families have come back to their homes enriched with sufficient money to settle down in their villages as cultivators, with which object they do certainly go up. There ought to be a publication which will contain statistics regarding the economic position of the tea garden labourers, their wages, matters affecting their welfare, standard of living, general statement on earnings, expenses and claimants to the aggregate income of families, susceptibilities due to caste, creed, religion and peculiar provincial customs and tendencies of the labourers. Another big question is why are so many recruited each and every year. Of course, there are so many gardens too. But is it due to death and constant confinement of the labourers to the bed and hospitals that demand constant recruiting and a large reserve force?

An official unbiassed person who has knowledge of tea labour ought to be employed to go round the gardens, see things personally and submit a report. He ought to get all official help to be able to deal with the question thoroughly. Otherwise, he will not be able to do anything in the gardens. Who knows, if such an investigation takes place, what may not crop up?

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

DISCUSSION ON THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY) BILL

[Continued from the previous issue]

[Reproduced from the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES, Saturday, 12th March, 1932 Vol. II—No. 15.]

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi (Burma : Non-European): Mr. President, in these days of undisguised British frightfulness in India, we have to be thankful for small mercies; and the House has to be thankful that it has been given an opportunity of discussing this measure. But having been given this opportunity what has the House done so far? I recall, Sir, the year 1928 when the Public Safety Bill was introduced in the Assembly; and I feel sad when I contrast the attitude of the Opposition today with the attitude of the Opposition in those days, when a measure of this type which strikes at the fundamental rights of a British subject was discussed in this House.

The most effective answer to any attempt on the part of my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir and other Members who have deluded themselves into the belief that they are accepting no responsibility except for the provisions of this Bill—and this Bill alone, has been given by my Honourable friend Sir Brojendra Mitter in a nutshell. The Honourable the Law Member said, "if you can swallow the principle of detention without trial, why protest against any of the clauses of the present Bill?" To start with, I am in entire agreement with him on this point; but is this House prepared to accept the principle of detention without trial? If we are a party to this measure, according to Sir Brojendra Mitter's argument followed to its logical sequence, we shall be giving our sanction to the principle of detention without trial. If we are not approving the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, then we have no right to add anything on the Statute-book in furtherance of that Act. (Hear, hear.)

The very first point which this House has got to consider is this. If the provisions of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act were to be placed before this House today, what would be the attitude of the House towards those provisions? My Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir said yesterday that this House has no responsibility for the provisions of the Bengal Act. I ask him now, if the provisions of the Bengal Act were placed before the House today, would he support them? I am confident that he would not. I am equally confident that the Opposition and more particularly the Nationalist and the Independent Benches, could not possibly lend their support to the Bengal Act if it were placed before the House today. If they could not lend their support to the Bengal Act, how can they lend their support to this Bill which is frankly in furtherance of the object underlying the Bengal Act? We have heard a great deal about this House not being given an

opportunity to discuss various provisions which have been promulgated by way of Ordinances. But when we do get an opportunity now what attitude is this House going to take up? If we pass this measure, what right have we to complain that we have not been given an opportunity to discuss the Ordinances; because if we were given an opportunity to discuss the Ordinances, would the verdict of the House be different to what it would be on this measure today? I do contend, Sir, that every principle of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is pernicious from end to end, and we cannot possibly be a party to any part of that Act or to this Bill which is frankly intended to supplement the Bengal Act and to help the Bengal Government which has taken powers under that Act. I therefore urge that the first duty of the elected Members of this House is to resist these constant inroads on the liberty of the subject and to throw out this Bill at this stage. (Applause.)

I cannot appreciate the argument advanced by my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir that the House has accepted the principle of the Bill, and therefore even if the House realizes at this late stage that it has committed a grave error, it cannot rectify it. Is Sir Cowasji Jehangir or any other Member in the House prepared to assert that because an error has been committed by accepting the principle of the Bill, this House is bound to persevere in it?

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Had the Honourable Member been in this House and returned from Burma a little earlier, he would have been a little wiser than he is today.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi: My Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir is trying to evade the answer to my question. I would again put this simple question to him and would like to have a clear answer. Is it his position that even if this House has made a mistake in accepting the principle of the Bill, this House must persevere in the mistake and perpetuate it? I wait for a reply.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir: Certainly not. The House has always the privilege and the right to change its mind at any moment, but the Honourable Member, who has been deliberately absent from this Honourable House, has no right to criticize it on the third reading.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi. I am thankful to my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, that he has given his opinion now in unequivocal language. Therefore, I do now tell every Member of the House, on the authority of my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir (laughter and cheers) that whether he sat on the Select Committee or not, and whether he was present in this House or not when this Bill was

referred to the Select Committee, if he now feels that the House has committed an error, whether it is a grave error or a slight error, in allowing this Bill to go to Select Committee, let him now rectify that error. We cannot perpetuate an error of this kind and thus do grave injustice to Bengal. (Applause.)

Assuming for the moment that this House is not going to refuse consideration of this Bill but that it is going to consider the Bill later on clause by clause—I hope this will not happen—but on that assumption I shall now try and deal with the object underlying clause 2 of the Bill. In this connection I may mention that in March, 1926, I moved in the Burma Legislative Council, in the course of the discussion of the Budget Demands for Grants that “the Demand under the head, jails and convict settlements, be reduced by Rs. 100” and to quote from my own speech in the Burma Legislative Council, “The object of the motion was to condemn the cruel and pernicious system of exiling political prisoners and political detenus from India and incarcerating them in Burma.” Today, we are faced with the same problem. Instead of removing them from Bengal to Burma, the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, as they are at present advised, intend to exile them to Ajmer. But, I must impress on the House that what we heard from the front Treasury Benches is an expression of intention. A man's intention can change, and so can a Government's intention change; and instead of the prisoners being removed from Bengal to Ajmer they can be removed elsewhere, if powers are taken under this Bill. My Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir expressed grave concern yesterday as to the conditions to which these unfortunate persons might be subjected, if they are removed from Bengal; and he tried to console his conscience by saying that if our Honourable friend Sir James Crerar were to give an assurance that they would receive the same treatment, and that they would have created for them, in whatever place they may be confined, the same conditions as prevail in Bengal, then Sir Cowasji Jehangir himself would see no objection to clause 2. Now, Sir, let us examine the provisions of clause 2 in the light of past experience. When I made that motion in the Burma Legislative Council six years ago, my Honourable friend Mr. S. C. Mitra was languishing in a jail in Burma. With him were Mr. Subash Chander Bose and about half a dozen other political detenus. Of course, they were all taken away without a trial and incarcerated in Burma for a considerable period. None of them knew, I am afraid my Honourable friend Mr. Mitra even now does not know, for what offence he was taken away to Burma and kept there. Let us now examine the attitude of the Government of Bengal at that time towards these political detenus. Let the House remember that these unfortunate men were taken away without a trial and kept in Burma for a long period. These unfortunate men, who had to spend a long time in Burma in imprisonment, made certain demands. Those demands were legitimate demands, they were reasonable demands; but the Government of Bengal does not think in the same way as my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir thinks; it thought quite differently. The result was that my Honourable friend Mr. S. C. Mitra and others decided to go on hunger strike. If I remember rightly, they were on hunger strike when my motion was moved in the Burma Legislative Council and carried in that Council. As a result

of this, the hands of the Government of Burma were strengthened; and I must pay a tribute to the Government of Burma that they displayed a very humane attitude towards the political detenus (applause) and the obstruction came from the Government of Bengal.

Mr. S. C. Mitra : Quite correct.

Mr. Jehangir K. Munshi : I will give the House a slight illustration. These unfortunate men, imprisoned without a trial, nobody knows for what offence, wanted to have an exercise, a little harmless exercise. They wanted to play ping-pong. They asked for two ping-pong balls. (Laughter.) To multi-millionaires like my Honourable friends Sir Cowasji Jehangir and Mr. H. P. Mody the cost of two ping-pong balls may be negligible, but the Government of Bengal took a different view. (Laughter.) I am not an authority on ping-pong; but I understand my Honourable friend Mr. Arthur Moore is; and he will probably be able to give the House the precise cost of two ping-pong balls. But whatever that may be, with a view to decide whether these very dangerous men should be allowed these most dangerous weapons in the shape of two ping-pong balls, considerable correspondence, I am informed, passed between the Government of Bengal and the Government of Burma, and a very high-placed police officer—I am told it was the Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Bengal—came all the way from Bengal to Burma, to decide whether these unfortunate men, imprisoned without a trial should be provided with two ping-pong balls and whether they should be allowed to indulge in this dangerous pastime (Laughter and Cheers.)

I am glad my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, is laughing. Amusing as Sir Cowasji Jehangir may find it, I do hope that he will also give serious consideration to this aspect of the question. What is going to happen to these political detenus when they are taken away from Bengal and kept under the custody of another Government, and that other Government has got to face hunger strikes, and that other Government has got to take all the odium and unpopularity, and that other Government cannot afford to tell the detenus, “We are prepared to concede your reasonable demands but the Government of Bengal will not agree.” They can only say, “It cannot be done.”

My Honourable friend, Mr. S. C. Mitra, and Mr. Subhash Chander Bose and others who were then in a Burma jail asked for certain facilities for worship. Of course, that also was a very serious matter from the Bengal Government's point of view. Is it right, argued the Government of Bengal, that a man who has been imprisoned without trial should be allowed to worship God? On this question also I am told, there was voluminous correspondence, visits paid by highly paid officials from Bengal to Burma, and ultimately the august Government of Bengal conceded these human beings the right to worship God according to their own religion in their own way. It was a great concession. The argument that the Government of Bengal constantly adduced was that it was the Government of Bengal who had to pay for the upkeep of these prisoners, and therefore it was the Government of Bengal who had the right to decide in what way the detenus should live and it was the Government of Bengal who would decide to what discipline the detenus should be subjected. Now, Sir, in view of this past experience, I, for one, would not trust any power of this kind

to the Government of Bengal. (Applause.) My Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, asked for an assurance, but who can give an assurance now which will have a binding effect on the Government of Bengal? I hope that my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, with his keen conscience will satisfy himself that what I have related here will not be perpetrated again before he gives his support to any provision of this Bill.

Now, Sir, coming to clause 4, this clause has caused a great deal of concern even to the Independent Party. It naturally would. But my Honourable friend, Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, in his brilliant way has dealt with it. As I understood it, his argument comes to this, that there may be occasions on which clause 4 as it stands will be held to be *ultra vires* of the inherent powers of a High Court. Being *ultra vires* of the inherent power of a High Court it will naturally be redundant. So, Sir B. L. Mitter tells the Opposition, why worry about something which is redundant and *ultra vires* and which any Judge of a High Court will hold to be *ultra vires* and brush aside? But, if that is so, why keep it in the Bill at all? Either the High Court will have the power to interfere or will not have the power to interfere. If in spite of clause 4, the High Court will have the power to interfere, clause 4 should go now. Why should we enact a farce? If by reason of clause 4 the High Court is deprived of the power of interference, then that is a clause to which this House, even as at present constituted, will, I hope, never be a party. (Applause.)

Sir Abdur Rahim: Sir, we are not concerned at present in discussing the merits of the Bengal Act, and I think the debate has been prolonged enough to justify us now in confining ourselves to the very short points that arise. First of all I wish to take up the question of law which has been dealt with by the Honourable the Law Member, that is to say, clause 4 of the Bill. Where is the necessity for enacting that the application of section 491 should be barred out? As I understood the Law Member, the reason he gave was that arguments might be raised in court that the High Court can ordinarily interfere in the case of men detained under the Bengal Act under discussion. It is to clear up any doubts or ambiguities on that point that it has been found necessary, according to him, to put this clause 4 in the Bill. Now, Sir, if you look at the Bill itself, what it says is this:

"The powers conferred by section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure shall not be exercised in respect of any person arrested, committed to or detained in custody under the local Act or the local Act as supplemented by this Act."

Therefore the argument seems to be that if any person has been illegally detained, then the High Court's powers of interference are not taken away. That I understand, is the argument of the Honourable the Law Member, because clause 4 says "detained in custody under the local Act." Now I ask, if it was necessary at all to insert clause 4 to remove doubts as regards the scope of the powers of the High Court, then why not also make it clear that in case the procedure laid down in the Bengal Act as regards the detention of these persons,—what the local Government has got to do and what the Judges have got to do—has been disregarded that in those cases the High Court has the power to interfere and to order the release of the men from

custody? Surely, Sir, if one is necessary so is the other; and I ask the Honourable the Law Member and the Honourable the Home Member to consider this as otherwise we shall be obliged to throw out clause 4 of the Bill. It is not really necessary. All sorts of arguments may be advanced but it is for the High Court to decide whether an argument is sound or not. If a particular argument would not be a sound argument, then why make any provision against it at all? That is the difficulty we are feeling. We think clause 4 is unnecessary and if it is unnecessary, as the Honourable the Law Member himself must recognize, then why have it at all? If the finds it necessary to keep it there in order to remove any doubt then there ought to be a clause or proviso to the effect that in case the procedure laid down by the Legislature in the Bengal Act is not observed, then the High Court has the right and power to interfere.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: Sir, may I answer the Honourable Member? Ordinarily the High Court has plenary powers of intervention. In so far as you expressly take away the power the High Court loses power to that extent, but the residuary power is always with the High Court. Therefore if a case does not come within the strict wording of clause 4, the High Court would still have the power.

Sir Abdur Rahim: Then why not make this clear? That is our position.

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter: I should have thought it was clear enough.

Sir Abdur Rahim: Now take the Bengal Act. Section 9 of the Act says that within one month from the date of the order the material facts and circumstances in the possession of Government will be placed before the Judges and the Judges will have to pass an order. Supposing no such evidence or facts had been placed before them, and no such order has been passed. Surely the High Court ought to have the power to interfere, otherwise the whole thing is a farce. That is the Local Government can, without observing the procedure of the Act at all, detain any person in custody as it thinks fit and the High Court cannot interfere. It is admitted—I take it as an admission on the part of the Law Member—that the insertion of clause 4 in the Bill was not necessary. If however it be necessary, then I say that there ought to be a proviso as I have suggested, namely, that in case the procedure laid down in the Act has not been observed, the order of the Government shall be set aside and the High Court should be at liberty to order the release of the detenu.

Sir, the other question is regarding the proper treatment of the persons kept in custody. Government ought to remember all the time that these are not convicts; these are not criminals who have been found to be guilty after a proper trial. They have not had an opportunity of being tried in court apparently because the evidence available would not be sufficient to justify any court in convicting them. At the best they are mere suspects, and people may be suspected who are perfectly innocent. Therefore in their case it is essentially necessary that they should not be treated in the same way as persons convicted of crimes. They should not be put to any unnecessary hardships, and I think the Honourable the Home Member himself more than once in the course of the debate that there has been on this Bill assured the House that he would do all

that was necessary in order to see that no unnecessary hardships were inflicted. I believe I am correct in stating this as the position taken up by the Honourable Member. If that is so, all that is needed is that we should have a proper assurance that what the Honourable Member has said will be carried out. There is a great deal of feeling on this side of the House that though assurances are given, it is not always that those assurances are translated into action by the subordinate executive authorities or even by the Local Government. I understand that rules have been already framed by the Local Government under this Act, and that they were shown to members of the Select Committee. But others have not had the advantage of seeing them, and I am told that they were marked as confidential. It does not seem clear to me why the rules enacted under an Act should be treated as confidential at all. We ought to have those rules before us and we ought to be satisfied that they are really proper rules. Ordinarily any rules framed under an Act are published in the gazette, so that the public may know not only what the enactment is but the rules which are part of that enactment. Any rules framed under an Act are part of the legislation itself and I do not think there is any justification for treating any such rules as confidential. If we see the rules that are framed, then in that case many of the difficulties that we are experiencing on this side of the House would be removed.

Specific questions have been raised as regards the food of these detenus and also their general treatment—interviews and matters of that nature. Now, there ought to be no difficulty in directing by rules that the food which these detenus are accustomed to in their own province should be supplied to them as far as possible. There ought to be no difficulty about that. The same as regards interviews. As regards interviews I quite recognize that it may not be possible to allow too many interviews, especially having regard to the distance from Bengal of the place where they will be incarcerated. But I am certain that many at any rate of these prisoners belong to rather poor families; and it would be inflicting very great hardship on those families if the Government did not make some special provision for payment of travelling allowances to some friends or relations of the detenus for say, two or three times a year. I do not think the cost would be too much: at any rate the rule ought to lay down that Government will provide all reasonable facilities to the relations of the detenus to visit them at proper intervals.

Then as regards general treatment, I should like to say one thing: I know some time ago a Jail Committee was appointed in order to introduce reform in the administration of jails [and] a report was issued. It was a very large volume and contained very valuable and interesting suggestions in order to bring the jail administration in India into the line with modern ideas. I believe all Local Governments were asked to consider the proposals and considerable headway was made by the Local Governments in respect of the carrying out of those proposals. My friend, Mr. Mitra, cited some cases in which the old jail rules were certainly very much out of date, and political prisoners and other prisoners of their status felt that the enforcement of some of those rules were of an extremely humiliating character. He mentioned especially the rule regarding saluting certain officials as *Sarkar Salam* and what he called

the 'latrine parade.' I think the Honourable the Home Member and other occupants of the Treasury Benches will realize that in the case of those detenus especially; jail rules of this class can serve no good purpose at all: on the other hand, it must result in a great deal of mischief if any humiliating rules are enforced. These political detenus after all are not convicts: they are not criminals and whatever offence they may be suspected of is of a political nature, and it cannot be desirable and it cannot be in the interests of good Government or in the interests of jail administration that they should be put to any unnecessary humiliation. I am perfectly sure the Honourable the Home Member will see the advisability—at least I hope so—of providing by rules under the Act that any rules of jail discipline which are unsuitable for political detenus should not be applied in their case. I think if the rules are so framed as to satisfy those conditions, the opposition that there is on this side of the House will be very much mitigated.

These are therefore the two points before the House: whether it is necessary to retain clause 4, and if so, whether a proviso should not be added to the effect suggested in one of the amendments; and the other is that the rules should definitely provide ensuring proper treatment as regards food and as regards discipline, and all that, of the political detenus. If the Government Benches are prepared to accept our views on these two points, I believe there will not be much opposition to the Bill.

Mr. R. S. Sarma (Nominated Non-official): Mr. President, a thief after climbing up a cocoanut tree for the purpose of stealing a few cocoanuts, suddenly realized that the owner of the tree was coming and therefore started climbing down. He was challenged by the owner and asked "What are you doing?" He said, "I went up to cut grass for my cow." The owner told him, "But grass does not grow on cocoanut tree." And the thief said, "That is why I came down." One is reminded of this story after the explanation we heard this morning from Sir Hari Sing Gour. Why did he go to Select Committee? For the purpose of improving the Bill so as to make it acceptable to the people of this country and acceptable to the Members of this House. If it is not so now, then why did he sign it? Because he says he could not do anything else as he was Chairman of the Committee and had to take an impartial view. Then why does he come down and oppose it now? Because he says he does not like the face of this Bill. It is something like the logic of the man who climbed the cocoanut tree. I wish that the Honourable gentleman had shown greater courage of conviction and not allowed himself to be bullied into an abject surrender by the rank and file of his party. I was myself present as a member of the Select Committee, and I exactly knew the working of the mind of Sir Hari Sing Gour. He himself said that the only principle involved in this Bill was to give power to the Bengal Government for the transfer of prisoners from Bengal to outside jails, and when certain amendments were pressed, as for instance, the question of travelling allowance and things like that, it was not Sir James Crerar but it was Sir Hari Sing Gour who pointed out.....

Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury (Bengal: Landholders): On a point of order, Sir. Is the Honourable Member entitled to discuss the proceedings of Select Committees?

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): No, he is not.

Mr. R. S. Sarma: I am not discussing the proceedings of the Select Committee, but I find that many things that happened in the Select Committee have been said in this House. Anyhow, all I want to say is this, that Sir Hari Singh Gour himself felt that those amendments which were pressed could not form part and parcel of the Bill, and we accepted his suggestion as an expert lawyer. All he wanted was that the suggestion for improving the amenities of prisoners transferred to places outside Bengal should be embodied in some form or other, and Mr. Mitra and other friends agreed with him on the point. All that they said was that Bengal prisoners when transferred to other jails outside Bengal must have all the conditions prevalent in Bengal jails, and if those conditions were fulfilled, and if an assurance to that effect was forthcoming, they would be agreeable to this measure. I think even in the first stage of the debate on this Bill, two weeks back, the Honourable the Home Member said that, as far as possible, they would see to it that these prisoners are not subjected to hardships which in a new place they would be put to. Now if those conditions are fulfilled and if an assurance of the kind that is asked for by my friend Sir Hari Singh and his friends is forthcoming, I do not see any reason why there should be any opposition to the Bill before the House. But with regard to the question of travelling allowance to relatives of detenus, to which Sir Abdur Rahim drew the attention of the House, I think, Sir, Honourable Members must take it, though it is an unpleasant thing to say it, that jail is after all a jail with all its hardships, and when a prisoner or detenu, or whoever it is, goes to jail, he ought to know that he is going to jail and not to his father-in-law's house (Laughter); he cannot have all the amenities there. Then with regard to question of travelling allowance, there are two points which I want to place before the House. First is the question of cost, and I do not think the Bengal Government with its 2 crores deficit will be able to accept this suggestion, and secondly, the very object of this particular Bill is, as far as possible, to discourage contact of the detenus with the outside world so that the terrorist movement might collapse, and one of the means by which this contact is established is by frequent interviews. Therefore, if Government do not accept this condition, that is to say, to pay the travelling allowances, they will be perfectly right.

Then, Sir, before I conclude, I should like to make a personal explanation with regard to a matter that was mentioned regarding myself at the last stage of the debate on this question. With reference to a particular statement that I made regarding the Leader of the Independent Party, he used a strong expression against me and said that what I stated was absolute falsehood. All that I said was, as will be clear from the official report of the Assembly debates, that there was a rumour that because his particular policy was not approved, he was asked to resign. The rumour might be true or not; but to say that what I said was absolute falsehood is quite unworthy of a leader of his position; but the way in which Sir Abdur Rahim himself stated the case proved that there was some truth in that. That reminds me of a story. Two friends were going along a road, one had something in his pocket, and they were waylaid. When they were questioned if they had anything with them, one fellow said: "I have nothing with me", while

the other fellow fearing that something might happen to him, promptly took out what he had in his pocket. So this resignation is something like that. When the object of your policy in a particular portfolio is not approved by your fellow colleagues or by the head of the administration, it is not the unpleasant portion of it that you give up, but it is the office that you give up. Then, Sir, I have also to say this, that Sir Abdur Rahim held out a threat unworthy of a big leader, that if nominated Members are allowed to say things which are in the confidence of Government, he would himself be obliged to come out with things that have actually happened...

Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola): The Honourable Member is too long in his personal explanation.

Mr. R. S. Sarma: I do not want to say anything more, Sir.

[The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty Five Minutes Past Two of the Clock.]

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Five Minutes Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.]

Mr. C. C. Biswas: It is perhaps natural that in a matter of this kind the discussion should be swayed to a large extent by sentiment. It is also perhaps natural that the discussion should have ranged over a much wider field than the immediate issue before the House. It is just as well that this should be so, because I wish my friends, on the Treasury Benches to realize that in matters which involve the liberty of the subject, all sections of the House feel almost equally strongly. The Honourable the Law Member has stated that provisions like those which you find embodied in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act or in the State Prisoners' Regulations are not liked by anybody, that they are abhorrent as much to the officials as to the non-officials. The only difference is this, that while the officials, professing their abhorrence for such measures do not hesitate to take action which appears to be somewhat inconsistent with their professions, the non-officials, on the other hand, not being oppressed with the sense of responsibility which weighs upon my friends on the other side, are in a position to take a more detached view of things, all the same a view which deserves much more consideration on that very account, and I claim that the attitude which non-official Members of the House take up deserves to be treated with the utmost sympathy by Members of the Government, if for no other reason than that the victims, or the would-be victims, of such measures are or will be persons belonging to our own kith and kin. We realize, all of us, the situation in which the Government find themselves at the present moment. We realize their embarrassments. We realize that the attempts which they have so far made have in many instances failed and therefore it is that they are asking for more powers. We concede quite frankly that in asking for more powers they are acting from the best of motives. We are not impugning their *bona fides* at all. All the same, as representatives of the people, it is our duty to tell the Government what the people feel about such measures. It is our duty to warn them of the dangers that are inseparable from action such as they want to take. Recognizing the difficulties of the situation, some of us may be prepared to concede drastic, arbitrary powers to the executive, but more than the existence of such powers, the danger comes from the way in which those powers are actually

administered. That is a point which I desire to impress upon my friends on the other side,—that in applying the provisions of enactments like these they should try to temper justice with mercy, they should try to soften the rigours of such repressive measures as much as possible, they should try to adopt an attitude of humanity. Remember that the persons who are to be dealt with under this Act or under corresponding Regulations are persons who have not been placed before a court of law and found guilty. That makes a good deal of difference. If we were dealing with persons whose guilt had been established in a court of law after proper trial, one could understand, and one could also reconcile oneself to the fact, that they should be deprived of their liberties to a certain extent. After all, people must be prepared to take the consequences of their actions, and it is useless to expect that life in jail should be quite as pleasant as life at home. But Sir, I submit that, when you are dealing with persons as regards whom it has yet to be established that they are guilty you should certainly try to differentiate their cases from those of persons who have been found guilty after proper trial. Situations may arise, situations do arise, and I am prepared to concede that a situation has arisen when the executive feel bound to take action upon mere suspicion. But such suspicion must be founded on reasonable grounds. Unfortunately, it is our experience that the sources of information on which the Government find themselves compelled to act are not always above reproach. If we could be satisfied that Government were always well served by their agents, then possibly much of the objection to measures like these from the popular side would have been taken away. Unfortunately, that is not so. There have been numerous instances both recently and in years gone by, when miscarriages of justice of the gravest character have been brought to light. We in Bengal yet remember that notorious case of the *Sindhubalas*. There were two *Sindhubalas* in Bankura. One of them was wanted. There were two of them with the same name. The police did not know what to do. They took *both* into custody, and then after several weeks, they found it necessary to discharge both of them! Well, Sir, I am reminded of a passage in a speech which was delivered by the late Sir Rash Bihari Ghosh, referring to measures of this description. I suppose he was referring to Regulation III of 1818, and the learned doctor pointed out that it recalled the simple rule which found favour in an ancient Scotch border town. The formality of a trial was not dispensed with only that it took place after execution. Here in the case of the *Sindhubalas*, the enquiry followed the arrest, and then as a result of that enquiry both had to be discharged. So, I say there are those inherent dangers arising from the character of the agents whom Government have to rely upon. Therefore I say, proceed cautiously, and proceed, if you must, in such a way that the severity of the punishment may not be greater than it must be.

I am quite prepared to recognize the fact that so far as the present Bill is concerned, it is a supplementary piece of legislation. As I myself had occasion to point out when the Bill was being referred to a Select Committee, the main enactment was passed by the Bengal Legislative Council, when that Council re-enacted for a further period of five years the Act of 1925, and I may also inform Honourable Members to-day that only recently, last month, the Bengal Legislative Council passed an amending Act

whereby some very important modifications were made in the Act of 1930. I am referring to this for the purpose of showing that that Council had on more than one occasion expressed its approval of this measure. Notwithstanding what my friend Mr. Munshi has said, it is not possible for us to overlook that fact altogether. Those who were primarily responsible did accept responsibility for a restrictive enactment of this kind. They did so at least on three occasions, first of all, in 1925 when they passed the Bengal Act of 1925; then, Sir, in 1930, when that measure was re-enacted, and lastly, in February this year when the whole policy underlying the Act was again opened for discussion and re-affirmed. There was strong opposition from non-official Benches no doubt, but still the amending Bill was carried by an overwhelming majority. That is a fact of vital importance which, as I have said, we cannot ignore altogether. That being so, I think the House will not be justified in throwing out this Bill at this stage, when it is invited to take it into consideration. It is the duty of the House to see that the Bill is licked into shape so as to make it as acceptable as possible to popular opinion. On abstract grounds, Sir, we can never reconcile ourselves to this principle of arrest or detention without trial. That is a fundamental objection, but although we might record our protest here, our protests are bound to be unavailing. We cannot by our vote touch in any way the Regulations which are there already. We cannot by our vote touch the Bengal Act which is on the Statute-book of the local Council. We can only voice our protest and our opinion. We can by our vote show what exactly we feel and think about measures of this kind, but it is not possible for us to remove these obnoxious Acts and Regulations from the Statute-book. Therefore, as practical men at the present moment when we are faced with a supplementary Bill like the one before us, I submit that we ought to try our very best to see that it does not go beyond the lengths to which it must go.

Sir, what are the principles of this measure? As I conceive them, they are two. One is about the transfer of detenus from Bengal to another province, and the other is the taking away of the right of *habeas corpus*. With your permission I propose to take the second point first, but in order that my friends might appreciate exactly how the matter stands it is necessary that they should be acquainted a little more fully with the details of the primary legislation, the Act of 1930, which was passed by the Bengal Council. Sir, the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930 contains two important operative sections, sections 2 and 4, and there is a difference between the two, and Honourable Members of this House should know what that difference is. If you turn to section 2, you find it provides this. I will place before you the amended section, the section as it now stands, or will stand shortly after the amending Bill has received the assent of the Governor. It says this:

"Where in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person—

(i) is a member of an association of which the objects and methods include the commission of any offence included in the first Schedule or the doing of any act with a view to interfere by violence or threat of violence, with the administration of justice; or

(ii) has been or is being instigated or controlled

by a member of any such association with a view to the commission of any such offence or act; or

(iii) has done or is doing any act to assist the operations of any such association, the Local Government may, by order in writing, give all or any of the following directions, namely, that such person—

(a) shall notify his residence and any change of residence to such authority as may be specified in the order;

(b) shall report himself to the police in such manner and at such periods as may be so specified;

(c) shall conduct himself in such manner or abstain from such acts as may be so specified;

(d) shall reside or remain in any area so specified;

(e) shall not enter, reside in or remain in any area so specified."

and then follows an important clause for my present purposes,

Section 2: "shall be committed to custody in Jail..." and the section goes on that the Local Government may at any time add to, amend, vary or rescind any order made under this section:

"Provided that such order shall be reviewed by the Local Government at the end of one year from the date of making of the order, and shall not remain in force for more than one year unless upon such review the Local Government directs its continuance."

You will find, Sir, that there are six kinds of directions which the Local Government may make under this section, and one of these is in clause (f) which says that the Local Government may direct that the person shall be committed to custody in jail. That is the only clause which authorizes detention in jail under this section. The other directions are to notify residence, to report to the police and so on. So far as *habeas corpus* goes, Sir, we are not concerned with these other directions, but only with clause (f), in a case arising under this section. Then comes section 4:

"4. Any officer of Government authorized in this behalf by general or special order of the Local Government may arrest without warrant any person against whom reasonable suspicion exists that he is a person in respect of whom an order might lawfully be made under sub-section (1) of section 2."

This section also has been recently modified, but it is unnecessary for me to refer to that modification for my present purposes. What I wish to point out in connection with section 4 is this that whereas in section 2 it is provided that action shall be taken *only where in the opinion of the Local Government* there are reasonable grounds for believing that the person concerned has acted or is about to act in a certain manner, here under section 4 on the other hand there is no question of "the opinion of the Local Government" at all: all that is said is this that, "Any officer of Government authorized by general or special order may arrest anybody against whom a reasonable suspicion exists." The difference between the two is this. Suppose an application were made to the High Court in a case where an order had been made by the Local Government acting under section 2, directing that a certain person shall be committed to custody in jail; then, upon the hearing of that application, the moment the order was produced saying that the Local Government had come to the opinion and recorded the opinion that this man was acting in the manner indicated, the application would be ruled out at once; in other words, the High Court would not interfere,

for the purpose of substituting its own judgment for that of the Local Government. The "opinion" of the Local Government is the condition precedent for taking action under this section. Once that opinion is recorded, that is conclusive for all purposes, and no court of law, not even the High Court, would be entitled to go behind that opinion for the purpose of investigating on its own account as to whether that opinion was or was not well founded. Suppose, however, a man is arrested under section 4; there power is given to arrest without warrant any person against whom a "reasonable suspicion" exists. In such a case if the matter goes up to the High Court on an application for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the High Court will certainly be entitled to go into the question upon the facts as to whether or not there was "reasonable suspicion." The opinion of the officer making the arrest would not be conclusive, and the High Court would be entitled to go behind that. Well, Sir, I can quite appreciate the difficulty of the Government in placing all the materials before the court in such a case. It may be that the officer making the arrest has some information about some person whose identity he cannot disclose; possibly, if he did that, it might place the person who gave that information in jeopardy, or it may be that if that information was disclosed, it might interfere with other inquiries which were then on foot. The premature disclosure of plans might avert action in many other cases, or, for various other reasons it may not be desirable or expedient or possible for the police or the Government to place all the facts showing why the person was arrested before the court; and therefore, in such a case it is possible to understand why the Government should be anxious to keep the matter out of court, because here the law does not provide that the opinion of the person making the arrest will be binding upon all concerned including a court of law. It is only fair on my part to point out that in a case coming under section 4, where a person is arrested, the arrest can be followed by detention only for a limited period; in other words, the officer makes the arrest and then after that, he reports the fact to the Local Government, and pending the orders of the Local Government upon his report, he commits that person to custody, and it is provided here that such custody shall not exceed a period of 15 days except under a special order of the Local Government, but in no case can the period of detention even under the orders of the Local Government, exceed one month. It was one month under the Act of 1930 as it stood; since then, by the amending Bill it has been made two months. So under section 4 a person runs the risk of being kept in custody for a maximum period of two months. Then, Sir, there is the other provision—section 9—which my learned friend, Sir Abdur Rahim, has referred to already, and it is necessary for my present purpose, as I am dealing with the question of *habeas corpus*, to draw attention to it once again. It says this:

Within one month of the date of order by the Local Government under sub-section (1) of section 2, the Local Government shall place before two persons (of certain qualifications) "the material facts and circumstances in its possession on which the order has been based or which are relevant to the inquiry," and so on; and then "the said judges shall consider the said material facts and circumstances and the allegations and answers and shall report

to the Local Government whether or not in their opinion there is lawful and sufficient cause for the order."

Now what is the effect of taking away the right of High Court under section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code in respect of persons dealt with under this Act? Let us rather see what would be the position, if this power was not taken away. As I say, if the *habeas corpus* was not taken away, then, in a case coming under section 2, the only ground which could possibly be put forward for making such an application would be this, that the order which directs detention in custody does not show on the face of it that the Local Government were of opinion that the person was acting in the manner indicated, but that would be a very rare case. We can take it for granted that whenever an order is made under section 2, the Local Government would take good care to see that the order was drawn up in terms of that section, and the order would recite that the Local Government are satisfied that in their opinion the person has acted in the manner indicated. So, for practical purposes we need not contemplate any such cases, but it may be that after the arrest and the order of detention are made, the Local Government does not place the material before the Judges as required by section 9 within one month. It is apparent that in that case the position will be that although the arrest and detention were good and lawful to start with, the detention would cease to be good and lawful as soon as the month expired without the matter being placed before the Judges. In that case it should be open to the person concerned to come up to the High Court and get an order of acquittal on that very ground.

Let us see now what is the position regarding section 9. In a case under section 4,—and these will be practically the important cases touched by the *habeas corpus* clause,—it would be open to the man, even at the very outset, to come up to the High Court and challenge an inquiry as to whether or not the grounds on which the arrest was made were "reasonable." Let us examine for a moment the clause in the Bill which purports to take away the right of *habeas corpus*, namely, clause 4. I am assuming for the present that the powers under section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure are co-extensive with the powers of issuing a writ of *habeas corpus*, but I may point out that there is high authority for holding that, apart from section 494, the High Courts enjoy certain other powers, powers which they have inherited from their predecessors or derived from the common law. The present Bill seeks to take away only the powers under section 491. If, apart from this section, the High Courts have certain powers, those powers will still remain with them, and we need not worry about that at all. Let us confine ourselves to section 491 only. Clause 4 provides that "The powers conferred by section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, shall not be exercised in respect of any person arrested, committed to or detained in custody under the local Act or the local Act as supplemented by this Act." You will observe the collocation of these words—"arrested, committed to or detained in custody," which seems to suggest if the object was only to refer to cases coming under section 4 of the local Act, because section 4 of the local Act uses the word "arrested" in sub-section (1) then the word "committed" in sub-section (3) and the words "detained in custody" in the proviso to sub-section

(3) but I think it will not be safe to hold that the language is not wide enough also to cover a case of detention under section 2 where you find the expression "committed to custody in jail" used in clause (f). My Honourable friend the Law Member has said that if a case arises in which the arrest or detention does not conform to the provisions of the Act, it will still be open to the person concerned to apply to the High Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the High Court will be quite within its jurisdiction in entertaining and allowing such an application. In other words, if I have followed his contention aright, it means that notwithstanding clause 4—I am assuming that it will be embodied in the Act—the High Court's power to interfere in a case of illegal or improper detention will not be taken away. Sir, with all respect I do not share that view. Will that be so in a case under section 4? If that was the case, then there would be no point in making this provision. My Honourable friend assumes that the words "any person arrested, committed to or detained in custody" in clause 4 can only mean a person *lawfully* arrested, *lawfully* committed or *lawfully* detained in custody. But, Sir, to me it appears to be at least doubtful whether that view will be taken. The question is this. Does not this clause 4 as worded protect also an arrest or a committal or a detention which *purports to be made under this Act*? The question is whether or not the High Court will have jurisdiction to entertain an application for the purpose of considering the arrest or detention or committal is in accordance with the law or not? To say that if the detention is illegal, the High Court will still have the right to interfere, but that if the detention is legal, the High Court has not a right to interfere, I submit, is begging the question. I should like to know, which will be the authority to decide whether the arrest is illegal or legal? As a matter of fact, as all the reported cases under section 491 will show, when the party concerned comes up to the High Court and makes an application under that section, it does so on the allegation that the detention or the arrest is not legal. Where the High Court has come to the conclusion, after proper inquiry, that the arrest was legal, the Rule has been discharged. In other cases where they came to the conclusion that the arrest was illegal, they directed that the prisoner should be set at liberty. That is the position. What my Honourable friend the Law Member said was this. If the arrest was legal, then the High Court cannot interfere. But if the arrest was illegal, then the High Court can interfere. Sir, the point that I wish to put to him is this: Are you or are you not taking away the right to go up to the High Court for the purpose of obtaining a decision on the question as to whether or not the arrest was legal or not? That is the point. Clause 4 certainly leaves the matter not free from ambiguity. I will not put it higher than that.

Sir, I quite appreciate the other argument which my learned friend put forward, and that is that this clause has been put in here to bring the matter into line with what you find in sub-section (3) of section 491 already in the case of persons coming under Regulation III of 1818 or the other corresponding Regulations of Bombay and Madras. I can quite appreciate that. But on that point let me remind the House that, although section 491 now contains sub-section (3), it is there notwithstanding the repeated objections of the House. Sir, my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour is my authority and he tells me, that, on several occasions attempts were made on the

floor of the House, and some of these attempts were successful, for the purpose of knocking this provision out of section 491. But over there sits the House of Elders, and thanks to our friends in the Council of State, it found its place again in the Statute-book. No doubt for the sake of symmetry clause 4 of the Bill ought to stand, but it will be misleading to suggest that this House is reconciled to sub-section (3) of section 491 itself. I can quite understand that if you are going to take away the right of *habeas corpus* from the persons who are dealt with under the State Prisoners Regulations, there is no reason why you should accord a preferential treatment to persons who are dealt with under the Bengal Act. I can appreciate a line of argument of that kind. But we say, both are equally obnoxious. Either clause 4 of the Bill is intended to be operative, or it is not. If it is operative, then it does or it ought to successfully and effectively take away the right of *habeas corpus*. If not, then the best course would be to remove that clause altogether, and having done it now, to follow it up by bringing in an amending Bill for the purpose of getting rid of sub-section 3 of section 491. It is elementary law, it is elementary justice that where a subject has been deprived of his liberty, he shall not be deprived of the right to show that his liberty has been unlawfully taken away from him. There must be a remedy to every wrong. Are we to understand that there shall be no remedy against an executive wrong, because such wrongs are perpetrated in the name of law and order? Sir, I quite appreciate that no suspicion or distrust of the High Courts is involved. Nothing of the kind. But I do say that these provisions betray an overanxiety on the part of the executive to shield all their actions from the light of day. My Honourable friend the Law Member has given some explanation of the existence of this clause 4. May I remind him and remind other Members of this House that the explanation he has now put forward is not that which Government had put forward at an earlier stage of the Bill. This clause 4 reproduces the corresponding provision of the Supplementary Bill which had been introduced in 1925 and which afterwards was certified by the Governor-General. You remember, Sir, that the first Act by Bengal Council dealing with these matters was passed in 1925. The Bengal Government in that year, after that Act was passed there, at once came up to the Government of India and suggested that they should bring in supplementary legislation. That was done. In that supplementary Bill which was introduced in this House in 1925, you had two exactly similar provisions, one giving authority to the Local Government to transfer prisoners from Bengal to some other province, another taking away the right of *habeas corpus*: it was not possible for the Bengal Legislature to take away a right that had been conferred by a statute of the Indian Legislature, *viz.*, the Criminal Procedure Code. Therefore the request was then made to the Government of India that they should initiate legislation in order to accomplish that object. That was done in 1925, and the same provisions are now reproduced in this Bill. It is really a replica of the previous Bill. What was the explanation which was put forward by the Honourable the Home Member on that occasion? I am reading to you a passage from the speech of Sir Alexander Muddiman, a passage which was referred to by my Honourable friend Sir James Crerar in his speech in this House on the 19th January, 1931. This is what Sir Alexander Muddiman said with reference to section 491 :

"I do not minimize the fact that this is a very grave step to take, but it is a step that really is essential to executive preventive procedure set up by this legislation. The necessity of such a bar where legislation confers a power of internment has been recognized by this Legislature, not in 1818 but very much later."

He refers to the Code of Criminal Procedure :

"Section 491 (3) of the Criminal Procedure Code bars for exactly the same reason as this Bill application to the High Court. And why does it do it?..... The point I am putting to the House is this. This has been represented as some new, dreadful invasion on the rights of the subject. Sir, if that is so, this House and the other House have been parties to a similar invasion for a large number of years."

Not exactly this House :

"The Legislature apparently at that time recognized, and rightly recognized, that these are essential provisions in connection with any executive power of detention."

"If you admit that in special circumstances the Executive must have power to detain without trial, then you must admit, it is the logical conclusion of your admission, it cannot be avoided, that you must also bar the jurisdiction of the High Court to interfere by way of *habeas corpus*."

Sir Alexander Muddiman makes no pretence about it, and does not say that if the detention is illegal, you can go to the High Court and get an order of acquittal. He makes no pretence of that kind :

"There is no question of suspicion of the court. That is not the point at all. I will take section 13 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act as an example and develop what I am endeavouring to explain."

Section 13 corresponds to section 4 of the present Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930. This section authorizes any officers to arrest on suspicion, and runs as follows :

"Any officer of Government authorized in this behalf by general or special order of the Local Government may arrest without warrant any person against whom a reasonable suspicion exists," etc.

Sir Alexander Muddiman develops that point :

"An arrest is made under the section. I go straight off to the High Court and I engage my friend opposite—probably he was referring to Sir Hari Singh Gour—and he instructs learned counsel on my behalf, and the court is bound to issue a rule on the officer who arrested me to show that he acted on reasonable suspicion. Very good, what is the position of Government in regard to that? Government may justify or it may not justify. If it justifies, it must produce evidence which *ex hypothesi* is evidence which it cannot produce. It is evidence of a secret and State character which cannot be produced in court, because if it could be produced in court the man would be tried. Government are in this dilemma then, they must either give away their secret sources of information which will destroy the whole system on which our power to control secret movements is based, or they must submit to the discharge of the person arrested. In other words, this Act becomes unworkable... That shows why it is essential, if you set up this system, that you must bar the jurisdiction of the High Court. There is nothing else left to you. Otherwise you may just as well not have the procedure at all."

Sir Alexander Muddiman would not allow an application to the High Court even for the purpose

of establishing that the arrest was illegal. To be logical and to be consistent, that is the proper attitude for the Honourable Member to take up. Otherwise there is no justification for this clause: unless you want effectively to shut off application to the High Court, why have this section at all? Then Sir Alexander Muddiman goes on:

"If I have to justify the detention in the High Court, I have to reveal my sources of information. My case is that I cannot reveal the evidence. That is my whole case. If the evidence can be brought before the Court, we should bring it forward and put the man on trial. If I do not justify, then the accused person arrested must be discharged by the court. Let me impress upon my Honourable friend that there is no question of distrusting the court. The court is bound to make me produce the evidence which I cannot produce and which the very course I am taking shows that I cannot produce. *Ecce hypothesi* I cannot produce that. You absolutely destroy the whole of the second part of the Bill, if you take a different view. That is the whole of my point. You cannot have co-existing a power of revision of the grounds of your action by a judicial tribunal."

That is the most important thing, you cannot have co-existing a power of revision by a judicial tribunal. In other words, executive action must be wholly, completely and decisively free from judicial tribunals. That must be the position. And unless you take up that position, I say you cannot justify a provision like what you find in section 491, sub-section (3), or what you find in clause 4 of the Bill. So you will see, the interpretation which Government put forward in 1925 was of a different character, much different from what is put forward now. Sir, so far as I am concerned, I shall be glad to think that since 1925 Government have changed their views in the matter. Government now believe possibly what they did not then believe or do not admit that they believe, that there may be cases where persons may be arrested without lawful reasons. If, at the instance of the present Law Member, Government have undergone that change in their angle of vision, that is a matter for sincere congratulation. Sir, I say, if that is the position, then let that position be clearly safe-guarded by a proper amendment of this clause 4.

I am sorry, Sir, that my friends in the Select Committee had not addressed themselves to this aspect of the question with that care and thoroughness which we had a right to expect of them. I mean no disrespect to them. I have every sympathy with Sir Hari Singh Gour and his notions of constitutional propriety. All the same I do think that he might have given a lead to the other members of the Committee, a lead born of his ripe experience, his sound knowledge of jurisprudence, and his well-known love for the liberty of the subject.

Sir, I find my friend Mr. Sitaramaraju has tabled an amendment to this clause. The least we can do is to accept that amendment. That at any rate will make it perfectly clear that this clause 4 is not intended to shut the door upon all applications to the High Court, even for the purpose of establishing that the arrest was an illegal arrest. This, Sir, is what I have got to say with regard to this question of *habeas corpus*.

Then I come to the other part of the Bill, that which deals with the removal of detenues from the province of their origin to another place. Sir, in this connection I will remind my Honourable friends here

that years before when the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee was a Member of the Imperial Council, he brought forward a Resolution in connection with persons dealt with under the Regulations, and he urged that an Advisory Committee of the Legislature should be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into and reporting on all cases of detention under Regulation III and other kindred Regulations. He further suggested that it should be the duty of that Committee to make recommendations in every individual case regarding the health, allowance, the manner of detention and other matters relating to the persons arrested. Sir, that Resolution was accepted in substance by the then Government. I believe Sir William Vincent was then the Home Member. But I do not know what is the position today. As a matter of fact, we know that for some time persons who were dealt with under these Regulations had their cases placed before a Committee of two Judges of the High Court. In Bengal I remember there was a Committee consisting of the late Mr. Justice Beachcroft and the late Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, and as a result of the investigations of that Committee, there were several cases where persons were set at liberty. I do not know, but I should like to have some information from my Honourable friends on the other side, whether that wholesome procedure is still followed. You see, Sir, in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act there is section 9 which requires every case to be placed before two Judges. Of course the Judges are not High Court Judges there. Regulation III of Bengal and the corresponding Regulations of other provinces do not contain a similar provision. That is why the Regulation had been brought forward in the Council. But although that is not there, there is no reason why—if it is a fact—Government should have suspended a very wholesome practice which had been followed for some time. As a matter of fact, recently there had been some questions either in this House or in the Bengal Council inquiring whether this procedure was being followed; and if my memory serves me right, the answer was neither "Yes" nor "No," but silence.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: The answer was in the negative.

Mr. C. C. Biswas: Well, Sir, whether it was a definite "No" or it was the still more eloquent silence of the Member in charge, the fact remains that this procedure is not being followed at present. I would very humbly appeal to the Members on the other side to consider the desirability of restoring that practice, because, after all, though public opinion will never be reconciled to a thing like suspension of *habeas corpus* or arrest or deportation without trial, still it may be made rather less unacceptable by having recourse to such proceedings as had been actually followed for some time.

Coming now, Sir, to clause 2 of the Bill, when this Bill was introduced, I was one of those who drew pointed attention to the discomforts and the inconveniences which persons removed from Bengal were bound to suffer in other provinces; and I referred in particular to questions of diet, questions of cooking and so on. I am sorry to say that some of my friends simply laughed me away. There was a titter of laughter amongst non-official Benches on that occasion. Of course I was not indulging in sentiment; I was trying to put before the House some practical difficulties. I am glad to find that my Honourable colleagues now realize that the objections I was raising at that stage were after all not puerile

or ridiculous objections ; and I am glad to acknowledge that on that occasion the Honourable the Home Member stated that he viewed the matter with the utmost sympathy. Speaking from his place on the 20th January, 1931, he said this :

"Nevertheless I do frankly recognize that the provisions of the Bill for removal to other provinces do involve hardships of a special character. I admit that. Our policy in regard to this matter, when under the Act of 1925 a certain number of such transfers had to take place, was to impress upon Local Governments that so far as possible the conditions of detention in Bengal should be reproduced. Questions of climate, questions of food and other questions which have been raised by Honourable Members are always carefully considered, and every attempt is made to secure that so far as conditions permit, there is uniformity ; that there is, as I say, an endeavour to reproduce in the province of transfer as far as possible the conditions in Bengal, and if this Bill is passed and if occasion arises for the transfer of detenus to other provinces, I am prepared to give an engagement that that aspect of the question will be very carefully borne in mind and that the Local Government concerned will be informed of our views in the matter."

So far as these questions of comfort of these detenus are concerned, this clearly shows that the Honourable Member was very sympathetic in the matter. But he did not follow up his sympathy as far as he might have done. What he suggested was that he would communicate to the Local Government the views of the Government of India in this matter. I speak more in sorrow than in anger, when I say that that will not do. That will not meet the requirements of the situation. The matter ought not to be left to the discretion of the Local Governments. If the Government of India are prepared to bring it to the notice of the Local Governments, I do not see why they should not bring it to their notice in a way which will make their opinion effective. That is the point. I do not care whether you insert these provisions in the Bill itself or in the rules ; but what I want is an assurance more than what has been given here, not merely that this will be communicated to the Government of Bengal, but that the Government of India will see to it that the Bengal Government does carry out those instructions with a view to minimize and mitigate the hardships so far as practicable. That is what I want. The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter has no doubt drawn our attention to section II of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, which provides for the appointment of visiting committees in Bengal, and has pointed out that under the proviso to clause 2 of this Bill the powers which the Local Government in Bengal may exercise under section 11 shall be exercised also by the Local Government in the province to which these prisoners may be transferred. I do not think, however, that this would be quite sufficient. As a matter of fact, the visiting committees that you may appoint there would no doubt be acting with the best of intentions and trying to do their very best to soften the hardships of these prisoners ; but it

would be more their misfortune than their fault that they would not be conversant with the habits and manners of Bengali prisoners. In spite of all their efforts and intentions, they might not be able to appreciate exactly what a Bengali should like to have. Might I therefore offer a suggestion to the Honourable the Home Member for his consideration ? As the Honourable the Law Member said, there is already a set of rules for Bengal—rules which I understand are very liberal in their character. Those rules will require to be modified, if they are to be applied in some other province. The Bill, if passed into law, will no doubt give power to the Government to transfer a prisoner from Bengal to any province it likes, but for all practical purposes, as I understand it, we are now confined to a choice between Bengal and Ajmer-Merwara. If that be so, it should not be difficult for the Honourable the Home Member to take the Bengali Members on this side of the House into his confidence and lay before them those rules, and invite their suggestions in what respects those rules might be modified in their application to Ajmer-Merwara. I am quite sure, Members on this side of the House will be glad to help the Home Member in every possible way, and if in that way a practicable arrangement satisfactory to both parties can be arrived at, I do not see why Government should object. That is my suggestion. I do not insist that you should have something in the Bill itself to provide for these things. As a matter of fact, suppose you did, even then, if Government were so minded, they would simply treat them as a scrap of paper. Unless the Government are prepared to actually act in that way, no statutory provision in the Bill itself will make them to do it. Therefore the most important thing is to secure and obtain an assurance from Government that they will take steps to see that the Local Governments concerned do take action in the way suggested ; and therefore I say that the rules which are already in force in Bengal might be placed before us and we might be given an opportunity to consider and suggest for the consideration of Government in what respects they might be modified so as to suit the altered conditions in the other provinces to which these men might be transferred.

I will not detain the House any longer. I have endeavoured to speak quite candidly and frankly, because I feel the occasion is one when we should speak without reservation. I say once again that we recognize the difficulties of Government, that we are quite willing and anxious to give them whatever help they want in order to meet a situation of unprecedented strain. All the same we also expect that Government on their side should accept our co-operation in regard to matters not very vital from their point of view, not very vital from the point of view of law and order, but very vital from the point of view of those men themselves, because they are matters which touch their health, their conditions of stay, their life itself. This is all, Sir, that I have got to say.

To be continued.

EDUCATION BY RADIO

By JAGADISAN M. KUMARAPPA, M.A., Ph.D.

AMONG the many experiments that are now being carried out in the West in the field of education, one that is engaging the serious consideration of experts in education is educational broadcast. Secretary R. L. Wilbur of the United States Department of the Interior appointed a fact-finding commission to study the feasibility of educational broadcast. John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Carnegie Corporation have assured funds to the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education for the maintenance of its basic organization over a minimum period of three years. The purposes of the organization is first to develop programmes and bring them to the microphone, and then to secure adequate broadcasting facilities for the programmes developed, and lastly to measure the effectiveness of instruction by radio. Besides these, a preliminary committee was appointed sometime ago to survey and find out to what extent radio could be used to the best advantage in class-room instruction. Questionnaires bearing on the subject were sent out by this committee to head masters and teachers of 13,000 schools. At first there was some doubt as to whether the teachers would co-operate with the Committee or even consider radio instruction a worth while experiment. But to the great surprise of all concerned forty-three per cent of all those who answered the questionnaire assured the Committee of their hearty co-operation, and expressed further their readiness to equip their institutions at once with receiving sets if broadcasts were made available.

SCHOOL BROADCAST PROGRAMMES

In fact, their enthusiasm for the educational use of radio was so great that they willingly undertook the trouble even to outline the kind of broadcasts they believed would be of the greatest value to their pupils, stating at the same time the variety

of features and subjects in which the teachers were particularly interested. The list contained some twenty-one subjects of interest. Among them music appreciation stood first, and domestic science last. While subjects, as spelling, grammar, vocational guidance, and the like, are at present less in demand, others such as science and nature study, civics and citizenship, story-telling and social studies, dramatics and current events seem to be gaining in prominence. However, it must be mentioned that the order of preference in this list is based directly on the individual needs of the schools. And the plan recommended by this committee was therefore drawn up with special reference to the needs of those ill-equipped schools of the country districts. The main object of the plan is to carry to the less fortunate children of the rural sections some of the advantages enjoyed by the more fortunate ones of the city.

Music stands first in the list because in rural districts there is a felt want for musical instruction. Take, for instance, the one-room schools, and there are 160,000 of them, in the country districts of the United States. In most of these schools, there is an insufficiency not only of musical instruments but of teachers with proper training in music. It is no wonder if, in such places, the lack of opportunity to have the children instructed in music appreciation is very keenly felt. Similarly, there is a great demand for radio lessons in geography and travelogues. Americans of the rural districts have been on the whole rather provincial in their outlook and limited in their interests. But they have, since the European War, begun to show a keener interest in the outside world. This new awakening and interest in world affairs may be responsible for the great preference shown by the American rural population for such subjects. The desire on the part of rural teachers to

hear distinguished statesmen interpret current events, and noted poets and literary men give readings and interpretation of gems in prose and poetry, has given a high place to literature. They are naturally interested in vitalizing the teaching of dead authors with the aid of living masters.

Within the last few years of experimentation, radio has developed into a powerful and useful factor in the promotion of education. School authorities have been closely following the many experiments with this new adjunct to teaching with a view to applying it to the regular curricula of public schools. Every school-year sees a new use for radio in the extension of education. Successful experiments have been conducted in several places. In Los Angeles, for instance, the station KFI has been offering standard educational programmes. The station WMAQ in Chicago has been experimenting quite successfully with school programmes. The Damrosch lessons in music over the WEA and WJZ networks have already become extremely popular. The State of Ohio has also been carrying on some interesting experiments, but its effort, however, differs from the others in the number of features offered. Another item of its distinction is that it is the only radio programme sponsored by the State Department of Education. Its future, therefore, is assured by legislative appropriation. The Ohio programmes are sent over station WLW, Cincinnati, and they are broadcasted simultaneously by Station WEAQ of the Ohio State University at Columbus.

THE OHIO "SCHOOL OF THE AIR"

Connected with the Ohio School of the Air, there are one hundred and nineteen schools which have switchboards; ninety-six have phonograph attachments and seventy-six have microphones. Two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight classrooms were served last year by centralized radio equipment. The centralized radio system consists of one or more receiving units mounted in the fashion of a standard switchboard. One receiver, provided with amplifying, distributing and outlet equipment, constitutes one channel. As many as four channels may be used at a time, giving listeners in various

rooms a choice out of four programmes. For this purpose the regular loud-speaker or the built-in-wall type is used. Five schools in Ohio make considerable use of recording outfits with which they make records of broadcast lessons in order to repeat them whenever such need arises. In some cases these are used for classes which are otherwise engaged when the broadcast lesson is being given. Since among the difficulties of introducing the radio in schools, that of fitting in of the broadcast period into the schedules of high schools is by far the greatest, this method of recording, if found sufficiently satisfactory, would go far towards solving this problem, and making it unnecessary for any class to miss the benefits of the radio lesson.

A sample programme of the educational series may enable the reader to get some idea of the kind of work undertaken by these broadcasting stations. The weekly broadcast programme, for instance, of the Ohio School of the Air from Monday to Thursday inclusive is as follows:

MONDAY—*Talks on current events* by a prominent student of world affairs. (15 minutes. For upper grades and high school pupils).

History Dramalogues—Great moments in history presented by a selected group of players. (20 minutes. For upper grades).

Talks on Achievement—by leading citizens of Ohio. (25 minutes. For upper grades only).

TUESDAY—*Stories and Playlets* by selected story-tellers and casts of players. (15 minutes. For lower grades).

Literary Masterpieces by selected readers. (25 minutes. For High School).

Literary Masterpieces by selected readers. (20 minutes. For upper grades).

WEDNESDAY—*Talks on Health and Physical Culture* by physicians and athletes. (15 minutes. For upper grades).

Travelogues and Geography. (20 minutes. For upper grades).

Civil Government by State officials. (25 minutes. For upper grades and High School).

THURSDAY—*Health Playlets*: Calisthenics and games. (15 minutes. For lower grades).

Lessons in Agriculture or Nature Study.
(20 minutes. For upper grades).

Series on Art Appreciation and on Science
by artists and scientists. (25 minutes. For
High School).

Lesson leaflets containing suggestions to teachers, bibliographies, illustrations and other material necessary for supplementing the course are distributed in advance of the broadcast lesson. Now plans are being made to have radio lesson material put together in the form of a handbook for the teacher and guide-books for the students with blank leaves to add fresh material from time to time.

Radio gives evidence of great possibilities not only in the education of the young but also of the adult. It has already begun to stimulate the recent advance in adult education and to solve many of the problems encountered in its promotion. The radio, as a college professor, makes itself quite useful to grown-ups. Lectures on any subject taught in the college by the lecture method, can be given over the radio to adult population. In fact, agricultural classes for farmers scattered over a State or several States have been successfully held by the radio. With the coming in of educational broadcast, the usefulness of the college in the promotion of general education in isolated communities have been greatly enhanced. The University of Pittsburgh, for instance, has been giving several series of popular lectures every year during the last four or five years. Among them one on biology was given by Dr. Robert T. Hance, Head of the Department of Zoology. Taking for his general subject "The Machines We Are" he delivered popular lectures on: "How do we Inherit?", "What do we Inherit?", "The Continuation of the Race," "How we Grow", "Energy and the Living Machine," "Food and its Utilization," "Circulation," "Respiration and Excretion," "The Nervous System," "Movement," "Regulating the Body," "The Body's Struggle for Life," "Our Relation with other Forms of Life," "The Balance of Nature," "In the Laboratories of Today," and so on. These lectures were adapted from the first year college course in biology. Besides scientific subjects the University of Pittsburgh gives other series including fine Arts, sports, current events and the like.

ADULT EDUCATION BY RADIO

A novel development of educational broadcasting is what is known as "The American School of the Air" which covers the whole of the United States. It has a faculty of seventy leading educationists with Dr. William C. Bageley, Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, as the dean. A complete bibliography of the subjects offered is prepared by Effie Powers, Head of the children's division of the American Library Association and Mary Kerchwey of the Horace Mann School of New York. This enables the teachers to assign parallel reading to students who will listen in on the course of radio study. These lists of assigned readings are posted in every library in the United States where they may be easily referred to. In addition they are printed fortnightly in *The Voice of the Air*, a rotogravure magazine which is reported to have a circulation of more than 2,500,000. In addition to carrying the bibliography, it is also utilized to present an advance story of the radio lessons to follow. Besides this, a pamphlet is also sent out which gives a complete outline of the course for the use of teachers. There is also a committee on evaluation which is divided into as many sub-committees as there are States, each sub-committee having as its chairman the Superintendent of Schools of that State. Their findings and constructive criticisms are closely co-ordinated with the work of the research sub-committee of Secretary Wilber's Advisory Council on Education and Radio. The American school of the Air has also a board of censors, consisting of sixteen leading educationists, who pass on every lesson submitted for broadcast, examining its soundness and educational value.

Many cities are now conducting educational programmes, and the extension division of practically every State University has at present a regular system of broadcast lectures. By the use of radio, lectures on cultural themes can be made available to many who, for some reason or another, cannot attend college lectures. Even as it is, a large portion of the adult population keeps in touch with the politics of today, not by reading text-books but by listening to the speeches broadcasted by eminent politicians; similarly, it learns its

lessons in economics from the lectures on finance by experts, and its sociology from the broadcast of police news and current events. But as far as the young students are concerned these lectures could at best be only supplementary to the study of text-books and the tutorial work of the professors. Some personal guidance would always be necessary to articulate the matter received over the radio with that available from other sources. No amount of radio information can ever take the place of the personal contact of the teacher with the taught. In the case of the young, therefore, the function of the radio is somewhat limited. Hence in the classroom, it can only be a supplement to the present methods in education instead of a substitute.

SOME OBJECTIONS TO RADIO

Every departure from the traditional methods in education is sure to meet with a certain amount of opposition. So also the introduction of the radio in the classroom has given rise to genuine doubts regarding its educational usage. Some teachers, for instance, contend that instruction cannot be given satisfactorily by radio, because it lacks the personality of the teacher, and, in consequence, the power to hold the attention of the pupils. This appears at first as a valid objection but the fact is radio does hold the attention of the pupils and by experiment it has been found to be so. Apart from that, since the teacher is in the room when the lesson is being broadcasted, her presence and personality can and does help to a large extent to sustain the attention of the pupils. And what is more, she is required to follow the lesson with maps, notes on the blackboard and so forth. In doing this, the teacher helps not only the broadcaster who is guiding her class, but also the students to fix their attention upon the radio lesson. That may be so, but then, say they, it is not possible to add new branches of learning to an already over-loaded curriculum. Such objectors overlook the fact that radio instruction does not necessarily mean adding fresh subjects to a curriculum already too full. In most cases

it only means substituting occasional expert instruction in certain subjects.

Some others think that there is the danger of the expert going over the heads of his pupil-listeners, thus making the lesson of less value to them. No doubt, there is real danger here, but it can and is avoided by having not only the lessons graded but lesson leaflets sent out much in advance of the broadcasts to enable the teachers to prepare their pupils for the radio lesson. Even if the instruction so given is a bit advanced, there is still the advantage of those children in more advanced classes learning how to obtain the best value from the lecture method. In other words, it will help to make the more gifted children 'self-active'. Since this forms one of the fundamental principles of learning, one wonders if this difficulty is not after all a blessing in disguise. However, in view of this difficulty it is expected that the teacher will check up on the fine points, throwing light on the more obscure portions of the radio lesson.

Further, the objection may be raised that some broadcasts are too advanced for some schools and too simple for others. This certainly is a matter of detail; but most features of the broadcast programme will be generally acceptable. But if, for instance, a course in music appreciation is too easy for a school with adequate music instruction, then that school need not listen in. More often than not, even such schools will tune in to get for themselves the formal instruction of an accredited and outstanding musician. Though arrangements are generally made to suit the needs of different grades of the primary and high school students, yet it is not really necessary for a school to take in all the broadcasts. It need only to tune in those programmes of which it has the most need, and in which its pupils have the greatest interest. The experiments carried out so far have greatly helped to overcome the sceptical attitude towards the use of radio in education. Now the belief is gaining ground that there are large possibilities for radio in the improvement of instruction. Because of this increased faith in its use, some of the State Legislatures, like that of Ohio, are appropriating funds to be

used for the extension of elementary education through the use of radio broadcasting.

SOME RESULTS OF SCHOOL RADIO

Many of the educational authorities, who have closely followed the radio in the classroom, do not hesitate to bear testimony to its many-sided benefits. Some declare that it extends the opportunity of hearing master teachers and world leaders to a large majority of pupils who would never have that opportunity otherwise. Further, it is held that it supplies variety, enrichment, new material and freshness of outlook. Others think that it stimulates the ability of the pupil to listen, to concentrate and take down notes on the salient points of the lesson. Some others are of the opinion that radio enlarges the student's vocabulary, develops his reportorial ability, broadens his outlook and teaches him to discriminate between essentials and non-essentials. The experiments conducted so far make it quite clear that the radio will be of benefit in proportion to the amount of co-operation that obtains between the broadcasters and teachers in developing that knowledge and technique necessary to make the lessons of real educational value to the listeners.

Much indeed has already been accomplished in the use of the radio. Within a very short period it has helped to link the far-flung continents and islands of the world. It now enables ships at sea to communicate instantaneously with each other and with the land. It affords entertainment to millions, especially to those living in isolation. And at present it is developing into an important factor in carrying instruction to the young and the aged. The acceptance of the radio by educationists as a powerful means for the propagation of knowledge is based not on fond hopes but on the experience gained from experimentation. Thus in contemporary life radio is meeting already a great want. In spite of all that has been achieved so far, it must be said regarding the possibilities of radio that only the surface has yet been scratched. The significance of international broadcasting for the maintenance of world peace and mutual understanding is virtually unlimited. The depths of its usefulness in the dissemination of information and culture in the rural and neglected sections of every country have not yet been fathomed. In short, the immense power that it can exert for good has not yet begun to be realized.

MATERIAL PROSPERITY UNDER SWARAJ

CANADA'S EXAMPLE

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I
CANADA furnishes a striking illustration of the stimulus that Swaraj gives to the economic development of a country. It was hardly known to outsiders when the Crown managed affairs in the Canadian provinces. Now it has an established position in world commerce and is making its influence felt in other spheres of life.

Only some seven decades have elapsed since federation was effected,—since the foundation of Canadian nationality was laid. Already production has increased to such an extent that the Dominion has become an

important factor in the economic world. The purchasing capacity of the people of the country has likewise advanced.

The result is startling. Only four countries are ahead of Canada in point of external trade. They are in point of order: (1) the United States of America; (2) the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; (3) Germany; and (4) France. The United States has almost twelve times the population of Canada; Britain four times as many inhabitants; Germany about six times and France nearly four times the number of Dominioners.

In capacity to sell to the world and to buy from it, Canada has left our Motherland far behind. Yet for every Canadian there are at least thirty-four Indians.

Even Japan, which prides itself upon its economic development since it abandoned its policy of seclusion in the middle of the last century, has been outstripped in the race. And the Japanese outnumber the Canadians by almost seven to one.

II

In point of wealth, Canada has reached an enviable state. According to the latest estimate made by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, national wealth exceeded Rs. 8481 crores.*

This wealth was owned by less than 10,000,000 persons. The *per capita* wealth was Rs. 9,657.

The gross national income of Canada was estimated at Rs. 1625 crores in 1929. From this amount Rs. 110 crores should be deducted to provide for depreciation of agricultural and industrial machinery and for replacement of obsolescent with improved apparatus of production. The net national income was, in other words, in the neighbourhood of Rs. 1515 crores.

If we in India could acquire wealth on the same scale, our net annual income would exceed Rs. 51,500 crores. I wonder if there is any person—official or otherwise—sufficiently optimistic to put it anywhere near this figure.

III

Production at such a high standard has been made possible only through the investment of vast quantities of external capital. During the early stages of development most of the money came from Great Britain. Foreign investors were not disposed to lock up their capital in Canadian land and industries. Even in 1913, non-British investments in Canada were less than one-third of the British capital invested in enterprises of one kind or another in the Dominion.†

* Unless otherwise stated, all figures are extracted from "Canada, 1932," issued from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. A dollar has been taken as the equivalent of Rs. 2.75.

† Based on estimates made by various authorities.

Since the war, the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction. Money has poured in from the United States. British investments have somewhat shrunk. The result is that American capital invested there is one-third larger than the total British investments.

Though the American investments had reached, by the end of 1929, the huge total of Rs. 954 crores, no financial guarantees or reservations were sought or given. Americans were content to invest their money in a country where they did not possess any vestige of political control through "financial reservations" or other devices—and where they knew they were not likely to be conceded any such control.

Scaremongers have sought, for years, to make capital out of this situation. Canadians are, as a rule, too shrewd and phlegmatic to become excited. They know that their (Canadian) investments in farms, real estate in urban areas and the like exceed foreign and British capital, both added together. They further know that they—and not the foreign investors—are in possession of the machinery of State. So long as control over the Government remains exclusively in their hands, they do not mind—in fact, they welcome money for purposes of developing their resources, no matter from what source it comes. External capital to which no political string is tied is used in developing their resources and creating work for their people.

IV

To form a concrete idea of the stimulus Swaraj has given to economic development in Canada, I propose to contrast conditions existing at the close of the era of British administration with those obtaining in 1929. (That is the last year for which complete figures are available. It also happens to be the year when Canadian production reached the highest figure. Since then prices have fallen all over the world and a period of depression has set in).

Before I attempt this comparison, a few words must be said in regard to constitutional development in Canada.

The Constitutional Act of 1791 conceded representation but not responsible government. Lower Canada—or the French speaking

province—as well as Upper Canada or the English speaking province—were each given a legislature elected by the people. Power over the purse was limited, since only the revenue raised by taxes was within its competence ; and it could exert some pressure on the executive by refusing to vote taxes. Non-tax revenue was entirely outside its control.

The concession of this representative type of government did not, therefore, end the arbitrary executive regime. The representatives of the people refused to be satisfied. The conflict with the officials finally grew in intensity and bitterness and led finally to the subjection of the executive to legislative control.

This object was effected by the Act of Union of 1840. It knit together Lower and Upper Canada and gave them a unified legislature, to which the executive was to be responsible.

Twenty-seven years later the British North America Act was placed upon the British Statute Book, consolidating and widening Canadian freedom. It sanctioned a scheme of confederation.

The "union" set up by the Act of 1840 was dissolved. Lower Canada and Upper Canada—as they had previously been called—were set up as separate provinces, each competent to administer its local affairs. These and other provinces entered a confederation which began to function in 1871.

The foundation of Canadian prosperity was laid in that year, though as I shall show presently, the rate of progress was somewhat slow until lately. Much of the development has, indeed, taken place within my own knowledge.

Complete legislative autonomy was not secured even in 1871. The Governor-General sent out from Britain did not become a "constitutional ruler" all at once. In 1878, for instance, Edward Blake, the Canadian statesman, succeeded in moving His Majesty's Government to revise the Instrument of Instructions whereby, except in certain unimportant matters, the Agent of the Crown was left no choice but to act in conformity with the advice tendered to him by the Dominion Ministers.

I can recollect but one instance since then in which the Governor-General flouted the Canadian Ministry. Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie King—whose grandfather on the mother's side had played an important part in the movement that resulted in curbing the arbitrariness of the executive during the last century—was then the Prime Minister, while a British General who had won the hearts of the Canadian soldiers in France and Flanders (General Byng) represented the Crown.

At the general election that took place shortly afterwards Mr. Mackenzie King was returned to power. As I can attest from personal experience, having been in Canada at the time, the verdict of the people of the Dominion was unmistakably in favour of Canadians exclusively managing their own affairs.

Mr. Mackenzie King, in effect, chose Lord Byng's successor—Lord Willingdon. Now the Canadian Cabinet, in actual practice, nominates the Governor-General, who has not been left any scope whatsoever for interfering in the administration.

During the last decade Canada secured complete control over its external as well as internal affairs. It maintains its own diplomatic and trade agents even in countries outside the British political system and negotiates treaties and trade conventions without obtaining leave of Downing Street and through its own agents, if it so chooses.

The Statute of Westminster passed last year (from which India was excluded) repealed all constitutional disabilities from which Canada suffered save one. That exception lies in its inability to revise its constitution of its own motion.

Racial and religious differences are responsible, in the last analysis, for the continuance of that limitation, as I shall show in an article on another occasion. Suffice it for me to state here that in respect of safeguarding its resources and protecting and stimulating its trade abroad, Canada is constitutionally fully competent and is possessed of a system of administration which is able to place its own interests above those of all others (including Britain).

In the degree in which the Canadians have become exclusively their own masters,

their material prosperity has increased. That conclusion has been forced upon me by the several visits I have paid to that country, beginning with 1906. I shall cite facts and figures in support of that conclusion.

V

Let me draw a picture of Canada as it was at the time of Confederation (1871):

The population was small—about 3,700,000 persons—settled largely along the eastern and western seaboard and the St. Lawrence River and inland lakes, which served as arteries of commerce. Billions of acres of rich land capable of annually yielding immense harvests lay untenanted and untilled. Lakes and rivers swarming with fish were unexploited. Huge forests and vast mineral wealth were left unexplored and unworked. There were no industries to speak of. A little in the way of milling flour and manufacturing iron and steel was attempted.

Canada was then the paradise of the trapper, who invaded the silent sanctuaries of wild animals and killed them for their fur, which was greatly prized by women of fashion and men taught to love pomp and circumstance. Agents of a great English chartered company who reaped a rich harvest of gold through the fur and cognate trades no doubt had some idea of the potential wealth that lay hidden in areas with primitive communications or none at all; but they were too shrewd to let the world into the secret.

Trapping is still a profitable avocation in Canada. During recent years it has been discovered that animals (notably the "silver fox") which yield valuable furs can be reared in captivity. During my last tour of the Dominion I visited several such fur farms in Manitoba and found that their owners were prospering.

The fur trade has its importance in the Canadian economy of our day. But material development has been so great that it is overshadowed by other industries. It indeed occupies the lowest position among the principal "primary" industries. Production in agriculture, forestry, mining, hydro-electricity and fisheries exceeds, in value, the net return from the fur trade.

Canada had hardly any communications

at the time of Confederation. The railway track totalled less than 2,300 miles. The east and the west were largely out of touch with each other, while little was known of what lay in between them. The middle-west was, in fact, the breeding ground of ferocious animals like the bison (the untamed ancestor of the domestic cow).

If one had to go from the east to the west at the time of Confederation or prior to it, the only possible course to pursue was to take a ship from the Atlantic sea-board. The Panama Canal, which today divides North America from South America, had not been made. It was necessary therefore to go all the way down to the Antarctic Ocean, round the southernmost point of South America and then sail northwards until British Columbia, the westernmost province of Canada, was reached. Thousands upon thousands of miles had to be thus traversed.

The ships available in those days were small and lacking in comforts. The seas had not been accurately charted. Voyages were therefore attended with far greater hazards than they now are.

In the days of wooden ships, travel was particularly slow and tedious. Even after the introduction of steamers built of iron and later of steel, navigation remained comparatively slow until our time.

Apart from considerations of material development, there was little chance of politically knitting together a country which depended upon such a system of circuitous and slow communication. Cohesion could not be brought about unless faster and easier systems of transport linked the two extremes of the land.

VI

National exigencies combined with economic needs to emphasize railway building. But railway construction in a vast, empty country appeared to be a mad-man's dream.

Canada, I may remind the reader, used as he is to studying it from a small-scale map, is just a little more than twice the size of our country. It is 3,690,000 square miles in area, whereas India is 1,805,000 square miles in extent.

To correct any misunderstanding that

might arise from this comparison I must note these facts :

India lies in the south of the Continent to which it is attached. Except for certain regions in the mountain ranges, therefore, the climate is not too cold for human beings to live and to thrive in it.

There are of course certain arid and even desert areas where the population is thin and even sparse. But recent experience in some regions (the Lyallpur and Sargoda districts in the Panjab, certain parts of Bahawalpur and Bikaner States and more latterly Sindh, for instance) has shown that if water is provided by means of irrigation canals the soil is well worth cultivating and generously rewards men for any labour they may expend in tilling it.

Canada, on the other hand, constitutes the northernmost portion of the North American Continent. A part of it lies in the Arctic regions where it is bitterly cold. Some enthusiasts declare that even in these northern latitudes it is possible for man to maintain a high standard of life. Some attempt has been made to push settlement northwards though so far that attempt has not proved very successful.

At the time of Confederation the population was less than 3,700,000 persons. This population was concentrated in the east. The number of inhabitants west of the Great Lakes was, indeed, less than 110,000 persons.

When some individuals set up a strong agitation for building railways in this vast, empty country, there naturally was a great deal of opposition. Persons of little faith said that an attempt was being made to push the railways into waste areas where there was no population or hardly any population.

Men were not wanting who prophesied that these areas were destined to remain manless for a long time to come. They feared that the expense incurred upon railway construction would prove to be so much money wasted. The private individuals who had subscribed towards the building of these railways would suffer. So also would the Government, which in one way or another was backing the enterprise.

Fortunately for Canada there were far-seeing men who had great faith in the

potentiality of the country. They knew that in the west alone there were millions of acres of rich soil capable of yielding, year by year, millions of maunds of wheat and other grains. They knew also that Nature had planted, on the hills and in the valleys, vast quantities of timber of many species valuable for building or paper-making purposes and for manufacturing furniture of every description ; or hidden deposits of many kinds of minerals, some of them precious and semi-precious. There was even reason to hope that in certain localities kerosene oil and natural gas would be discovered and prove additional sources of wealth.

These far-seeing individuals felt sure that once these rich regions were made accessible by means of trunk-railways and branch lines, people of an adventurous disposition would move from the eastern portions of Canada to the middle of the country, and from the middle to the far west. They also were certain that people would migrate from congested areas in Britain and other European countries where the struggle for life was intense and the opportunity of acquiring a competence limited and settle in the portions of Canada opened out by the railways, where they would live in God's pure open air and in time, become economically independent.

As the land was brought under the plough ever-increasing quantities of wheat, barley and other grains would be grown. Horses, cattle, pigs and fowls would be raised and would help to enrich the farmers. As the population increased the forest and mineral wealth would be exploited. Fish, too, would be taken out of the numerous rivers, lakes and seas.

The production in corn, wood, ores, and fish would far exceed the requirements of the Canadian population, even if the expansion of population took place much more rapidly than was expected. The surplus would be shipped abroad wherever it might be wanted. In return an unending stream of gold would flow into Canada and enrich the men who had had the faith to build these railways and also those who had had the enterprise to leave their homes, whether in eastern Canada or the United States or in Europe

and take advantage of the opportunities afforded by railway building.

Then, too, industries were bound to arise. Wheat would be turned into flour and flour into bread, cakes and biscuits. Cattle would form the basis of a great dairy industry. Milk and cream not needed on the farms or in the homes in towns could be turned into butter or made into cheese.

Factories for converting wood into planks and rafters for building purposes and furniture and mills for manufacturing paper from wood pulp, would be established at points of vantage. Ores would be smelted and the refined metals utilized in railway and industrial workshops and factories turning out implements, tools and machinery needed in and out of Canada.

These industries would, in course of time, provide profitable employment for hundreds of thousands (and even millions) of workers and their dependents. They would also offer scope for men and women who had taken the trouble to acquire technical education in the Universities and persons with a gift of leadership and organization.

Canada would, in time, manufacture on a scale so large that larger and larger quantities of goods of great variety would be available for export. Their sale abroad would bring additional money to manufacturers, brokers, insurance agents and shippers.

This was the vision splendid that pioneers in Canadian railway building and development beheld during the nineteenth century. No end of difficulties stood in the way of their realizing their dream.

Undaunted, however, they went forward. When accident or natural death claimed some of them, others stepped into the breach and the work of constructing communications, attracting population, breaking the soil, felling timber and exploiting mines, rivers and lakes, went ahead, sometimes rapidly, sometimes slowly, but on the whole steadily.

VII

This vision is rapidly coming true. In the 61 years that have passed since the Confederation, the Canadian population has

almost trebled. In 1931 it stood at 10,354,000 persons.

What is still more important, the population has moved westwards. Where there were vast, empty spaces, now there are farms and factories. The land formerly overrun with bison has become one of the greatest graneries in the world. Out of the nondescript "Northwest Territories" have been carved two provinces—Saskatchewan and Alberta—each functioning vigorously.

A few figures will help to show the development that has taken place in this respect. The population west of the Great Lakes, as noted before, was less than 110,000 at the time of Confederation. By 1931 it had risen to over 3,000,000 persons.

Natural increase accounts for only a part of the growth in population. Immigration is responsible for the rest.

Some of the immigrants came of their own accord—without being urged by others to do so. But by no means all. Much thought and money have been expended, particularly during recent decades, upon attracting settlers. Private agencies, particularly the railways, have exerted themselves in that direction, usually with the consent if not actually with the assistance of the Government at Ottawa and some of the provincial capitals. These governments have, in fact, deliberately tried to increase the population.

Vast sums of money have been expended upon advertising the potentialities of the land lying untenanted in the middle-western and western portions of the country. Campaigns have been carried on not only in Europe but also in the United States of America.

The men to whom such propaganda work was entrusted were specialists in such work. They knew at first hand the particular country in which they were employed—knew the psychology of the people whom they were asked to attract to Canada. If they were not themselves skilful writers and illustrators, they had the sense to obtain services of men and women who were. They were provided with sufficient cash to make it worth the while of those men and women to advertise Canada.

Nor did the Canadians determined to swell the Canadian population content them-

selves with mere propaganda. Canadian agents visited likely districts in Europe and stimulated emigration.

The emigrants from Europe were brought over to Canada in large and small parties and conveyed to the holdings that were to be given to them on varying terms. In many cases money had to be advanced to them to enable them to buy agricultural implements and animals and sometimes even for the bare necessities of life. They had, in fact, to be nursed until they took root in the soil.

Apart from the thought and money needed for conducting such operations, much foresight and courage were required. Canada being a British colony, there was an outcry against bringing in foreigners, especially when millions of Britons were without work in the "mother-country," as Canadians of British descent affectionately call Britain.

Canadians preferred, however, to subordinate their instincts of blood and race to the interests of their country. They knew that they needed settlers for agricultural districts. If such settlers could not be had from Britain, they did not hesitate to scour Europe for them. They, above all, refused to throw open the door to Britons who were not likely to succeed in Canada and were almost sure to become charges on public charity.

Possessing Swaraj as they did, Canadians exercised their judgment as to whom they should permit to settle in their country and whom they should keep out. It cannot be said that they were always right in their judgment—or invariably fair. They were, however, on the alert and their worldly wisdom was, on the whole, proof against sentimentalism.

Canada's material prosperity is in no small degree based upon the vigour shown in building up the population and the care exhibited in rigidly excluding misfits and unemployables.

VIII

In the wake of the railways came the population and in the wake of population economic development.

Each of the "primary"* industries in

* Agriculture, forestry, mining, hydro-electricity, fisheries and trapping.

Canada has become a giant. I shall give, in the next article, figures for each industry separately. It is interesting to note here that the total net production from them all exceeded 515 crores of rupees in 1929.

I do not have at hand the figures for the total number of persons engaged in the various "primary" industries in Canada in that year; but the total population at the time was just below 10,000,000 persons. When deduction has been made for juveniles in the nursery and attending school, and for men and women engaged in "secondary" industries (that is to say, manufactures, construction and repairs), it is clear that the standard of *per capita* production in Canada in the "primary" industries is very high. So are the resultant gains.

Wheat production offers a valuable criterion with which to measure development since 1871. Here are the figures :

WHEAT PRODUCTION

1871	1,67,24,000 bushels
1930	39,78,72,000 "

The development in manufacturing industries has also been prodigious, as the following table will show :

Year	Capital	Employees	Gross value of Products
1870	Rs. 21 Crores	1,88,000	Rs. 60 Crores
1929	1397 "	6,94,000	1117 "

The net value of production in "secondary industries" (manufactures, construction and repairs) has, indeed, already exceeded that of "primary" industries. The significance of this statement needs to be grasped in India. It means that the process of building up manufactures has been so rapid since Swaraj was conceded to Canada that agriculture now yields precedence to them. Here are the relative figures :

NET VALUE OF PRODUCTION IN 1929

Manufactures	Rs. 549,27,12,504
Agriculture	284,38,57,016

These figures clearly prove that the popular notion notwithstanding, Canada is no longer only an agricultural country; but has joined the great confraternity of industrial nations. Her manufactures yield, in fact, almost twice as much in monetary return as the products of the farm.

The establishment of large manufacturing industries side by side with the development of agriculture places Canada in an exceedingly strong position. It opens up a vast field of opportunity to persons born or settled in that country. With so many avenues of acquiring wealth open to the people, it is but inevitable that the *per capita* as well as the national income should stand high.

It is conceivable that had Swaraj not been granted and had Confederation not been achieved in Canada, the development of "primary" industries would have proceeded apace and these industries might have been in as strong a position as or even in a stronger position than they are. I doubt, however, that in that event manufactures would have advanced so rapidly or so far.

The reasons are obvious. The active expansion of manufactures militated against Britain's old colonial mentality. Canada, it must be remembered, was originally a "plantation." It would have better suited the people in the "mother-country" actually engaged in one or another of the manufacturing industries, or depending upon those industries, particularly the bankers, insurance agents, middlemen and shippers, if Canada had remained a "plantation." They would naturally have liked to continue indefinitely the policy of buying agricultural and industrial products from that colony and selling to it cloth, iron and steel ware and other manufactured goods.

Canadians, however, refused to be content with being mere producers of raw materials. They insisted upon utilizing these raw materials in ever-increasing quantities in factories, mills and workshops in their own country and supplying finished and semi-

finished goods not only to their own but also to external markets.

Not mistaking the "wish-bone" for the back-bone—to use their phraseology, as vigorous as they are themselves—Canadians put all sentimentality aside and took recourse to methods that would enable them to realize their ambition to become a great manufacturing nation. The "protective tariff" was one of these measures—probably the most important of them.

It is significant that within seven years of Confederation protection was adopted as a national policy. The utilization of tariffs for the stimulation of manufactures had not progressed beyond the stage of discussion while Canada lacked effective Swaraj.

The adoption of protection as a national policy would have been of little utility had Canadians lacked the will to use it to purpose. Had they been a sentimental people they would have been unable to use tariffs to any great advantage: for if tariffs did not keep out or at least keep down the volume of British as well as foreign imports into Canada, Canadian industries would not have had the opportunity of growing rapidly.

Being a hard-sensed people, the Canadians gave priority to their own interests and did not heed the outcry raised in the "mother-country" against their policy of protection of Canadian industries. Even when, in 1897, the privilege of "reciprocal" tariff was adopted, the duty imposed upon British and other Empire goods was maintained at levels high enough to afford effective protection to Canadian manufactures. No wonder that the industrial progress made since the last-named year has eclipsed such progress in preceding years and the percentage of manufactured goods among the exports from Canada's shores has been steadily rising.



BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

FROM PUNISHMENT TO PREVENTION : *By* Prosanto Kumar Sen, M.A., LL.M.; *with a foreword by* Sir Evelyn Ruggles-Brise, K. C. B., *Publishers Oxford University Press, London ; Humphrey Milford. Price 10s net, pp. 152.*

The book aims at reviewing the general principles underlying the penal systems in different countries of the world in different epochs. The author is a distinguished Indian jurist and his legal training has enabled him to probe deep into the intricacies of criminal law and the subtle differences that underlie the different penal systems of the world. The aim of punishment in the administration of criminal law has never been satisfactorily grasped by the legislature which proceeds more on the lines of popular demands than on scientific principles. The fundamental idea underlying punishment in all primitive societies is revenge. The old Mosaic law 'eye for eye tooth for tooth' forms the foundation on which all the legal systems of the world have been built up. From this fundamental basis gradually evolved the principle of intimidation which laid stress on the deterrent effect of punishment on all would-be offenders. That punishment provides a means of expiation for the offender and satisfies the social sense of justice, was only recognized at a later date. The idea of reformation of the criminal as one of the aims of punishment came into prominence in Europe by the end of the 18th century. The next step in progress resulted when the idea of *defense sociale* was properly grasped by criminologists and penologists. The "defence of society" is now regarded by many authorities as the one objective to which criminal legislation and criminal therapy should be directed. The idea of 'defence' embraces within itself not only the reform of the actual criminal but also the introduction of preventive, social and hygienic measures against all potential criminals. Such measures may be either constructive or destructive. Although at the present time the true aim of punishment has been grasped in many quarters, the practical realization of this ideal by the introduction of necessary measures has fallen far short of expectations

owing to conservative tendencies in the legislature. The author has given a very interesting account of ancient Hindu ideas about punishment. "It is interesting to observe that this doctrine (protection of society) of modern times in a system of law many centuries old, and, after many vicissitudes, to find completed the development of an idea which began in the remote history of Hindustan!" The author has discussed the legal status of the different innovations that have been introduced to bring the actual administration of punishment in line with the ideal of penology. The Borstal system, conditional conviction, conditional sentence, conditional discharge, probation, indeterminate sentence, parole, preventive detention and the measures for the control of mental delinquency have all been treated in an interesting manner. In discussing the conditions in British India the author is of opinion that while the results of Indian prison treatment are admitted generally to be deterrent, they are not regarded as reformatory. The Indian Jails Committee in their report of 1920 state "witness after witness from almost every province in India with singular unanimity, declared that Indian jails do not exercise a good or healthy influence on their inmates, that they tend to harden if not to degrade and that most men come out of prison worse than they went in. We do not endorse this view but in so far as there is truth in it, it is a result, we are convinced, not of the men but of the system." The author says that no reform commensurate with the needs of the situation has been introduced in the Indian jail administration, on the lines recommended by the Committee since the publication of their report in 1920. The book is one of the best contributions to the subject of penology. The reviewer hopes that in the next edition the author will take steps to give translations of the long extracts from foreign authors so that they may be understood by his readers who are unfamiliar with French or German.

G. Bose

HIRANAND—THE SOUL OF SIND: *By* Dayaram Gidumal. *Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a biography of Hiranand Shankiram, a

native of Hyderabad, Sind, written by Dayaram Gidumal and published from "the Young Builder" Press, Karachi. Hiranand was a graduate of the Calcutta University and was connected with journalism for a short period at Karachi. He next wanted to become a medical missionary, but this idea was abandoned and he established a school at Hyderabad, now known as the Navabai-Hiranand Academy. Navabai was Hiranand's eldest brother, a man of high character and exemplary life. Hiranand was deeply religious, absolutely selfless and devoted to the service of humanity. He was born in 1863 and died in 1893. He and his brother were members of the New Dispensation Church of the Brahmo Samaj. He and his brother, who died a few months after him, are known as Sadhu Navabai and Sadhu Hiranand, and a tablet has been put up to their memory at the Brahmo Samaj, Hyderabad. The book is written with great ability and judgment. The anniversary of Hiranand's death is observed every year in Sind.

NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

INDIAN DUST being Letters from the Punjab by Philip Ernest Richards. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 6s.

I have read this book with much interest, for it has enabled me to re-live a part of my undergraduate days. I did not read with Prof. Richards, but all the undergraduates of our day were familiar with his name and work, for he and Mrs. Richards were part of that heroic mythology, which young men like to create for themselves and worship. Prof. Richards in those days enjoyed an enviable reputation as an interpreter of the beauties of English literature, and Mrs. Richards was known for her great interest in the drama, and her enthusiasm for creating a national stage, and for stimulating the writing of plays in the vernaculars of the country. She was keen on the social drama, which she thought would be a fit instrument for the social regeneration of India. Above all, they were known for their deep love for India, and their sympathy and friendliness for Indians.

The reading of this book has confirmed me in the impression I had already formed of Prof. Richards. He emerges from these letters as a very lovable person—kindly and shrewd, genial and observant, sympathetic and noble. He is the very best type of an Englishman, of whose kind, alas, we have very few in India at present. He suffered neither from a superiority complex nor from any missionary zeal either in the cause of the Empire or for any other thing. He was content to do his work in an honest and unobtrusive way, and spread round him an atmosphere of peace and goodwill.

His interests in life were many, but his garden, his home, his work in the college and his books absorbed most of his time. No one can read this book without realizing that Prof. Richards had the soul of a poet. He was extremely sensitive to the beauty of nature, and almost all letters show in one way or the other how much he was interested in trees and flowers, in the changing aspects of the sky and in the plants that grew in his own garden. He was interested in books—in English poetry and current fiction and many other things, and his comments on what he read have a piercing simplicity and truth about them. His home life was the best of its kind; it was full of abiding peace and happiness. He continued to take an unflagging interest

in his students, and he was always a kindly and amused observer of their activities.

He was a born writer of letters. There is a Cowper-like ease, simplicity and intimacy about whatever he writes. He can make the most trifling thing interesting, and can invest with charm the most ordinary occurrences of his life. It is delightful to read his letters whether they describe a casual meeting with a stranger, the accidental discovery of a new plant, some college function or some trivial domestic detail. Description is his forte but scattered here and there in his letters are comments, which show his wisdom and insight. He writes in one place:

"Trade is a moralizing and a spiritualizing force—trade and manufacture are essential to manhood. That is the rather surprising conclusion I have come to out of the ripe experience of five months. The bottom of the political unrest here, as everybody is beginning to see, is economic. The greatest need of India is not religion, nor education, but industry—without which the two former cannot be developed. Meanwhile, we go on manufacturing B. A's, who as our Bengali Principal says, "leave off here where the English undergraduate begins."

He passed off peacefully, and his end was as quiet and unostentatious as his life had been. "There was no black at the funeral. A stately ox wagon—drawn by two white oxen and driven by a countryman—bore him. The wagon had been lined with branches of the May Tree that was flowering at the time in their garden. The pall that covered him was of white *khaddar* with a border of sky blue. Those who bore him at the cemetery were colleagues and friends; all clothed in white.

The stone that marks his resting-place, in the Old Cemetery at Lahore, bears the words:

"He shines like a star among us."

The book is a timely publication. Its study will have a soothing effect upon Indians, who are sick of having distorted accounts of their country and its people written by M. P.'s on a holiday and journalists with a special political bias.

DIWAN CHAND SHARMA.

THE GOLDEN BOOK OF TAGORE: A homage to Rabindranath Tagore from India and the World in celebration of his seventieth birthday. Edited by Ramananda Chatterjee. Calcutta, 1931.

This quarto volume of 375 pages is the most sumptuously and lavishly got-up book that has yet been issued by the Bengali, nay the Indian, press. For this thanks are due to the printers, the block engravers and the Golden Book Committee who are the publishers. The book is artistically bound in coloured silk and the design and decoration of the binding are in keeping with the excellence of the illustrations, engraving, the paper and the letterpress. While the publishers have thus been eminently successful in making the exterior of the book in every way worthy of the occasion, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who launches the book into the world with his excellent foreword, has been equally successful in the selection of the contents. To Mr. Chatterjee's unique reputation as a journalist no less than to the world-wide fame of the poet himself, is due the fact that so many choice spirits from all the civilized countries of the globe have gladly come forward to pay their tribute of deep respect and admiration to the mastermind of India. Among the contributors there are

reigning sovereigns and princes, winners of the Nobel prize, writers of international fame, poets, philosophers as well as others less known to the world at large, who have earned their right to the great honour of being included in the list of contributors by their thoughtful appraisal of Tagore's life-work. There is an index of the names of the contributors but there is no reference to the pages where their messages are printed; this is probably due to the hurried manner in which the book had to be brought out in its finished form, some of the contributions having been received very late. Many of the languages of the civilized world appear within the covers of this volume from Russian, Greek and Spanish to Chinese and Japanese, which is an excellent indication of the international reputation of the Poet. Glancing through these foreign appreciations, one finds that the predominant note in Tagore which has appealed to the elect of all countries is his message of peace and love and of the necessity of the practical application of high ideals to noble ends, e.g. the reconstruction of the devastated and war-weary world, the cultural bridge between the East and the West which, it is universally recognized, he alone is competent to build, the need of a truly spiritual outlook of which he is the greatest apostle and the most beautiful exponent, a seer, mystic prophet and sage rolled into one, of whom the modern world is in direst need, what the most thoughtful minds of the West think of his personality will appear from the following extract from Count Keyserling's appreciation: "Rabindranath Tagore is the greatest man I have had the privilege to know. He is very much greater than his world-reputation and above all, his position in India imply. There has been no one like him anywhere on our globe for many and many centuries. That is, Rabindranath is the creator of a nation...I admire my great friend Rabindra Nath Tagore as I admire no other living man, because he is the most Universal, the most encompassing, the most complete human being I have known."

As might be expected, some of the best contributors are Indians, and especially Bengalis who alone can understand Tagore in the original, three-fourths of the beauty, grace, strength and suggestiveness of which is lost in translation. The universality of his appeal is, however, bound to make a deep impression even in a foreign garb, hence the tributes from far and near to the supremacy of his genius. Under the head of offerings, some aspects of Indian culture are expounded by competent Indologists, anthropologists, and art-critics. We wish this section had been fuller and more comprehensive. A very useful chronicle of the main events of Tagore's life, giving the dates of the publication of his numerous works, rounds up the volume. The portraits of the author taken at different periods of his life, and of Indian sights and scenes by Indian and foreign artists, all executed in the grand style, are a feature in themselves. As a valuable memento, as a book into which one may dip at random and fill his mind with high thoughts and noble aspirations such as can be imbibed only from association with the great, this big volume, which is a thing of beauty and which it is a delight to handle, will have its ready field of usefulness for all who admire things of the mind and art. But to all Indians it will have an added value not inferior to the above, inasmuch as it will play the part of a compendium of Indian culture at its best, an exposition before the world of the greatness of modern India, and as such it will fill their minds with pride and emotion and noble emulation, thus fulfilling a

great national purpose which must have been at the back of the minds of the editor and the members of the committee in undertaking this costly production. We can unhesitatingly declare that in this patriotic mission they have been thoroughly successful and we have no doubt that in spite of its costliness the book will have a ready sale in and outside India.

THE CASTE SYSTEM OF NORTHERN INDIA:
With special reference to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. By E.A.H. Blunt, C.I.E., O.B.E., I.C.S. Humphrey Milford., Oxford University Press. Rupees 10.

The author was the Census Superintendent of the United Provinces in 1911, and Chairman of the Banking Enquiry Committee in 1930. The book is based mainly on materials derived from the various census reports of 1901 and 1911, and, among the books consulted, Crooke's *Tribes and Castes of the N. W. P.* has been most freely drawn upon. Though the book has been on the anvil for twenty years, every care has been taken to bring it up-to-date and the result is a volume of 374 closely printed pages crammed full of facts, with numerous appendices, in which statistics have not, we are glad to find, effectually suppressed the elements of personal observation and sympathy.

The chapters dealing with the history and theory of the caste system are I and II (nature and evolution of caste) and XIV, XV and XVI (caste in relation to religion and law, and the past, present and future of caste). The rest of the chapters treat of the sub-castes, marriage restrictions, commensal restrictions, caste Panchayet, sectarian castes, hill castes, Islamic castes, castes in relation to occupation and economic aspects, the formation of new castes and the like.

On the subject of the evolution of the caste system, the author refers to two schools of thought, the earlier of which based their arguments on Brahminical literature and regarded the system as the artificial product of the priestly order, and the later, based on the scientific study of inscriptions and coins and of Buddhist and Jain sacred works, which looked for its origin in the nature of the elements composing early Indian society, and for its development in the working of social forces on those elements. The author seems to belong to the later school, and holds that the Brahmin occupied the position he did in Hindu society by virtue of his merits. He had in the words of the author, "won for himself an, almost unassailable spiritual supremacy. Further, as philosopher and statesman, by sheer force of learning he had acquired considerable temporal power. The king's minister was usually a Brahman, and no mere figurehead...it is not strange that Megasthenes, a worldly Greek, in writing of the Brahman priest and adviser of the king, chose the word 'philosopher' by which to describe him. It was an unconscious tribute to the learning which had raised the former attendant at sacrifices to high state. Again, discussing caste in relation to nationality, the author says "caste and nationality are regarded as incompatible, the presence of the former must impede, if it does not actually prevent, the growth of the latter. And at first sight, it would seem that the critics are right; for caste embodies a principle of separation, nationality a principle of consolidation.... But through the diversity of Hindu society, there has always run a thread of unity; there has always been one bond to keep its many component parts together. This bond is the Brahman hegemony."

Dynasties might rise and fall but the Brahman remained supreme; kingdoms might expand or shrink, but Hindu society, indifferent to changes in political boundaries, remained one and undivided under its natural leaders. There may be times when national and caste interests will clash. Much, indeed, will depend upon the Brahman. It is the fashion of the people to jeer at him in proverbs, of critics to decry him as a parasite on society. Meantime, there are in Benares and Allahabad, Brahman scholars whose names are a household word, in East and West, wherever two or three Sanskritists are gathered together; and at the present time every Hindu political leader of first-class importance in this province is a Brahman. In the days that are coming, the Brahmans will have the greatest chance that he has had for two thousand years. And he will take it."

Let us hope that the author's confident prediction will be fulfilled. Leading Brahmans have of course been foremost among the reformers, but reactionaries are not also wanting among them as among the other higher castes, with this difference that as head of the Hindu social order the Brahman's power, both for good and evil, is greater than that of the leaders of any other community. In passing, we may point out that the artificially engineered non-Brahmin movement has done much to undermine the natural leadership of the Brahmans.

The author's views on the depressed classes are worth quoting: "The depressed classes are those castes who are not served by Brahmans, yet have shown by their attempts to secure some trivial service from Brahmans, that they are desirous of receiving their recognition, and of being admitted full members of Hindu society. And the initial step necessary to raise them out of their degradation is obviously the removal of these religious disabilities. Thereafter if they are provided with the educational facilities that they require—they can, and they will, raise themselves to a respectable position in society, as other low castes have done before them. The process will take time—two or three generations, the mental, moral and even physical characteristics which are the result of many centuries of depression are not so easily put away. But though the process may be slow, it will be sure."

Regarding the future of caste, Mr. Blunt observes as follows: "It seems probable that, in the course of time, the nation will swallow up the caste, that the customary restrictions will be gradually modified till the social system becomes again one of classes, as it was in Vedic times. So be it. One thing, however, is certain, that any attempt to hasten the processes of evolution would be fraught with danger. Suddenly to remove the caste system would, in Sir Herbert Risley's phrase, be 'more than a revolution'; it would resemble the removal of some elemental force like gravitation or molecular attraction.....What is required is a pruning knife, not an axe."

To talk of removing the caste system, root and branch, all at once, is more or less academic, having regard to the almost impassable barriers that block the path of any such radical reform. But the author himself speaks of the Arya Samaj as "the most important religious movement that has occurred in India for several centuries" and says that "it acknowledges no castes save the four *varnas* of Manu, and holds that membership of these is determined not by birth, but by personal qualifications and attainments." The testimony of the author, in common with many

others, most competent to form an opinion, is that it is the most vigorous reform movement in Hindu society. If that be so, the removal of the caste system need not be so very distant a goal as Mr. Blunt would have it. He cautions us against excessive haste; but do we not see signs in authoritative circles of an opposite tendency, namely, that of retarding the natural rate of progress? To over-emphasize caste distinctions in political and administrative affairs, to attempt to segregate the depressed classes smacks of the same policy which led Aurangzeb to undo, in the words of Mr. Blunt himself, all that Akbar had done to weld the two races [Hindus and Mahomedans] into one. If, as Mr. Blunt observes, the results of Aurangzeb's policy persist to this day, is not the result of the same policy of segmentation, within the folds of Hinduism itself, visible in current politics? Soviet Russia has shown, in its educational and industrial programme, that revolution is only evolution writ large; and India of the Hindus, we are fully convinced, can prove the same truth in the reform of its caste system, if they are allowed a free hand in the matter.

There are many other matters in this volume relating to the various castes of Agra and Oudh which furnish much needed information to the student of the caste system, but want of space prevents us from referring to them. The book as a whole is the result of much painstaking research conducted at first hand, and will prove a valuable addition to the literature on the subject.

POLITICUS

MASTERS: *A booklet by Dr. Annie Besant. Published by The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

Mrs. Besant here propounds the interesting doctrine of Theosophy (which, by the way, has its parallel in Buddhism and other forms of Indian thought) that there are men who have completed human perfection and who function as agencies helping the evolution of the human race—and thus also the evolution of the world. Such superior souls exist in different parts of the world and can be known by those who have the will to know them. They may change bodies and also abodes. Usually they function by infusing other powerful minds with their inspiration. The writer gives particulars about some such teachers whom she personally knows, e. g., Jesus who "lives mostly in the mountains of Lebanon: the Master Hilarion in Egypt—he wears a Cretan body" and so on (p. 62). There are some who use Indian bodies and live in Tibet, near Shigatse. Dwelling places of two others are not known to the author.

The chief of these masters—with several of his associates is expected 'to return incarnate upon earth', sometime during the present century, to set the world right and to usher in a 'new civilization.'

Mrs. Besant presents her case with remarkable ability, persuasion and strength of conviction. Let us wait and see if her hopes about the advent of a world-teacher materialize during the lifetime of the present generation. The world in general—and India in particular—needs such a saviour.

THE BIRTH AND EVOLUTION OF THE SOUL: *by Dr. Annie Besant and published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is a pamphlet consisting of two lectures. The subject-matter of the lectures is apparent from

the title. Only, the question of the origin and evolution of the soul has not received the same answer from Theosophy as from other schools of thought. Nevertheless, the solution offered by Theosophy deserves careful consideration, partly because of its close similarity with Hindu thought and partly because of its inherent suggestiveness.

Some of the cardinal points in the theory developed in these lectures may be briefly indicated, (1) 'Ours is not the only race of men—there have been other races before. (2) 'The first race had its bodies built up 'round a form' 'derived from the moon' (p. 2). (3) 'The evolution of the soul is parallel to the evolution of the body; and as the soul develops, it changes to a better body also. (4) 'The evolution of the soul is thus not confined to one life only. (5) 'And when the final stage of evolution is reached, the soul becomes 'one of the Workers, one of the Builders, one with God in work for the worlds.' (p. 54).

There are some ideas in the book which orthodox psychology will hesitate to accept: e. g., those about the 'power of thought' (pp. 40 *et seq.*).

The lectures are thought-provoking, and have even a halo of romance.

'SPIRITS' OF VARIOUS KINDS: By H. P. Blavatsky. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

This is a small pamphlet in which the question is discussed whether there are spirits other than the spirits of departed men. The answer given is in the affirmative. In this connection a distinction is also drawn between spiritualism and occultism. The latter believes in spirits of various kinds—gods, demi-gods, demons, etc. We are also assured that "the masses of mankind are thus well justified in 'believing in a plurality of gods'" (p. 19). And we are further told that "the key to the esoteric significance of these gods would enable modern physical science, and chemistry specially, to achieve a progress that they may not otherwise reach in a thousand years to come" (p. 20). References to the Vedas and Puranas in this connection are inevitable and are there. The book has obvious interest for those for whom spiritualism has interest.

THE MOORS IN SPAIN: By C. Jinarajadasa. Published by Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

It is a paper read before the Islamic Culture Society of Madras and gives a brief narration of the achievements of the Moors in Spain. The author is struck by the fact that although the Arabs did much for the dissemination of knowledge, yet 'they invented nothing and they conceived no grand or fecund idea' (p. 33). The bloody feuds among the followers of the Prophet are a sad commentary on the Gospel of Brotherhood which Islam preached. This is so shocking to the writer that he exclaims 'I sometimes wish that I had not prepared this paper.' This, however, is a controversial matter. On the whole the account given in this paper is succinct and very readable.

THE SIX WAYS OF KNOWING: By Dr. D. M. Datta, M.A., Ph. D. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., pp. 352. Price 15s net.

This book gives a survey of the theory of knowledge (The six *Pramanas*) according to the *Advaita* school of *Vedanta*. The *Advaita* position, however, is developed in every case after a critical examination

of the rival theories; and, in addition to this, almost in all cases, the author also compares the *Advaita* views with views of Western thinkers on the same questions.

Dr. Datta's deep knowledge of both Eastern and Western philosophies eminently fits him for the task he has set before him. His exposition is always clear and concise.

Dr. Datta not only gives an exposition of the *Vedanta* theories, but, he obviously believes them—at any rate, most of them—to be the correct views on the questions at issue. Thus, even though he admits that the Vedantic theory of perception "may appear crude in the light of the ruling ideas of Western psychology" (p. 67), nevertheless, he has the courage to maintain that these 'ruling ideas' are not the last word of psychology on the subject, and the *Vedanta* theory is not without support even from Western thought. His attitude throughout is that, properly understood, *Advaita-Vedanta* can be of some use in solving problems which have not been solved quite satisfactorily in Western thought; and that the neglect shown to it, has been entirely undeserved. We certainly agree with Dr. Datta so far as to say that not only the *Advaita-Vedanta* but Indian system as a whole should have received more attention from the philosophers of the world.

There are one or two observations which we should like to make regarding Dr. Datta's book. The references to the original authorities might with advantage be all put into the foot-notes. This would have made the book more attractive to those who are not familiar with Sanskrit names. The illustrative examples, also, (e. g. the one of *Upamana*) might be altered and adapted to modern way of thinking. In that case, the use of words like, 'gavaya' (p. 141, etc.), might be obviated. The presence of such words in the body of the text is bound to offer some difficulty to an English reader unacquainted with Sanskrit. These, however, are small matters on which a difference of opinion is also possible.

There is one thing in Dr. Datta which we cannot admire too highly: it is Dr. Datta's frank acknowledgment of his indebtedness to some Pandits. Many of those who write on Indian philosophy in English, freely use the services of Pandits, but quietly forget them as soon as the book is ready for publication. Dr. Datta has not done that, and for this he deserves our best praise.

We congratulate Dr. Datta on his very able and lucid presentation of the subject. It is a remarkably well-written book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDIA AND CEYLON—A FEDERATION: A NEW EFFORT IN HISTORY: By Kalmane. Messrs. P. S. King & Son, Ltd. London.

The writer has done a timely service by drawing the attention of those genuinely interested in the healthy and natural development of India and Ceylon, to the fundamental problem of the right relationship between these two countries. Ceylon has heavily suffered owing to the misfortune of her geographical position and rich natural resources. Ever since the expansion of Western trade in the East, Ceylon has been under the administration of a new European Power almost every century.

Even a casual visitor to Ceylon cannot fail to be impressed by the underlying cultural unity between the mainland and the Island.

It was in the year 1798 that the British Crown

took over the control of Ceylon from the administration of Madras. "Thus the two countries which had enjoyed a close union and co-operation for centuries, and which were considered as one entity among themselves as well as by foreigners were separated for perhaps no stronger reason than one of mere administrative 'convenience'."

The boycott of the last elections to the newly constituted State Council by the people of Jaffna, "who are most susceptible and favourable towards the ideals and methods of Indian nationalism," is rightly mentioned by the writer as a significant fact. There exists in North Ceylon a fairly strong movement in favour of Ceylon being part of the Federation of India. It would have been very valuable if the writer had discussed the practical difficulties confronting the group in favour of the federation plan. The book is clearly written and is well worth reading.

ARIAM

SANSKRIT

GUHYASAMAJA TANTRA OR TATHAGATA-GUHYAKA (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LIII*). Critically edited with introduction and index by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph.D., Rajaratna, Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda. 1931. Price 4-4.

PARANANDA SUTRA (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LVI*). Critically edited with an introduction and index by Swami Trivikrama Tirtha with a foreword, by B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D., Rajaratna, General Editor, 1931. Price 3-8.

The Tantra branch of Sanskrit literature which is undoubtedly a valuable source of information regarding the religious rites and thought of the people of India was so long not only neglected but held in contempt in scholarly circles. But it has of late fortunately attracted the attention of a number of scholars and learned societies. And as a result critical editions of important Tantra works are being published from different quarters. A society of the standing of the Oriental Institute of Baroda has also, at the instance of its learned Director, Dr. B. Bhattacharya, taken upon itself the task of bringing to light works belonging to this branch of literature. *Guhyasamaja* and *Parananda Sutra* are the two latest publications of the Institute in this direction. One of these is a Buddhist work while the other is a Brahmanic one.

The *Guhyasamaja* is believed to be one of the earliest Buddhist Tantras being composed probably as early as the third century of the Christian era. Its importance is testified to by the fact that it was translated both into Chinese and Tibetan. The work has been edited on the basis of four MSS., variant readings from which have been noted in the foot-notes. The learned and long introduction draws attention to the characteristic features of the contents of the work which advocates practices that have no sympathy for the stringent rules of monasticism prevailing in Buddhism, at least in the earlier form of it. It also deals with topics like the origin and date of the work, the relation of Tantra and *Hathayoga*, the popularity of the work as indicated, among other things, by the immense literature produced on the work and now preserved in Tibetan.

The *Parananda Sutra*, though not as old as the *Guhyasamaja*, is not a less important work. The learned editor, of course, claims a hoary antiquity for the work while the General Editor, Dr. B. Bhattacharya,

has put forth sufficient reasons to show that the work cannot be earlier than the 10th century. The work belongs to a hitherto unknown school called the *Parananda School*, the views of which are described here in detail. One fact with regard to the school that deserves special notice is that, though a Tantra school, it vehemently condemns the killing of animals. Incidentally, the views of various Tantra schools and teachers are referred to and thus a mass of valuable information, much of which is new, is found here. In this connection, it may be stated that the editor has done a very useful thing by appending to the work an index of names of authors and works referred to in the book. The language of the work is, at times, found to be ungrammatical and faulty—which is a characteristic feature of only the original Tantras.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

HINDI

GALPA-MANJARI: Compiled by S. Sudarshan. Published by The Punjab Sanskrit Pustakalaya, Said Mitha, Lahore, pp. 300. Price Rs. 2-8.

In the last few years the art of story-writing in Hindi has made considerable progress, and some works of Hindi story-writers can be favourably compared with similar works in other Indian, and even foreign, languages. The present book is a collection of seventeen short stories by ten eminent story-writers in Hindi. The editor, Mr. Sudarshan, is himself a well-known and successful story-writer in Hindi as well as in Urdu. Though, in selecting the best works of any author, there is bound to be a difference of opinion, Mr. Sudarshan understands the art and his selection can be said to be a fairly representative one. Moreover, in his selection he has made a point of selecting only those stories which leave a lasting and elevating effect on the mind of the reader. Before each story a brief biographical sketch of the writer is also given, so that before reading the work of any author, the reader might form some idea about the author.

NAGARIK SIKSHA: By S. Bhagwan Das Kela. Published by Bharatiya Granth Mala, Brindaban. Pp. 146. Price As. 10.

This is a small hand-book on elementary civics. Unfortunately, in this country, the study of so important a subject has been badly neglected, with the inevitable result that even our educated men are totally ignorant of their rights and duties as a citizen. This book is the result of a laudable attempt to enlighten the young generation about their civic rights and duties. Mr. Kela gives his readers in a terse and lucid style the essential information which will help them to develop a healthy spirit of citizenship. At the end of the book the author has added a glossary of technical words, which enhances the usefulness of the work.

BHAVYA VIBHUTIAN: By Shankar Sahai Saksena. Published by Bharatiya Granth Mala, Brindaban, pp. 145. Price As. 10.

This book contains nine biographical sketches of Hindu heroes like Maharana Pratap, Maharaj Chhatrasal, Guru Govind Singh and Maharani Lakshimibai of Jhansi. The book has been written to give our young men some idea of their illustrious forefathers. It is interesting reading and will serve the purpose for which it is written.

BRIJ MOHAN VARMA

THE ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

BY K. N. CHATTERJI

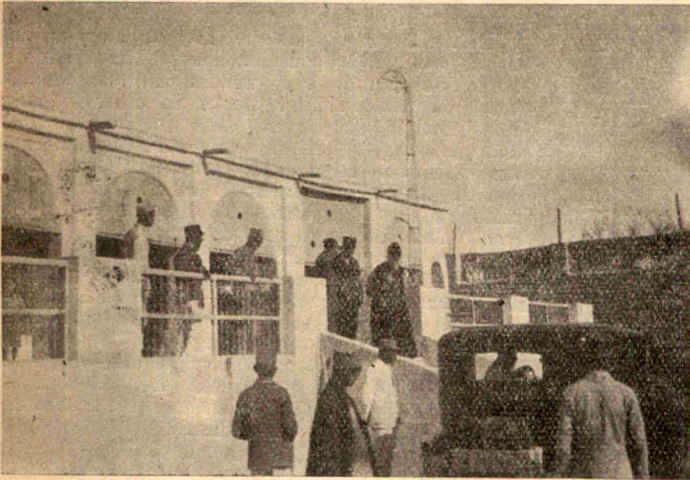
FROM Jodhpur to Bushire there was the same unchanging desert with only slight variations of the rock formations. Human endeavour has partially succeeded in covering up the nakedness of earth at Bushire, but only to a very limited extent.

Bushire is a Persian Gulf port, and sea-borne trade is the sole means—and cause—of

officials and the rich are all outside the town proper and are generally in garden villas enclosed by high walls. All houses have a paved court-yard with a slope to the middle where there is a rain water tank, to which is also connected all the rain water leads from the house terraces and verandas.

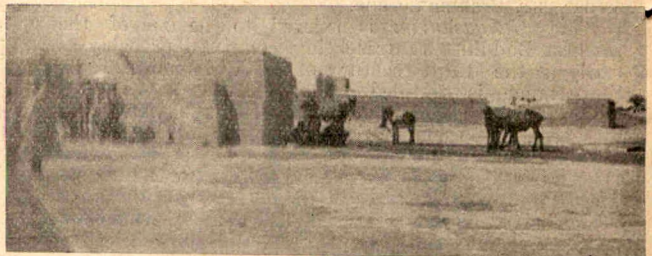
Every drop of rain is precious in these

arid tracts and there having been a shortage in the rainfall this year, potable water is at a premium, being mostly brought from Basra by ship and boat—a full day's journey by the mail steamer. The poor have to subsist on the muddy well-water from the neighbouring oases brought in leather containers on donkey back. Donkeys, and mules (and camels to a lesser extent) seem to be the universal means of transport in these regions. Automobile traction has made some headway chiefly with respect to passenger and valuable goods traffic. The Persian air-transport service—operated



The start from Bushire. Poet about to enter his car.

its existence. That being the case, the new rules regulating import trade, which make it compulsory that a certificate showing the export of Persian goods of the equivalent value has to be produced prior to the granting of a import licence of the same value, and also the restrictive tariffs on goods that may possibly be produced in Persia has jeopardized the very existence of Bushire. There are no sights to be seen here excepting the various buildings erected during the British occupation towards the end of the Great War. The town presents an uniform sandy colour due to the tint of the lime used on the exteriors of all buildings. The residences of the high



Police outpost, Borasjan

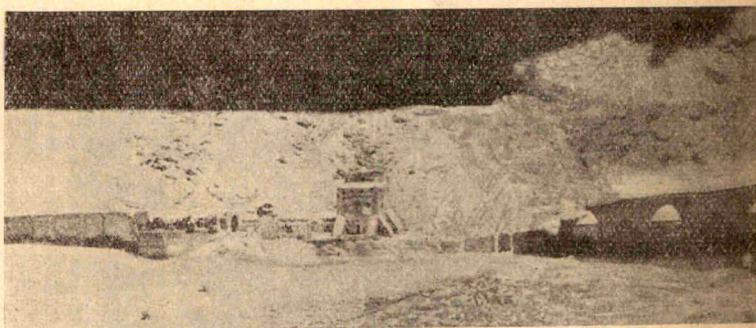
by the famous German firm of Junkers—has recently stopped due to financial reasons, though it was quite satisfactory otherwise. Trachoma and similar eye-diseases are rampant in this part of the world.

* * *

7th April :—Called on H. E. Teleghani, the Governor-General of Bushire and Persian Gulf Province. Also met M. Sarchar, the Attorney-General, and some other officials. Younger men seem to be in office under the new regime. The Governor is a courteous and cultured man educated in France. He believes that education on French lines, modified according to local requirements, is the most suitable for Persia. English education he considers to be chiefly "ornamental" and not worth the great cost, German too specialized and American not adaptable to local circumstances. He also informed me that the indigenous (Yunani) medical system has been completely discarded by the present government in favour of Western (Allopathic)

adapt opportunistic methods in the matters of prescribing for and the treatment of diseases and at the same time the practitioners were so disinclined to adapt modern systems of clinical observation and research, that the reformation was not practicable within reasonable limits of time and money.

In this, as in many other matters, the



The way to Kazerun. Broken bridge and police outpost



The farmer's house at Konartakhte

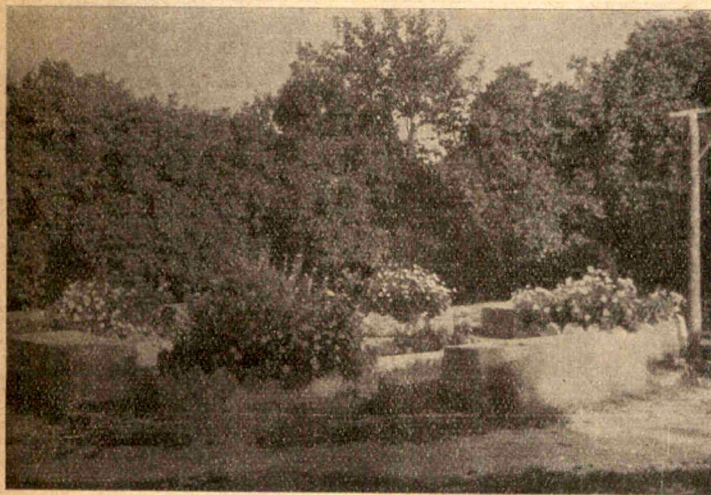
medical and surgical methods. On my asking him why they did not try to reform and systematize it according to modern methods, he told me that the advisors to the Government found, on thorough investigation, that the system was so full of obsolete empirical practices, so far behind in the knowledge of anatomy, physiology, etc., so limited in its means of diagnosis, and in general so prone to

present-day progressive Persian does not seem to be inclined to die with the carcass of ancient glories tied round his neck. He has learnt that an ancient ruin, however glorious in the past, is a ruin all the same and so is unsuited as an abode for the living.

8th April :—His Excellency the Governor returned the visit. Went out picknicking to a date-garden in the Hallale oasis, ten miles from Bushire, with Mr. Kazeruni, one of the leading merchants of the place. Hallale is a sea-bathing resort and is a little village of fisherfolk. Passed a quaint wayside shrine, with the tomb

of a local tribal chief who was killed after putting up a stiff resistance to the British during the Great War. Saw the village women coming to the well in the oasis to draw water, wash and bathe. Not much *purdah* observed here, though it is fairly strict in the city. Women have good features but although they are quite pretty while young, they get coarsened with age. Complexion like

the brunettes of Southern Europe. They were dressed in loose trousers constricted and fastened above the ankles, a loose chemise reaching down to the ankles, a piece of coloured cloth covering the bust and fastened behind and a black mantle (*chadour*) covering the head and the whole of the body down to the knees.



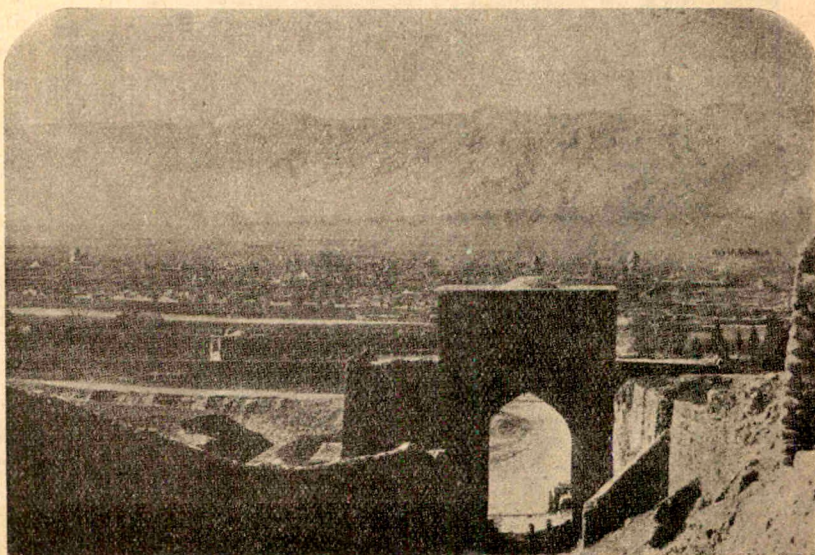
Bagh-i-Nazar, Kazerun

9th April:—Visited the police headquarters and the law courts. Younger men in office everywhere. Laws seem to be based on French procedure. There is a special court for trying official corruption cases. New Government seems to be not in favour of wasting money on imposing buildings.

10th April:—Saw the customs house. The chief of customs and all the highest officials are Belgians. Persia is off the gold standard and that is an additional handicap to the import trade. Smuggling is rife in coastal regions.

13th April:—Poet's plane arrived at Bushire at 10 A.M. in very stormy weather.

Reception at aerodrome by the Deputy-Governor, a whole host of officials and a guard of boy scouts. The official residence of the Poet was fixed at the villa of Jenabe Poure-Reza, where on arrival the Poet was received by the Governor-General and all the senior officials. Mr. Irani's party from Bombay arrived by ship this day after a most difficult landing by boat due to the storm. The full official programme of formal dinners addresses, receptions, etc. started from today. Amongst informal visits that of Jenabe Dashty, a member of the Persian Mejliss was interesting. He wanted to know what the Poet desired to see in Persia. The Poet said that he wanted to see what living remnant there still was of the Persia of ancient glory and renown, the Persia that was once in the forefront of civilization. Aqa Dashty was of the opinion that that Persia would be difficult to find as the old was now in disfavour,



Shiraz

being considered to be effete and retrograde while the new was predominant everywhere.

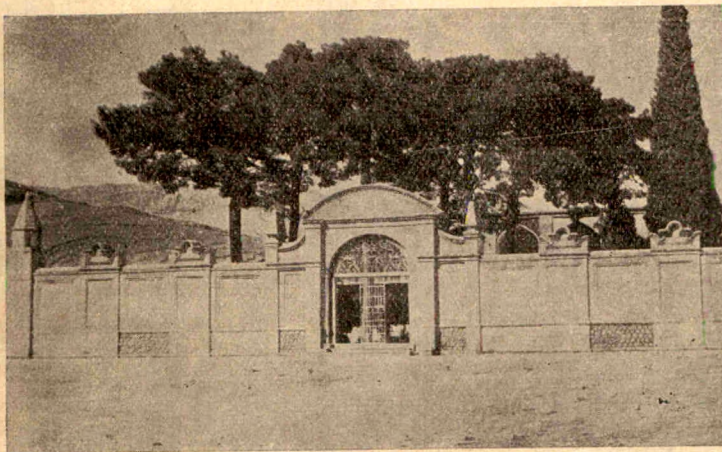
15th April:—Started at 8-30 A.M. *en route* for Shiraz. Five cars, including one with the military escort and two lorries conveyed the party, bag and baggage. The road was over dreary and dusty desert wastes, occasionally relieved by an oasis. Passed a hill stream the water of which was blue in colour and strongly sulphurous in smell. The going became very hard on reaching the hills due to the terrific gradients and hair-pin bends. Reached the village military outpost of Borasjan at 10-30 A.M., but made only a short halt. Arrived at Konartakhte village at 2 P.M. and stopped for lunch. The village has a few fields irrigated from wells and also some struggling orchards. We halted at the house of the village chief. Lots of sightseers came amongst whom were the women of the chief's household. The dame of the house was a buxom woman in the prime of her life with clear-cut features, full bust and erect carriage,

and ear studs shaped like flowers and a necklace of gold amulets.

From Konartakhte the negotiation of the hills became really dangerous due to dust, heat and the very stiff gradients. All the cars were more or less damaged due to the enormous strain and one broke down. After



Shiraz. Poet entering Mohammediyeh Hall



Tomb of Saadi, Shiraz

picturesquely dressed in a red skirt with white and yellow floral pattern, fine needlework blouse and a coloured mantle. She had broad bracelets of gold, large nose

ancient cliffs which are very likely to contain traces of pre-historic man. Beyond this valley the hills and valleys were filled with orchards in bloom and with fields of

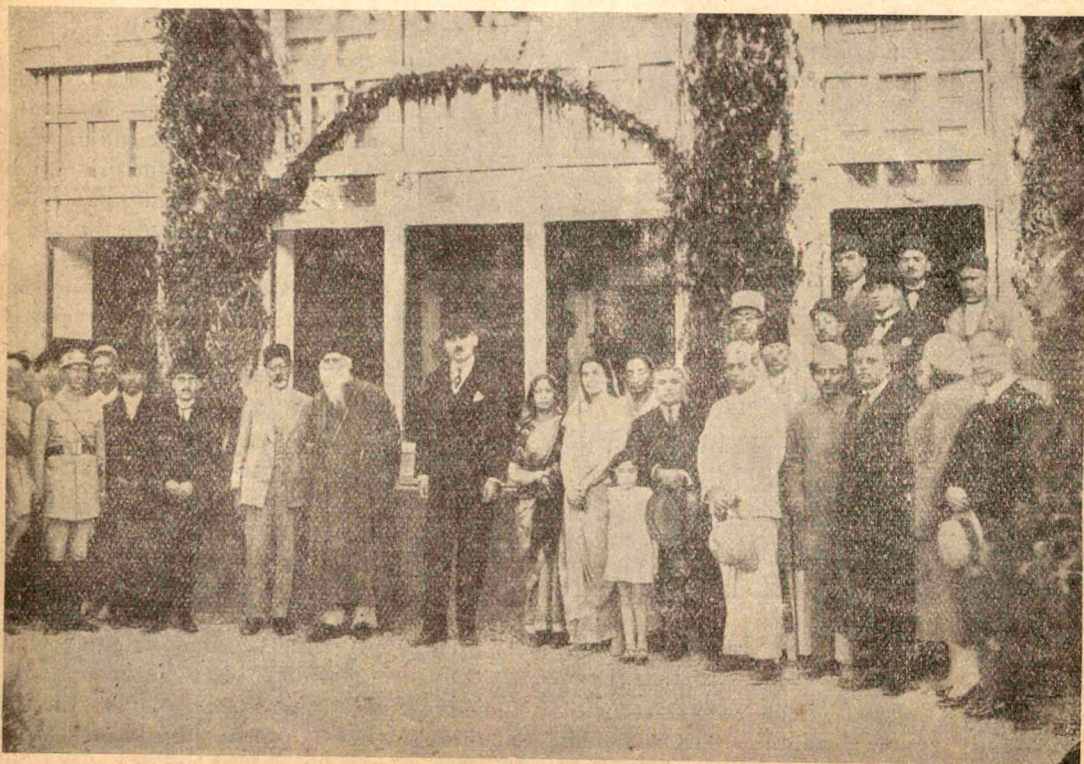
a very troublesome journey we reached Kazerun at 6 p.m., where we had the first glimpse of green verdure and trees in a hundred miles and more.

We halted for the night in the beautiful orchard and garden of Bagh-i-Nazar, where we were given a reception and a feast in the truly hospitable Persian style.

16th April:—After an early start and a fairly stiff passage across very high mountains we reached Shiraz at 1-30. p.m. On the way we halted in the valley of the Chashme Salmin. The valley was surrounded by



Tea party at Ahmediyeh Garden



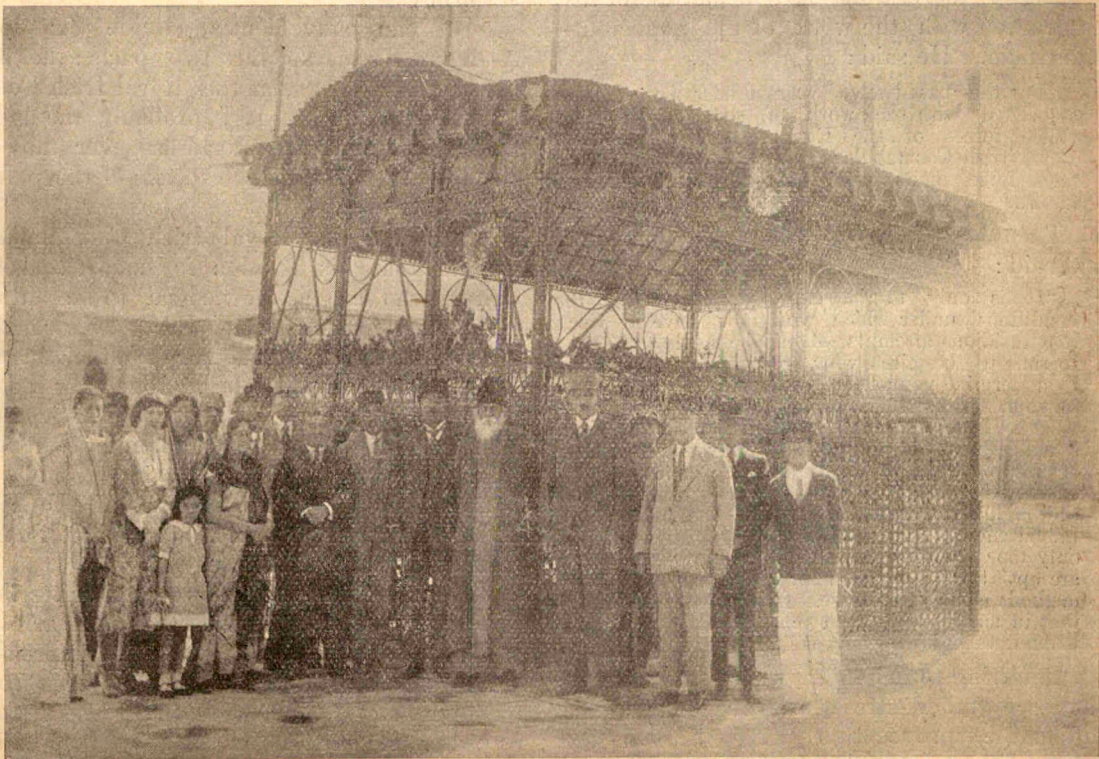
Poet and Party in front of Saadi's Tomb

corn. Sukrulla Khan, the local chief of the Bashkri tribe, met us on the wayside and paid his respects to the Poet.

After this trying journey on one of the worst roads in the world, the green valley of Shiraz with its waving poplar and plane trees and the flashing cupolas of its mosques was a very refreshing sight. The Poet made a state entry with troops lining the streets and a cavalry guard of honour galloping in front and behind his car. A public reception was given on his entry at the Bagh Mohammediyeh where the Shiraz literary society welcomed the Poet and Mr. Irani. From the reception we went to the Governor's Ark (palace) where



Poet by the side of the grave of Hafiz



Poet at the Tomb of Hafiz. Mr. Irani to the right and the Governor to the left of the Poet

the Poet was given the state suite. A lunch and a dinner in full state ceremonial was given the same day.

17th April :—Haji Lahri gave tea party at the Ahmediyeh gardens. Later on there was the civic reception to the Poet at Saadi's Tomb, presided over by the (acting) Governor-General. Terrific crowds tried to rush the meeting. Military had to be called in to control them.

18th April :—The Governor took the Poet and party on an informal visit to the

Hafiziye (tomb of Hafiz). There the Governor worked the oracle by asking the Poet to think a question and then opening the Diwan of Hafiz at random and reading the poem at the top. The "Fal" or prophecy was "May the doors of the tavern be opened We open it in the name of God." The keyword was "open," signifying fulfilment of desire. The Poet's question was whether the communal strife of India would ever end. This good prophecy was received by the Poet with a salutation to the tomb of Hafiz.

BENGAL GOVERNOR'S TRIBUTE TO THE POLICE

BY HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

AT Dacca His Excellency the Governor of Bengal paid a tribute to the efficiency of the police in Bengal which deserves the attention of the people. Sir John Anderson began by recalling the memories of his association with the work of the police outside India. He said :

"For the past twelve years I have been closely associated with the work of some of the great police forces of the Empire—among them the Royal Irish Constabulary—in its day probably the finest force of its kind that the world has ever known."

Then he referred to the police in Bengal and said :

"It is only to be expected, considering the conditions under which you now have to work that insidious attempts should be made from time to time to besmirch your reputation and thereby to undermine your self-respect, and to hamper you in your work. In certain cases—you will know what I have in mind without my being more specific—members of the force have been accused of improper conduct. I always endeavour to ensure that such accusations are carefully and thoroughly investigated, not by the methods of public enquiry which unfortunately lead themselves only too readily to mischievous propaganda and are apt to be exploited for that purpose but by methods equally effective. I have satisfied myself that in many cases such charges have been made without their having any solid foundation."

Referring to instances where "members of the force under stress of grave and perhaps intolerable provocation have broken the bonds of restraint and committed acts that are incompatible with their position of guardians

of the law and of good order," he said : "In such cases Government may act sympathetically, bearing in mind the provocation. But as you will, I am sure, recognize they must act firmly."

We can conveniently divide Sir John Anderson's remarks into two parts : the one in which he says that the Royal Irish Constabulary was in its day, "probably the finest force of its kind the world has ever known" and the other in which he speaks of the police force in Bengal.

Regarding the Royal Irish Constabulary we find that his opinion is not shared by writers who are acknowledged to be authorities on Irish matters. For instance, the Right Reverend Monsignor D'alton, P. P., LL. D., M.R.I.A., Member, Governing Body, University College, Galway, Ex-Senator, National University of Ireland, and the distinguished author of the fascinating *History of Ireland*, has given an account of the Irish Constabulary which would make us look upon them as enemies of Ireland.

In 1919 the Irish Bishops, in their terrible indictment pointed "to the raids and arrests at dead of night, to the prolonged imprisonment without trial, the savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no respect, the burning of houses, town-halls, factories and creameries and crops, the destruction of industries by men maddened

with plundered drink and bent on loot, the flogging and massacre of civilians" and the English Labour Party sent a commission to Ireland to investigate.

"A father told the Commissioners that three men in the uniform of the R. I. C. entered his house one night, took out his son and deliberately shot him dead. Another man was taken out of his house and murdered. Two policemen, meeting a man at the corner of a street in a certain town, attacked him with their rifles, one wounding him fatally."

On the 11th December an effort was made to burn the whole city of Cork. "From nine o'clock all through night, the streets were held by armed and desperate men. Houses were broken into and looted, bombs were thrown through the broken windows and doors or petrol sprinkled on them; drink was plentifully consumed, curses and yells and drunken revelry were mingled with the sounds of revolver and rifle shots."

The Labour Report records that one of the witnesses made the following statement :

"In all my life and in all the tales of fiction I have read, I have never experienced such orgies of murder, arson and looting as I have witnessed during the past sixteen days with the R. I. C. and Auxiliaries. It baffles description."

The author of the *History of Ireland* has said :

"The R. I. C. won the praises of high Government officials and of prominent politicians for the zeal with which they hunted down their own countrymen. They were the eyes and ears of the Auxiliaries and the Black and Tans, pointing out persons to be captured and houses to be destroyed."

Considerations of space preclude the possibility of our giving more instances of the work done by the R. I. C. But we cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following from the *History* showing at once the characteristics of the R. I. C. and how they won the praise of a section of Englishmen :

"The police were Irish and for the most part Catholic. A good proportion were farmers' sons in touch with the people, and in early life in sympathy with the people's political views. At the police depot in Dublin they were transformed. The farmer's son was taught to forswear his former political opinions, to distrust and even abhor every political movement that was for the people's good, to regard the enemies of the British Government as his own, to pimp and spy on those of his own creed, to look to promotion as the greatest good in life, and to be willing to do anything if it brought promotion and higher pay. Not all of the police recruits, however, thus

succumbed to temptation. Some came from the Government Depot still unspoiled, and the policeman's jacket often concealed a heart that beat for Ireland. But a large proportion had become thoroughly denationalized, and hated Sin Fein as they hated Home Rule. And they were ready to spy upon popular leaders and glibly to swear away their liberty and their lives; and it was notorious that every enemy of Ireland, every coercionist who would trample on her people was loud in his praises of the loyalty and devotion of the Irish police."

So much for the Royal Irish Constabulary. Turning to the police in Bengal we find Sir John holding the opinion—usually stamped with official approval, that considering the conditions under which the police in Bengal have now to work it is only to be expected that insidious attempts should be made from time to time to besmirch their reputation. But was that reputation very high when the conditions now prevailing were not only non-existent but also unthinkable? We would request His Excellency to get a copy of the Report of the Police Commission of 1902-1903 appointed by Lord Curzon and presided over by Sir Andrew Fraser. He will then be able to acquaint himself with the views of a Commission appointed by Government on the police in India. We quote the following passages from that report :

"In a letter dated 12th December, 1901 from the Government of Bengal to the Home department of the Government of India, it was stated that : 'In no branch of the administration in Bengal is improvement more imperatively required as in the police. There is no part of the system of our Government of which such universal and bitter complaint is made, and none in which, for the relief of the people and the reputation of Government, is reform in anything like the same degree so urgently called for. The evil is essentially in the investigating staff. It is dishonest, it is tyrannical. . . . The Commission desire, as the result of their inquiries, emphatically to record their full concurrence in the views of the late Sir John Woodburn as above expressed. There is no province in India to which these remarks may not be applied, though there is no other province in which the necessity for real reform is more urgent than in Bengal. In the provinces in which superior officers of the Revenue and Police departments are most in touch with the people the popular complaint is no doubt less strong; for the evils referred to have been more held in check by their supervision. But it is in these provinces, on the other hand, that the official evidence is some times of the strongest; for these evils have there been more fully recognized.'" (Para 23).

"Everywhere they went the Commission heard the most bitter complaints of the corruption of the police. These complaints were made, not by

non-officials only, but also by officials of all classes, including Magistrates and police officers, both European and native." (Para 24).

"One of the complaints most pressed in regard to police constables is the impropriety and unwisdom of giving to men of their class the powers and opportunities of corruption connected with the conduct of investigation. Wherever it is at all common for constables (either owing to contentment with this agency or to paucity of superior officers) to be entrusted with investigation, the condemnation of this course has been most emphatic. The Commission cannot too strongly express their concurrence in this condemnation. They regret, however, to have to report that they have the strongest evidence of the corruption and inefficiency of the great mass of investigating officers of high grades. The officer in charge of a police station may be regarded as the highest class of investigating officer. . . . The complaints laid before the Commission of the existing state of things have been loud and bitter. . . . The Commission cannot resist the strong testimony as to the prevalence of corruption amongst station-house officers throughout the country. The forms of this corruption are very numerous. It manifests itself in every stage of the work of the police station. The police officer may levy a fee or receive a present for every duty he performs. The complainant has often to pay a fee for having his complaint recorded. He has to give the investigating officer a present to secure his prompt and earnest attention to the case. More money is extorted as the investigation proceeds. Where the officer goes down to the spot to make his investigation, he is a burden not only to the complainant, but to his witnesses, and often to the whole village. People are harassed sometimes by being compelled to hang about the police officer for days, sometimes by having to accompany him from place to place, sometimes by attendance at the police station, sometimes by having him and his satellites quartered on them for days, sometimes by threats of evil consequences to themselves or their friends (especially to the women of the family) if they do not fall in with his view of the case, sometimes by invasion of their houses by low-caste people on the plea of searching for property, sometimes by unnecessarily severe and degrading measures of restraint. From all this deliverance is often to be bought only by paying of fees or presents in cash." (Para 25).

"Another very serious ground of complaint against them is the unnecessary severity with which they often discharge their duties, and the unnecessary annoyance which they inflict on the people. The Commission have received endless narrations of the worries involved in a police investigation. A body of police comes down to the village and is quartered on it for several days. The principal residents have to dance attendance on the police all day long and for days together. Sometimes all the villagers are compelled to be in attendance, and inquiries degrading in their character are conducted *corum populo*. Suspects and innocent persons are bullied and threatened into giving information they are supposed to possess. The police officer, owing to want of detective ability or to indolence directs his efforts to procure confessions by

improper inducement, by threats and by moral pressure. Actual physical torture is now rarely resorted to ; but it is easy, under the conditions of Indian society and having regard to the character of the people, to exercise strong pressure and great cruelty without having recourse to such physical violence as leaves its traces on the body of the victim. Sometimes suspects whom the police officer does not desire to report as under arrest, are kept for days together under so-called surveillance which is nothing less than unauthorized confinement or restraint, a system which affords serious opportunities for malpractices. All this is done to secure evidence in support of the view which the police officer from time to time holds regarding the case. If in his opinion enough of evidence is not thus obtained to secure a conviction, he will not hesitate to bolster up his case with false evidence. . . . When an investigation fails, the complainant is sometimes finally bullied or threatened into acknowledging that a mistake has been made, and that the case is 'false.' When it is successful, the accused is often subjected to unnecessary annoyance; the law about bail is overlooked ; the rules limiting the use of handcuffs are forgotten ; and no serious effort is made to treat the accused with that consideration as to his food and comfort to which with due regard to the interests of justice he is entitled until he is convicted, what wonder is it that the people are said to dread the police, and to do all they can to avoid any connection with a police investigation." (Para 26).

"Corruption and inefficiency are as rampant in the city as in the district police, and are in the main due to the same causes." (Para 96).

The Commission's remarks apply to the police all over India. And we have shown that they held that the remarks of the late Sir John Woodburn were especially applicable to Bengal. In 1925, *i. e.* about twenty years after the publication of the report of the Police Commission, the Panjab Government appointed a committee whose five terms of reference included an investigation into "the means for improving the efficiency and integrity of the police force." In the report of this Commission we read :

"There is undoubtedly a change for the better in the treatment meted out to the accused and the suspects during investigations, cases of actual torture are now extremely rare. But apart from this, it cannot be said that any real advance has been made. Bribery and corruption appear to be as universal now as twenty years ago, the only difference being that the increase in the wealth of the province leads to the payment of larger sums."

What an enquiry into present-day police methods in Bengal would disclose remains to be seen. But we can cite case after case in which the police have been disbelieved and censured by the law-courts.

His Excellency can get some insight into

the conduct of the police in Bengal if he only reads the Contai Report, signed by Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu and his colleagues, and the Chittagong Report, signed by Mr. J. M. Sen-Gupta and his colleagues. He can also consult the letter which one of his predecessors in office addressed to Rai S. N. Banerjee Bahadur—a victim of police action at Dacca.

We are glad to note that Sir John Anderson endeavours to ensure that allegations against the police are carefully and thoroughly investigated; but we fail to understand why a "hush! hush!" policy is preferred to an open enquiry. Departmental enquiry can never command that confidence and respect which can be claimed for a public and open

enquiry. And where the results of such enquiries are not apparent to the public, they are likely to defeat their own end.

We hope and trust the Government which act sympathetically towards the police in cases where they transgress the bounds of law and order because of provocation, would not deny the same sympathy to members of the public when they commit the same offence under similar circumstances. We remember how, after the Panjab disturbances, Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy told Mr. Andrews that in India the Government considered the life of every European sacred and forgot to add that in the eyes of the Government the life of every Indian also is equally sacred, and we hope Sir John will not commit a similar blunder.

THE PREMIER'S STATEMENT RELATING TO THE COMMUNAL AWARD

BY RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

ON the publication of the text of the decision of His Majesty's Government regarding communal problems, the British Prime Minister has issued a statement, in the course of which he says:

"We never wished to intervene in the communal controversies of India.....We have realised from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, but we believe that in the end considerations of Indian needs will prevail and all communities will see that their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald adds that the British Government had to undertake the duty of giving their decision on India's constitutional communal problems, because of "the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves" and "in response to repeated appeals from representative Indians."

In order to apportion blame fairly it is necessary to refer briefly to the origin of the communal controversies and their subsequent history.

It may be true that the present Prime Minister and his former and present colleagues, who had

to do with the first and second sessions of the Round Table Conference, never wished to *intervene* in the communal controversies of India. But who were responsible for the *origin and growth* of communal controversies in the field of Indian politics? It is a matter of common knowledge that our communal problems in their political aspects were virtually created by Governor-General Lord Minto in the first decade of this century. To prove this it is not necessary to state that the late Maulana Mohamed Ali said in his Congress presidential address that the Muhammadan deputation which waited upon Lord Minto, asking for separate favourable treatment for the Muslims as regards seats in the legislative bodies and appointments in the public services, was a "command performance"; nor is it necessary to refer to a similar statement made by Maulvi Abdus Samad, M. L. C., as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Murshidabad session of the Bengal Provincial Conference. For, Lord Morley, as Secretary of State for India, wrote on the 6th December, 1909, to Lord Minto:

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech about their extra claims that first started the M[ahometan] hare."—*Recollections* by John Viscount Morley, Vol. ii, p. 325.

Sir Bampfylde Fuller's "favourite wife" theory and Lord Olivier's observations on the British attitude towards Moslems are well known. For decades, there has been discrimination in favour of Musalmans in the public services and in the provision of special educational facilities. Both in the Morley-Minto and Montagu-Chelmsford constitutions separate electorates were provided for the Musalmans, thus whetting their appetite for such things. Lastly, during both the sessions of the Round Table Conference the Imperialist die-hards and the members of the European Association then in England had been constantly strengthening and stimulating the separatist communal zeal of the Muslim "delegates" to the R. T. C. The Prime Minister need not be reminded that all the Muslim "delegates" were separatists, except latterly Sir Ali Imam, who was not allowed to or did not take part in the Round Table Conference. Is it any wonder then that there has been no communal agreement?

The British rulers being thus, in part at least, responsible for political disagreements among the communities, it was *their* bounden duty to devise a scheme which would tend to produce agreement among them. This they have not done.

The failure of Government's own nominated men to come to an agreement cannot be rightly spoken of as the failure of the communities themselves. Nor were most of them "representative Indians." It may be that, even if the communities had chosen their own representatives, they too would perhaps have failed to reach an agreement. That would, however, have been due in no small measure to the communalist mentality created and fostered by the Government's own policy and measures. But the British Government neither asked nor allowed the communities to choose their own representatives for the purpose of arriving at an agreement.

It has never also been definitely stated by the British Government in Britain or in India what degree of agreement would be acceptable to them, assuming of course that they would really welcome a communal agreement. If perfect unanimity were required, that would perhaps be unattainable. Even in Britain and other Western countries there is no unanimity, there is great divergence of opinion, among different parties, in relation to many matters of the greatest importance. So, it ought, to suffice, if in India important and influential sections of different communities come to an agreement on essential constitutional points.

Now, Nationalist Muslims, assembled at the Lucknow Conference, voted in favour of joint electorates. At the Faridpur Conference they did the same. These decisions were approved and welcomed by the Hindus. The Bengal Presidency Muslim League's resolution in favour of joint electorates was fully endorsed by Hindu leaders of all shades of political opinion, and this endorsement was published in the papers. Similar resolutions have been passed at meetings of other

Muslim associations. At a meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, attended by Muslim, Hindu, European and other members, a resolution in favour of joint electorates has been carried. At the same Council, in the course of the debate on the Municipal Bill, a similar voting in favour of joint electorates has taken place.

But in spite of these clear indications that all Hindus and an important section of the Muslims are in favour of joint electorates—at least in Bengal, the communal award has been given in favour of separate electorates in all provinces. And why? Apparently because a section of Muslims want separate electorates. On the one side, there were an important section of Musalmans and all Hindus and many Christians etc. in favour of joint electorates; on the other, there was a section of Musalmans in favour of separate electorates, to which all Hindus were opposed. Hence, to all fair-minded men, it should have been clear that the preponderating opinion was in favour of joint electorates. Under the circumstances, it would not be unfair to conclude that the award has gone in favour of separate electorates, because British Imperialists do not want a united India, they want a divided India, and also because Britishers in India want a decisive voice in the government of the country by means of separate electorates. What they really care for above all is a separate and secure effective voice for themselves in Indian legislatures. Instead of saying so plainly, they profess great anxiety for safe-guarding the interests of Muslims and some others by separate electorates. But sometimes in unguarded moments the real truth comes out. For example, in a recent issue of *The Statesman* of Calcutta it has been observed:

"It is from the hands of Britishers that the new constitution must come, and in no circumstances is it conceivable that the British community here with its enormous stake in the country would accept annihilation."

It is understood, of course, that "annihilation" means "not having for themselves the casting vote," as it were, in the legislative bodies by means of over-representation by separate electorates for themselves—and by securing a permanent overwhelming statutory majority in the Councils for themselves and the subservient section of Muslims combined. This Calcutta British organ advocates the system of separate electorates for selfish reasons, knowing quite well all the while that it is an evil thing. For, it writes:

"Nobody will argue that separate electorates are beneficial, that they promote the feeling of nationhood, or that they do not tend to keep open sores and prevent the healing of differences."

I have shown that there has been substantial agreement between the Hindus and an important section of the Muslims—the Nationalist Muslims, particularly in Bengal, in favour of joint electorates. Hence the British Cabinet should and could have given their decision in its favour—at

least in Bengal. The Premier has stated that the Government will "be ready and willing to substitute for their scheme any scheme *either in respect of any one or more of the Governor's provinces or in respect of the whole of British India* that is generally agreed to and accepted by all the parties affected." This assurance has been repeated in the Government's award. Therefore, Government could have given joint electorates at least to some of the provinces, *e.g.*, Bengal. That they have not done so, shows that they do not desire even a partial mitigation of the harmful features of their scheme—they appear to want from the vast population of India a *complete* scheme of which all points are agreed to and accepted by *all* the present and any possible *future mushroom* parties affected. It is and would be impossible to satisfy such a condition. For at any moment at the dictate of the British imperialists, who are in a position to offer inducements, dissident parties may make their appearance. Hence, it would be foolish to build any hopes on the words in the award which say that Government "are most desirous to close no door to an agreed settlement," as "agreed" appears to imply perfect unanimity on all points on the part of all possible parties.

Another "agreed settlement" which the British Cabinet have not accepted is the Rajah-Moonje pact between Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, the leader of the vast majority of the Depressed Classes and Dr. B. S. Moonje, working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, according to which the Depressed Class Hindus were to have a number of seats reserved for them in proportion to their numbers to be filled by election by joint electorates. Mr. Rajah has pointed out that the Depressed Classes have got less seats by the award than they would have got by this pact.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald claims to be a friend of India. But what he has done completely belies the claim.

He defends the continuance of separate electorates on the ground that they have been regarded by minority communities as an essential protection for their rights. But this is not true of all minority communities. For example: except in Madras, there have not been separate electorates for Indian Christians, and generally speaking, in Bengal at any rate, they have not asked for, but are rather opposed to, separate electorates; the most important organizations of the depressed classes—who by the by are not a religious community by themselves, have insisted on joint electorates; and the foremost leaders of the women of India, who also are not at all a community by themselves, have been opposed to separate communal electorates. Yet all these groups have been cursed with that evil thing.

Even if Mr. MacDonald's defence of separate electorates for *minority* communities were assumed to be valid, why has he given separate electorates to the Muslim *majority* communities in Bengal and the Panjab, where the Hindu and Sikh

minority communities did not initiate the claim: to protection by such electorates?

It is not true and it has not been proved that separate electorates give protection to minorities, or that their interests are promoted or safe-guarded when those of India as a whole suffer.

The Premier says: "I want to see greater and smaller communities working together in peace and amity." If he be really sincere, he must be blessed, or rather cursed, with a perfectly illogical and obtuse mind. For, with his colleagues, he has divided the people of India into political groups in such a way that, if they were not hitherto mutually suspicious and distrustful, they would henceforth suspect and be envious and jealous of one another, and, if already mutually distrustful, would have that distrust greatly increased. And having done this, he asks the world to believe that he sincerely desires the people of India to work together in peace and amity!

He says: "Government have to face facts as they are and must maintain this exceptional form of representation." But when will British politicians have the honesty and courage to face the other and prior fact that facts are as they are, at least partly because it was Lord Minto's early speech about the Moslems' extra claims "that first started the Moslem hare," as Lord Morley put it, and that the Morley-Minto "reforms" and the Montagu-Chelmsford "reforms" have been such as to lead that hare to keep itself in evidence ever since?

In the Premier's opinion,

"The anomaly of giving certain members of Depressed Classes two votes is abundantly justified by the urgent need of securing that their claims should be effectively expressed and the prospects of improving their actual condition promoted."

We do not object to the depressed classes having any real advantage. What is strongly objected to is their separation from the main body of the Hindus.

The enlightened and progressive sections of the Hindu community have been making considerable efforts to improve the condition of the depressed classes, so that they may not long remain depressed. But Government now in effect declare that all "caste" Hindus, as Britishers call them, are hostile to the depressed classes, or at least indifferent to their lot, and that therefore separate electorates are required for them to protect their interests against the imaginary attacks of the "caste" Hindus. And Government have also offered inducements to these classes to continue to deserve the title "depressed" so as to remain entitled to separate seats. Under the circumstances, "the prospects of improving their actual condition," social, educational and economic, must be poor indeed.

Regarding the representation of women, Mr. MacDonald observes:

"As regards women voters, it has been widely recognized in recent years that the women's move-

ment in India holds one of the keys of progress. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as *educated* and influential *citizens*. There are undoubtedly serious objections to extending to representation of women the communal method, but if seats are to be reserved for women as such and women members are to be *fairly* distributed among the communities, there is in the existing circumstances no alternative." (Italics mine. R. C.)

I have already pointed out that the leading exponents of women's rights never wanted a communal distribution of seats for themselves. Hence, separate communal electorates ought not to have been thrust upon them. The Premier talks of women playing their due part as "*educated* and influential *citizens*," for which education and interest and participation in public movements are essential, and he talks of a *fair* distribution of women's seats among the communities. I suppose that he nevertheless thinks that if women's seats are distributed merely by counting heads, and not according to the extent of education and the comparative absence or presence of public spirit among the women of different communities, that is a *fair* distribution! It is well known that the leaders of the section of Musalman Bengalis whose views have found acceptance with the Government think that the women who would stand as candidates and cast votes are undesirable specimens of their sex. It is also well known that female education has made comparatively much less progress among the Muslim community of Bengal than among the Hindus. And owing to their social and educational handicap, Muslim women in Bengal can take very much smaller interest and part in civic and other public movements and affairs than Hindu women. In spite of these facts, the Premier thinks it fair to give the same number of seats to Muslim women as to Hindu women! Let me not be misunderstood. I cordially welcome the prospect of Muslim women taking part in public affairs. It is only the Premier's claim of *fair* distribution of women's seats which I repudiate.

One can imagine the inward glee with which the Premier rubs in the failure of the Government nominees at the R. T. C. to produce an agreed scheme, by telling "the Indian communities":

"Let them remember when examining the scheme that they themselves failed when pressed again and again to produce to us some plan which would give general satisfaction."

Assuming that the failure of the Government nominees must mean the failure of "the Indian communities," who did not choose them, is that any reason why the British Cabinet should feel justified in expecting the people to accept their manifestly mischievous scheme? The Premier thinks it a "fair and honest attempt." It does not seem axiomatic that it is either.

"The most that Government can hope for is that their decision will remove an obstacle from the path of constitutional advance." It is a curious hope, seeing that the decision keeps the old obstacles intact and creates new ones. There can never be any constitutional advance by means of constitutional methods without the joint endeavour of all communities; but the word 'joint' is taboo, and 'separate' is the word beloved of the rulers of India. Inconsistently enough, however, the Premier says to the Indian communities, whom the scheme practically requires to non-co-operate with one another, "their duty is to co-operate in working the new constitution which is to give India a new place in the British Commonwealth of Nations"; and he concludes his sanctimonious homily with the similar observation that "communal co-operation is a condition of progress and that it is their special duty to put upon themselves the responsibility of making the new constitution work." As Mr. MacDonald is neither Machiavelli nor Mephistopheles but the prime minister of a great people, one ought to think that he is not indulging in a grim joke. It is my considered opinion that, in spite of the disruptive tendencies of what the British Cabinet have done, all Indian communities ought to co-operate—not, of course, for making the new constitution work, but for radically mending it, or, if that be impossible, for ending it and making a beneficent one in its stead. For, even if it were workable, it cannot produce any balance of good result.

What is the "new place" which "the new constitution" is to give India in the British Commonwealth of Nations? That of a habitation of helots who must not make any joint endeavours to be and remain free?

What are the precious rights of free men for which different communities and groups are going to scramble and fight? Of what kind of Swaraj, of what rights, are the communalists going to get a big share? The Premier's statement and the award are both silent.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

IN the second paragraph of his statement relating to Government's communal award, the British Premier says:

"We have realized from the very first that any decision that we may make is likely, to begin with at any rate, to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands."

As this sentence does not indicate the worst fault, mischievousness or maleficence of the decision, critics should not be put off the scent by it. The decision or award is not to be considered mainly as against the interests of this Indian group, or that, but as against the interests of all Indians—as *pro-Britain, contra-India*.

One of the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government is that what is today a minority party may become the majority party to-morrow by the conversion of its opponents to its way of thinking or owing to other causes. In this way all groups have an effective chance of giving the nation the benefit of their wisdom, capacity and public spirit. The changeability of the personnel of the ruling party gives the ruling majority for the time being a sense of its real responsibility to the nation and exercises an effective check on arbitrary, irregular or corrupt methods and actions. But if a constitution makes any religious community, as a community, the permanent ruling majority, or the permanent tools in the hands of the alien real rulers, there cannot be any democratic and responsible self-rule in the country, and all the advantages of such rule pointed out above are lost. The communal award militates against the essential conditions of democratic and responsible government and would, if given effect to, deprive India of all the advantages of such government.

It subjects the Hindus to grave, contemptuous and insulting injustice—perhaps because it is they who have worked for and demanded self-rule most. Under it their representation becomes distinctly weaker in some provinces without getting stronger anywhere. It must cause grave anxiety to all real patriots, as, under the circumstances, there can be no peace and no peaceful progress. For, lovers of non-violent methods will be untrue to themselves if they accept the award and co-operate to work a communalism-ridden constitution, and do not make the utmost efforts in a peaceful and legitimate manner to unsettle the award. As for the advocates of physical force, I am unable to guess what effect it may produce on them.

Though there is much cause for anxiety, there

is none for being down-hearted. Difficulties exist and crop up only to try our mettle and manhood, which can be proved by overcoming them. Hindu and other Nationalists—and Hindus in general, will not, cannot, be crushed.

The communal award, or, to use the Prime Minister's exact language, "decision on communal representation," is something else in addition to being communal. Properly speaking, the communal award ought only to have assigned their respective shares in the legislative bodies to the religious communities. But it has done more. Women are not a religious community by themselves; nor are Europeans and Anglo-Indians, Land-holders, Universities, Labour, and the Depressed Classes separate communities. But the award assigns seats to all these groups—perhaps to maintain "the balance between the communities" desired by the bureaucracy in their own interests. In this there has been an irregularity or impropriety in procedure also. In Chapter XXI of the Indian Franchise Committee's Report, devoted to a discussion of questions relating to the representation of labour, landlords, commerce, and other interests, *not communities*, it has been observed:

"We desire to add that some of our number have felt considerably hampered in dealing with the questions discussed in this chapter by the fact that the communal issue has not yet been decided, and they reserve their right to reconsider their recommendations in the light of the decision that may eventually be reached." (Italics mine. R. C.)

The award has deprived them of this right, as it has been made without consulting the Franchise Committee. And it is also to be noted that it has been arrived at without consultation with the Round Table Conference or the Consultative Committee or any other similar body.

The indications given in the award that there may be second chambers, at least in some provinces, have also nothing to do with any communal decisions. They are probably meant to prepare the public for the efforts to be made hereafter to antagonize democracy by means of these plutocratic and pseudo-aristocratic bodies.

The new constitution which the British Cabinet wants to give India proposes to do that which no free people or no people struggling to be free can put up with in any constitutional proposals meant for them. It intends so to split and divide the voters and the people of whom they are a part as to make mass action, national action, impossible. Without such combined action, freedom can neither be kept nor won. Nor can the bounds of freedom be made wider yet, without

such action. Setting sex against sex, creeds against creeds, castes against castes, classes against classes, interests against interests—appears to be the underlying 'principle' of the decision, though it is without any right principle and is full of anomalies. It is anti-national.

The scheme is also undemocratic. In a democracy it is essential that those who are to conduct the affairs of the State as the representatives of the people should be chosen by them. If a country be inhabited by different religious communities of varying numerical strength and if at present or in course of time, these communities be equally educated, capable and public-spirited—which is desirable but which is not the case in India now, the numbers of the members of its legislature belonging to these different communities are likely to be roughly proportionate to their numerical strength.

If this ultimate ideal standard be borne in mind, it need not be considered a fundamental defect for a constitution to aim at the different communities and classes having proportionate shares in the legislature as the result of the open door to talent. What is fundamentally objectionable from the democratic point of view is the deprivation of entire groups of the opportunity of having anything to do with the election of legislators (and indirectly of members of the Cabinet)—specially of their majority, belonging to communities or classes other than their own. To take concrete examples :

Musalman can vote only for Musalman candidates, Indian Christians only for Indian Christian candidates, Hindus only for candidates who are Hindus, non-Muhammadans or non-Christians, etc. If in any place in the opinion of a Muslim voter a Hindu, a Christian or any other non-Muslim candidate be the ablest and most impartial and public-spirited citizen, why should he be prevented from voting for him? And why should such a non-Muslim candidate be deprived of the support of such a Muslim voter? Again, if in any place in the opinion of a Hindu voter, a Muslim, or a Christian candidate be the worthiest of election, why should the Hindu voter be prevented from voting for that non-Hindu candidate and why should that non-Hindu candidate be deprived of the support of the Hindu voter? During the brief history of restrictedly representative institutions in India, many Hindus have voted for Christian and Muslim candidates, many Christians for non-Christians, and many Muslims for Hindus and Christians, and that with good results. Rank communalists may want to elect 100 per cent Hindus, 100 per cent Muslims, 100 per cent Christians; but it is more beneficial for a State to have as its legislators and rulers broad-minded, liberal persons who can look at things from the points of view of different classes and communities than to have narrow bigots, fanatics and obscurantists.

In the name of constitutional advance, and

in order to get the support of communalists for foreign rule, the free or would-be free citizen's right to vote for a possibly worthiest candidate in his opinion, irrespective of creed or race, is being taken away, as also the right of that candidate to the support of all voters of all creeds or races who consider him worthiest.

Under a system of joint electorates, to whatever religious community or communities, classes, castes, interests or races the majority of the members of a provincial council might belong, it could be said that people of all communities had helped to elect them and were responsible for choosing them. So the members also would feel their responsibility to and would and must try to promote the interests of all the people of all these groups. But under a system of separate electorates, in some provinces the majority of members would be Hindus elected exclusively by Hindus or, in any case, by non-Muslims and non-Christians, in some the majority would be exclusively elected by Muslims, and in one province, Bengal, the majority would be either Muslims or Muslims *cum* Europeans elected exclusively by their coreligionists or compatriots. Hence, each province of India would be ruled by a foreign bureaucracy (for British *domination* would continue) through a majority of legislators for whose election people of all the groups would not be responsible and who would not feel responsible to and would not in consequence ordinarily try to promote the interests of all groups. This would be a highly undesirable state of things. It would not be self-rule or representative government. It would be rule by people with whose election whole groups of people had nothing to do. The communities and groups also would be inadequately served. Instead of the services of all members, they would be entitled to and would have the services only of particular groups. And the men elected would not necessarily be the ablest and worthiest available. Separate communal elections cannot conduce to the growth of capacity in a community, as outside competition is eliminated.

Separate communal electorates with reservation of seats and weightage, are opposed also to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's definite pronouncements and to the principles underlying the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. Last year Mr. MacDonald said in the course of his speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate initiated by him in the House of Commons :

"If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest, there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organizations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, all classes, all conditions of faith. This is one of the problems which has to be faced; because, if India is going to develop a robust political life, there must be room for National Political parties based upon conceptions of India's interest, and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being of any field that is

smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India. Then there is a modified proposal regarding that: a proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that there should be a common register in the constituencies; but that with a common register, a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same."

This passage would mark out the British Premier as an opponent not only of separate electorates for electing the separate representatives of different communities and interests, but also of the reservation for them of a certain percentage of seats to be filled by joint electorates.

The following extract from his speech on the same occasion would lead one to conclude that he was an opponent of weightage, too:

"It is very difficult to convince these very dear delightful people (advocates of communal representation) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused, indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall."

It now appears that this brick wall was entirely a figment of Mr. MacDonald's imagination. For, the communalists have not been confronted with any difficulty in getting nor the British Cabinet in giving weightage at the expense of the Hindus, and in Bengal at the expense of both Hindus and Muslims for the advantage mainly of Europeans.

The provincial cabinets have not yet been divided into watertight compartment, but such a division may be up the Premier's sleeve. So let me quote another passage from his House of Commons speech:

"Another problem that faces us from that point of view is, if your legislature is to be composed in these watertight compartments, whom are you going to appoint your Executive? The claim is put that the Executive, i. e., the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided into watertight compartments."

And, of course, the claim will be met, directly or indirectly. Some ethically squeamish people may think Mr. MacDonald has been insincere, inconsistent, and so on. But they must be wrong. He has had to play to different galleries at different times; that is all. And he has a good precedent for his inconsistency. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report argued against separate representation but decided in its favour.

As so often insisted on in this *Review*, the Minorities problem in India ought to have been solved according to the principles underlying the Minorities Guarantee Treaties, concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, of which both Great Britain and India are Member States and to which, along with Great Britain and other States, India was one of the signatories and

contracting parties. This is not the place to repeat in detail all the facts and arguments which support our position. But it is obvious that the principles which the collective intelligence, wisdom and statesmanship of the world laid down to deal with the Minorities problem in some twenty States of the world and which were accepted and enforced by Great Britain and India in the case of those States, should have been followed in the case of India, too. Far from the Minorities problem being peculiar to India, it has been a more serious problem in many European countries, being one of the underlying causes of the Great War, and it has been dealt with everywhere there according to the general and standardized treatment laid down in the League of Nations' Minorities Guarantee Treaties. But as in everything else, from the spiritual and moral principles embodied in the Sermon on the Mount downwards, India is looked upon as a peculiar and unique country in which all that is quite inapplicable which is right and applicable elsewhere. I know India was not a clean slate as regards the Minorities Problem. But neither were those European countries such where the Minorities Guarantee Treaties have been accepted and enforced.

The question whether the principles underlying the Minority Treaties should be applicable to all Member States of the League has been repeatedly discussed in the League Assembly. Ten years ago in 1922 an agreement was reached and a resolution was adopted in the third Assembly of the League, of which the fourth paragraph is quoted below.

"The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligation to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe, in the treatment of their own racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular action of the Council."

But far from this resolution being adhered to, either in spirit or to the letter, in the case of India, it has never been even considered, although Mr. Arthur Henderson, the then British Foreign Secretary, stated in January 1931 at the meeting of the League Council as its Chairman that "the system of the protection of Minorities inaugurated by the League of Nations was now a part of the public law of Europe and of the world." (P. 24 of *The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations*, January 1931). But India is outside the world, and hence a "high standard of justice," or in fact any standard of justice, need not be followed here.

The Minorities Guarantee Treaties give protection only to the racial, religious and linguistic minorities only in matters relating to their racial culture, customs, language, and things of that description. Separate commercial, economic or political interests of any group (like those of the

European sojourners, the landholders or the merchants) are not recognized, nor are merely social minorities (like the non-Brahmins or the "untouchables") recognized, as minorities entitled to protection. Hence separate communal representation and electorate have no place in any of the up-to-date Western constitutions, including that of Turkey.

All persons in India, whether belonging to a majority or minority group anywhere, should bear in mind what objects were sought to be achieved by means of the Minority Treaties and what evil results sought to be prevented. As reminders, the following extracts will serve a useful purpose. M. Blociszewski of Poland wrote in his Note of March, 1922:

"We must avoid creating a state within a state. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group instead of becoming fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last extreme, these Minorities will become disruptive elements in the state and a source of national disorganization."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, Sir Austen Chamberlain said:

"It was certainly not the intention of those who had devised this system of Minorities Protection to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life. The object of the Minority Treaties was to secure for the Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged."

Speaking at the League Council on December 9, 1925, M. Dendramis, representative of Greece, said:

"A perusal of the Treaties showed that the Minorities concerned were racial, linguistic and religious Minorities. The authors of the Treaties had not intended to create groups of citizens who would collectively enjoy special rights and privileges; they had intended to establish equality of treatment between all the nationals of a State. If privileges were granted to the Minority in any country, inequality would be created between this Minority and the Majority: the latter would be oppressed by the Minority, and it would then be the Majorities question which would have to engage the attention of the League of Nations."

These extracts should suffice to show that the communal award of the British Cabinet has sought to do that which the League of Nations strove successfully to avoid in its Minorities Treaties, and has avoided doing that which the League had in view.

Europeans in general, particularly those of the Anglo-Saxon breed, consider Asiatics as less civilized—if civilized at all—than themselves and less able to follow political principles of the right kind. But Asiatics can grasp and follow correct principles. Let me give an example. In a Bengali magazine Rabindranath Tagore has

recently written in the course of an account of his travels in Persia and Iraq:

"In various countries of the world it has been held that it would not do for communal religion or creed to occupy all spheres of human life and activities. At a farewell dinner given to a high British administrative officer in Palestine, he said: 'Palestine is a Mahommedan country, and its government should, therefore, be in the hands of the Mahommedans, on condition that the Jewish and Christian minorities are represented in it.' Thereupon Haji Emin El-Huseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem, replied: 'For us it is an exclusively Arab, not a Mahommedan question. During your sojourn in this country you have doubtless observed that here there are no distinctions between Mahommedan and Christian Arabs. We regard the Christians, not as a minority, but as Arabs.'"

The words of the British officer and the Mufti's reply thereto have been given in English by the Poet and reproduced above. The remaining portion of the extract has been translated from the Poet's Bengali.

The Mufti could detect the British officer's conscious or unconscious adherence to the *divide et impera* maxim. In relation to India, Britishers count upon the bulk of Mussalman Indians not perceiving, or not opposing even if perceived, the adherence to any such maxim.

It has been already observed that the Premier's anticipation that the award is likely to be criticized by every community purely from the point of view of its own complete demands, may put critics on the wrong track. Quite irrespective of whether the award is just or unjust or partial to this community or group or that, it has been shown that it is a very baneful one. As regards the demands of the communities, the public have to be reminded and should bear in mind that *the Hindu Community as a whole never demanded any special rights and treatment for itself*. In the Hindu Mahasabha's statement on the question of constitutional reforms, issued in March 1931 by its Working Committee and confirmed at two successive sessions of the Mahasabha, it is written: "The Hindu Mahasabha desires to point out that it has throughout and consistently taken up a position which is strictly national on the communal issue." (*M. R.*, April 1931, p. 487.) The Hindus of India as a whole or the Hindus of any particular province have protested only when the national democratic ideal has been or has been likely to be departed from and other community or communities favoured *at their expense*. At this stage also, therefore, my criticism of the award, so far as the Hindus are concerned, is not that the Hindus have not got any special rights or treatment, for they claimed none, but that their interests and the interests of all Indians have been sacrificed primarily in the interests of the British rulers and merchants and secondarily in the interests of the subser-

vient sections of other Indian communities to be used as tools in the hands of the Britishers.

The largest number of religious communities, classes, and interests for which separate electorates have hitherto been formed according to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, is ten in Madras and less than ten in the other Provinces. It seems, in the opinion of the British cabinet, constitutional advance connotes further multiplication of watertight electoral compartments. For, according to their new "communal" scheme, there are to be in the Provinces eighteen separate electorates of the following descriptions: General male, General female, Muslims male, Muslims female, Europeans, Anglo-Indians male, Anglo-Indians female, Sikhs male, Sikhs female, Indian Christians male, Indian Christians female, Landholders, Commerce Industry Mining Planting European, Commerce Industry Mining Planting Indian, Universities, Depressed Classes, Backward areas, and Labour. All these 18 electorates are not to be constituted in all the Provinces, but most of them are to be formed in most Provinces.

The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were ushered in with the promise that at the end of ten years, there would be a revision. Those who have boundless faith in the perfectibility of British political human nature expected something like the millennium at the end of that decade. Here in the present communal award is a foretaste of that millennium. The communal decision now given contains a similar promise to the effect that

"Provision will be made in the constitution itself to empower the revision of this electoral arrangement (and other similar arrangements mentioned below) after ten years, *with the assent of the communities affected*, for the ascertainment of which suitable means will be devised."

Were the words I have italicized above written with the draftsman's tongue in his cheek? It would be a rather tough job to get people, fed and fattened on communal fare, to vote for the stoppage of such diet.

I have been trying to keep my mind undisturbed by the award; but I confess this fresh promise of revision after ten years has frightened me. What additional number of watertight communal compartments may possibly be devised by the year 1943! But I find solace in the thoughts that most probably I shall not live till then, and that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Moreover, the young women and men of today who will be older in 1943 have stronger nerves than mine to withstand mental and moral shocks.

If, as in the case of the Depressed Classes, so in those of the Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, etc., it had been decided that their separate representation by special constituencies "shall come to an end after twenty years," if not earlier, with or without their assent, it would have been an incontrovertible proof of the British rulers' sincere solicitude for constitutional progress and national solidarity in India.

The Montagu-Chelmsford "constitution" gave the name of "non-Muhammadan" to all non-descriptors like the Aborigines, the Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Jews, Brahmos, etc. The separate electorate to be formed for this motley crew according to the latest communal scheme is to be called "General." For one thing, a positive name is better than a negative one. And one may hope that, in course of time, even Muhammadans may not object to come under the category "General"; but it is not probable that very many among them would ever agree to become "non-Muhammadan." There may be also a quite unintended compliment to the Hindus, the most numerous community in the group, in the use of the word "General." For, it means: "completely or approximately universal; including or affecting all or nearly all parts; not partial, particular, local, or sectional." And it is really a fact that it is the Hindus who have striven more than others for the political advancement of the whole nation, which fact, as well as their relative strength, is indirectly proved by the undisguised disfavour shown to them by the powers that be. This hostility reminds me that, down the ages, from very ancient times, the Hindus have gathered new strength after even each conquest or subjection by alien peoples. In these modern days also they should be able to weather the storm. But for that they must set their own house in order by radical well-thought-out reforms to achieve organized social solidarity.

It is stated in the scheme that

"It is possible that in some instances delimitation of constituencies might be materially improved by slight variations from numbers of seats now given. His Majesty's Government reserve the right to make such slight variations for such purpose, provided they would not materially affect the essential balance between the communities. No such variations will, however, be made in the cases of Bengal and the Panjab."

The anxiety to keep the communalist Muslims placated is quite obvious in the assurance given here that Muslim preponderance will not be interfered with in Bengal and the Panjab. The same anxiety is discernible in the sentence:

"His Majesty's Government consider that the composition of an upper house in a province should be such as not to disturb in any essential the balance between communities resulting from composition of a lower house."

Lest anybody should suspect that the communalists may lose in the composition of the legislature at the Centre what they have gained in that of the provincial legislatures, Government take care to state in paragraph 20 that "they will, of course, when considering the composition [of the Central legislature,] pay full regard to the claims of all communities for adequate representation therein."

Figures of the seats for different constituencies have been given for the whole existing province of Bombay, as well as for Bombay

without Sind and for a separate province of Sind, if and when constituted. This has not been done for Bihar and Orissa.

It would be idle to speculate what would have happened if the bulk of the Oriyas had professed Muhammadanism.

Paragraph 23 runs as follows :

"The inclusion in paragraph 24 below of figures relating to the legislature for the Central Provinces including Berar does not imply that any decision has yet been reached regarding the future constitutional position of Berar."

This should serve to keep the hopes and fears of the Nizam on the one hand and of the Beraris on the other in a state of suspended animation.

The Muslim population form a majority in three of the existing provinces, namely, Bengal, the Panjab and the North-West Frontier province. In the last province alone the Hindus get some weightage. But as its legislature is to have only 50 seats, owing to its population being small—less than that of many single districts elsewhere, and out of this 50 Hindus and other non-descriptors combined are to have only 9, this weightage does not affect the absolute Muslim preponderance in the least. They have gained in the two other provinces. In the Panjab they get 86 seats *as Muslims* in a house of 175 seats, and also 2 of the landholders' seats, and the one Tumandar (the Tumandars are all Muslim) seat will go to them. Hence a majority of seats is assured to them. It is also probable they will be able to capture one or two Labour seats. In Bengal the Muhammadans get as Muhammadans 119 seats in a house of 250. In this province 5, 5, 2, and 8 seats have been assigned to Landholders, Indian Commerce, Universities and Labour respectively—total 20 seats. If, as is very probable, Muslims can capture only 7 seats out of these 20, they will be a majority by themselves. In any case, they are assured of a predominant position by combining with the Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

Wherever the Muslims are in a minority, they retain their present large weightage. The Hindus and others included in the General constituency are in a minority in the two major provinces of the Panjab and Bengal. Far from getting any weightage in either, in both they get less than the number of seats which could have fallen to their lot in proportion to their numerical strength. It is true the Muslims also in these provinces get a little smaller number of seats than their numerical proportion in the population. But in order to give weightage to Europeans, Anglo-Indians etc., more seats have been taken away from the Hindus and others of the General constituency than from the Muslims. But Muslims should bear in mind that what they have thus lost has gone to pamper their friends, the Europeans, who have made them their catspaw.

The position of the Hindus and other General constituency electors in Bengal has been made one of utter impotency. They have got only 80 seats in a house of 250 seats, out of which 10 will go to the depressed classes. Assuming that the Depressed Class representatives will side with the other Hindus and that the Hindus, etc., are able to capture all the 20 seats given to Labour, Landholders, Indian Commerce and Universities, even then they will have only 100 votes at their command in a house of 250. Yet, so far at least as Bengal is concerned, it is the Hindus who have striven most for political progress, as well as for the social, cultural, educational, and industrial advancement of the province.

It is noteworthy that, though the Moslems and Indian Christians also have their "untouchables" and depressed classes, these two communities have not been obliged to give any separate seats to their depressed sections.

According to the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution now working the Bengal Hindus have 40.3 per cent of the seats and the Bengal Muslims 34.2 per cent. In 10 years the Hindu Bengalis have become politically so backward as to deserve only 32 per cent of the seats in the new constitution and the Muslims have made such astonishing political progress as to get 47.6 per cent!

The very great weightage given to Europeans has been sought to be defended—particularly in Bengal, on the ground of their "stake in the country." But in Bengal, the Hindus' "stake in the country" is very much greater than that of the Muhammadans, as the Hindus pay about seventy per cent of the total revenues of the Province. But as they are politically obnoxious, they do not get the benefit of the "stake in the country" argument. Hence in Bengal the Hindus are to pay and the Muslims to spend!

In Bengal the total number of the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians is 180,572 out of a total population of 50,122,150, or about one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) per cent of the total population. But they get between them 31 seats (Europeans 11, Anglo-Indians 4, Indian Christians 2 and European Commerce 14), or about thirteen per cent of all the seats. This is fair distribution with a vengeance! Of course, the Indian Christians get very little; it is the European Christians, who are about 25,000 in number, who get 25 out of the 31 Christian seats. The Europeans in Bengal are one-two-thousandth ($\frac{1}{2000}$) of the population but get one-tenth of the seats!

In Bengal the Buddhists (315,801) and the Animist Aborigines (535,656) far outnumber the Christians. It is really lucky that it has not been attempted to cut them off from the main current of national endeavour by giving them separate representation. Nevertheless, that such representation has not been given to them is an unmistakable proof of the fairness of distribution of seats made by the British Cabinet.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Science of Number

In noticing "Number : The Language of Science" by Prof. Dantzig in *The Indian Review* Mr. S. V. Ramamurty traces the history of number. He says :

In this book, Professor Dantzig deals with the fundamental ideas of the science of number and presents them in their historical sequence. He shows the continual evolution of the number idea from natural numbers to rational, irrational, complex and transfinite numbers. Many countries have helped in this development. India has contributed the decimal system and the conception of negative numbers. Of the discovery of the Zero (Sanskrit : *Sunya*) by an unknown Hindu in the first centuries of this era, Prof. Dantzig speaks as "one of the greatest single achievements of the human race." India too originated Algebra as Greece originated Geometry. Of the various landmarks in the history of numbers, it may be mentioned that Greece discovered irrationals and started the concepts of infinity and limit, Italy contributed complex numbers, France the transcendentals and Germany the transfinities.

The number idea has been developing with vigour during the last three centuries. Right up to and including the complex numbers, the commutative, associative and distributive properties hold good. Where the commutative property breaks down, theories of matrices and "queer numbers" of Dirac have been built up. These, perhaps are the birth pangs of a new number type.

Number is ultimately a product of the structure of the world. Our views of the world have been threatened with radical alterations by the Relativity and the Quantum theories. It remains to be seen how the crisis in science will create a corresponding crisis in number which, as Professor Dantzig aptly calls, is its language. It is perhaps not improbable that the solution to the crisis in science will come through a new development of the number idea.

Mathematics, while derived from the experience of reality, has always tried to base its life on laws formulated by itself, but reality, however vague it may appear, has repeatedly shown itself a little more definite than the world of Mathematics, and when this happens, Mathematics has had to recast itself in the image of the reality so disclosed. The Relativity theory has shown a macroscopic and the quantum theory a microscopic view of the reality in view of which Arithmetic will probably have to clothe itself in new fashions. There is indeed a crisis in Arithmetic and hence in all Mathematics.

The Curative Properties of Art

Art's is a double role. It not only satisfies the cravings of the mind and beautifies the physique, but it also serves to alleviate our physical ailments. Mr. James H. Cousins explains this aspect of art in *The Scholar* :

The relationship of activity in art to the relieving of diseased conditions is easy to comprehend. All such activity involves the focussing of attention on interests outside the area of the diseased condition. This enables the forces of nature, which are on the side of health, to operate without the obstruction of morbid thought and feeling in the patient. Any degree of diversion of interest in a sick person has from time immemorial been recognized as beneficial. But the benefit is capable of very great increase by the diversion of interest into some form of art-activity. Attention tends to be gripped and continued by the activity itself ; and when relaxation of attention comes, the curative processes will have lifted their index a little nearer health, and the pleasure of achievement in some object of beauty or usefulness will gradually eliminate the tendency towards subsidence into low spirits.

In the art-critique to which reference has been made, stress is very rightly laid on the importance of intelligent diagnosis. All curative expedients naturally rest on the understanding of the whole state of the patient, and on the wise adjustment of means to ends. But, given a stage at which attention may safely be focussed and diverted, there is then available to the physician a range of art-activities besides painting to use curatively according to the state, temperament and capacity of the patient.

Modelling in clay will probably be found to be a more generally applicable expedient than painting. It can be begun with no other technical equipment than the natural impulse to shape things. Simple pencil drawing will probably come next. Painting will appeal to those who have already acquired some skill in the art, and can, of course, only be undertaken when the patient has the strength to handle its paraphernalia.

Musical activity as an expedient in the treatment of the sick has obvious limitations. It calls for instruments, It may be curative for an interested performer—and the reverse for sick or even healthy listeners. A clinic in Holland uses music curatively ; but it has a music room to which patients are taken individually. The number who can be thus treated is, therefore, small. But with a growing realization of the usefulness of music in the restoration of health, the means of application will be extended to the utmost of necessity.

In addition to this medicinal use of art-activity, art is also being used, to some extent, as a curative influence received passively by the patient. The installation of radios in hospitals and sick-rooms has been found very beneficial. But it may confidently be anticipated that enormous advances will be made in the near future in the systematized administration of the medicinal influence of music in disease along the line of adjusting the various kinds of music to the patient's needs. Some patients need stimulating music ; others need soothing music and so on. The supply of radio music at present

in Europe and America is in quantity far beyond the real needs of humanity, ill and well. But its quality, particularly in America, is far below medicinal needs. Much of it is positively evil, even to the healthy, in its enervating sentimentality, superficial excitement, and insidious lasciviousness. To be sent to sleep by some of it is to be lulled into animal stupefaction instead of human repose. Even good music is difficult to adjust to medical necessity because of the occidental convention of shifting from one mood to an opposite mood every few minutes. A new music will arise which, like the authentic music of India, will recognize and work for sustained specific psychological effects; and someone will equip and run a broadcasting station from which hospitals and private sick-rooms will be able to receive certain kinds of music at certain hours, and to which the patients' schedule will be adapted with as much attention as it is to diet and drugs.

Suggestion in Waking Life

Suggestions play an important part in determining the character and conduct of man. Their influence over the mind of the child is great. Let us, therefore, hear Mr. Kshitish Chandra Bagchi in his musings on the subject in *The Calcutta Review*.

Suggestion usually proceeds from a person possessing or supposed to possess superior power and is accepted by one having the submissive instinct. But the reverse is not always untrue. Othello, the man of dominating instinct, may fall a prey to the suggestion of the weak but crafty Iago and enact the most heart-rending tragedy in the realm of conjugal love. The essential energy which carries the suggestion into effect comes from within the subject and is not imparted by the operator who only releases it or sets it in motion. It is common knowledge how suggestions whispered from behind the curtain storm the conative energy of the most dominant among us and produce the most marvellous results! In cases like these it is the permanent emotional attitude towards an individual that conduces to suggestibility. What suggestion does is to switch the battery of sensory-motor energy on to one of the mines of instincts formidably arrayed in the unconscious depths of mind, and to effect an explosion of far-reaching consequence.

In childhood, when the nerves are plastic and conceptual images and ideas are not yet distinctly formed, suggestions from a teacher or a parent who stands in a position of superiority sink down to the unconscious plane of the mind and act with irresistible power. The future of the child is made or marred according as the suggestions are healthy or otherwise. Good parents or teachers are those who throw out healthy suggestions to evoke the noblest instincts and thereby lead children unconsciously towards the attainment of the noblest ideal in life. Adults in a dependent country are like grown-up babies whose submissive tendency degenerates into "slave mentality" in consequence of suggestions of 'inferiority,' 'unfitness,' etc., proceeding from a group of people uncritically assumed to possess superior powers. Such unhealthy, baneful suggestions breed a morbid self-distrust which can be counteracted only by reassuring suggestions of the opposite nature. "Fire them up with praise," says Mazzini, speaking of the

poor-spirited young men of enslaved Italy, "and hurl them against the Austrians."

Ideomotor suggestions are communicated verbally. What is called 'auto-suggestion' is the repetition of a suggested formula by the subject in the absence of the operator. We find reference to an apt instance of auto-suggestion in a speech of Vivekananda. An English youth, says the Swami, comes into perfect self-confidence as a heritage. This unflinching self-confidence makes him invincible in any enterprise in any part of the world. The Swami attributes this to the awakening of the 'Brahman' within him as a result of his self-confidence. We may say that the innate, fathomless store of unconscious energy to which every man is a legatee is stirred into activity in him by auto-suggestion. Many eminent modern psychologists believe in the efficacy of auto-suggestion in physical and mental disorders. The truth is daily coming home to the western mind that the influence of the unconscious can be brought to bear on the conscious being. To the Indian mind it is an old truth in the garb of modern scientific language.

Italo-Indian Intercourse

In an article in *India and the World* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar tells us that Italy takes keen interest in matters relating to India. He says:

The big dailies of Milan like the *Corriere della Sera*, *Popolo d'Italia*, *Sole* etc., make it a feature to serve their readers with news relating to the latest developments in India. It may be noted that my lectures at the Bocconi University under the auspices of the Serena Foundation of London were reported at length in *Corriere* and other newspapers. Men and women active in industry, commerce, economic research, social service, etc., likewise took the pains to interview or correspond with me and elicit more intensive information regarding the topics discussed in the lectures. It is relevant to observe that the contacts established at Milan have borne some fruit in so far as a number of Indian students have been received sympathetically as apprentices in the industrial concerns of Lombardy.

Padua is not a great business centre. But the Royal University of Padua has an international reputation because of its age as well as of the publications of its modern professors. Besides, its vicinity to Venice, the seaport, brings it into easy contact with extra-Italian influences. The newspapers as well as the general public of the Padua-Venice regions showed a great interest in Indian industrialization as awakened by my lectures at the University which were introduced by Prof. Pietra, the statistician. The enthusiasm was actively shared by the Chancellor Prof. Ferrari as well as by the members of the different faculties. It may not be out of place to observe, further, that the Venetians and the Paduans are otherwise keenly interested in the Indian men and women, because, thanks to the courtesies and generous treatment offered by the Italian shipping company, *Lloyd Triestino*, a very large percentage of our travellers to and from Europe prefer to land or embark at Venice.

At Rome Dr. Missiroli of the *Stazione per la lotta anti-malarica* (Station for anti-malaria campaign) has come into contact with Indian medical men who interest themselves in malaria research. While enjoying the excursion in his company to the different

centres in the *Agro Romano* region I could feel that the resources of the *Stazione* might be freely made use of by a larger number of Indian specialists and that they would be particularly welcome.

The International Institute of Agriculture located at Rome is as the name indicates, an international enterprise in agricultural and economic research. Here also the interest in Indian statistics and economic developments is keen, as one can understand from conversations with the Italian scholars—Dore, Ruffolo and others.

The professor is also sanguine about the possibilities of a rapprochement between India and Italy of a permanent sort.

There are solid grounds for the deepening and expansion of this *rapprochement*. Italy commands to-day 3.8 per cent of the entire foreign trade (exports and imports) of India. Her place is equal to that of France and inferior only to those of Germany, Japan and the U. S. A. (Great Britain excluded). On the other hand, so far as Italy's exports are concerned, the Indian market has been expanding. In pre-war years India occupied the tenth place with 1.61 per cent. But in the last pre-war year, *i. e.*, in 1928, she rose to the seventh place with 3.62 per cent of Italian exports. In the commercial activities of the Italian people India looms quite large and is mentioned just after Argentina, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, the U. S. A. and Germany. Indeed in regard to the daily needs of life as soon as an Italian looks abroad the first non-European country that is valuable to him for intercourse, outside of Argentina and the U. S. A., is India. Similarly for us Indians, among the foreign peoples with whom we have daily intercourse Italy is one of the first.

The Red Cross

In these days of wars the Red Cross stands in broad relief. It reminds us that human beings are still brothers and deserve the kindest treatment from one another. In an address to the second World Conference of the Union Internationale Pour le Pacte Roerich for the protection of treasures of art and science, Prof. Nicholas Roerich dwells on the virtues of the Red Cross. I make the following excerpts from this address published in *The Maha-Bodhi*:

Let us remember the history of the Red Cross. This Sacred Sign will soon mark the septuagenary of its existence for the sake of humanity. Here it will be fit to remember how much of non-understanding was manifested by the contemporaries of Dr. Dunant towards this pan-human idea. Yet despite all derisions and scoffing, the idea of love for humanity triumphed and even the most severe critics do not dare to dispute the remarkable results of it. There exists a special negative type of people who prefer to speak only of everything negatively. But now even these peculiar individuals will not condemn the benevolent idea of the Red Cross.

The historical development of the Red Cross should be studied by us in order to derive experience for our case. From the history of the Red Cross we understand that the idea became a living one only because of the incessant, persistent, imperative actions of all its founders and co-workers. Fortunately

neither derisions nor negations could in the least discourage its noble defenders. Neither shall we divert from our aims! Nothing whatsoever will break your united decisions to protect the Beautiful and the Highest!

The means of in-rooting this idea in the hearts of people, in the hearts of the youth—our heirs—are extremely manifold. They are as multiform as life itself. Therefore I repeat, every proposition has its reason. Every thought should be benevolently discussed and the circumstances will show how and in what sequence to apply them.

If we discuss the principles of creativeness, we thereby admit also the broadest thinking. May this thinking contain first of all friendliness and goodwill. In the name of highest constructive principles, in the name of protection of everything best and noble, I greet you and am certain of the Conference's great success.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

Here is a pen-picture of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya by Mr. P. J. Jagirdar appearing in *The Young Builder*:

If the gods have favourites, Pandit Madan Mohan is surely one of them. At one time amongst the youngest of the nation's distinguished servers, to-day he is amongst the oldest. Age hath not withered, nor custom staled the charm of his personality. In spite of his 70 years he has not ceased to be seductive. Nature did not intend him to grow old.

Perhaps the secret of his eternal youth lies in his being essentially a dreamer of dreams. Dreaming is the mainspring of his action and the substance of his speech. He is not one of those who dream once and then cease to dream and passionately endeavour to realize that one dream. Such men, though living in dreamland, are not dreamers by occupation. Mostly, they are incapable of visualizing other dreams of other men and tend to become fanatics. Malaviyaji never ceases to dream. This is the key to his optimism and tolerance. Equipped with these two qualities and with a Hindu passion for universal welfare, he makes an excellent peace-maker. The true dreamer of the happiness of his fellow-men is ever creative.

Pandit Malaviya is ardently devoted to the Aryan tradition. His first allegiance is to his *Dharma*. Being true to his *Dharma* he cannot help being pure and simple, tolerant and selfless. In point of wealth his selflessness is complete. The purity of his life verges on puritanism, and its simplicity on asceticism. But asceticism has not squeezed out of him the love of life. He has a sense of beauty and neatness. He is an artist in dress and demeanour, in ideals and action.

In the main, he draws his inspiration from the past. His love of ancient culture blinds him sometimes to many a superstition mixed with it. But his orthodoxy gives him a hold over the masses denied to others and enables him to weed out some of their worst weaknesses.

His oratory is unique. It was at one time unsurpassed in beauty and fervour. But of recent years the length of his speeches has gained notoriety. His Hindi is chaste, and when he is in form, the flow of metaphors never fails. You feel yourself drifting on a gentle stream until your voyage is

abruptly brought to a standstill before a picture of extreme pathos; or sometimes his face becomes stern, his brows knit and his eyes indignant, igniting your heart with holy fire, impelling you to make some firm resolve, urging you to defy danger and to throw away your whole self in the service of your country.

He is too much of a Hindu to hate Musalmans. But he is always up against injustice of any kind. He is too great to be contained in a community. His love of learning is born of his love of the country. To revive the past culture is the dream of Malaviya, the patriot. And that dream has taken birth in the Hindu University which he loves with the fondness of a doting parent.

The Popular View of the Karma Doctrine

Prof. H. D. Bhattacharya dilates on the popular view of the Karma doctrine of the Hindus in *The Vedanta Kesari*. He says:

The truth is that in spite of occasional testimonies of persons born with memory of their past lives (*Jatismara*) there is generally no direct knowledge of the connection between act and fruit, and only certain probable hypotheses could be advanced to explain worldly inequalities. It was felt, therefore, that if the law of moral action is not to be violated, there must be some result of all deeds, although the time and place of requital might be indefinite. A broad distinction was made between actions that had good fruits after death in view; for example, a *Jyotistoma* sacrifice had heaven as the objective and obviously, therefore, its fruit could be reaped only after death. On the other hand, a person performing the *Kariri* sacrifice had worldly advance in view, just as a rain sacrifice had the bringing of rain as the objective. Now, if no result follows from the sacrifice in the shape of worldly prosperity or immediate rain, then the purpose of the sacrifice is not realized. It was accordingly held that benefit in this life might ensue from certain acts. But disappointments must have occurred very frequently in such matters, and so, nothing daunted, the theorists propounded the view that some unseen hindrance, caused by the misdeeds of a past life, or some default in the performance of the sacrifice was responsible for failure. It is evident that this makeshift could not please all and it was freely acknowledged that a third class of fruition was possible, namely, of *chitra* actions which produced results indifferently in this life or after death. If no result followed in this life, it is to be presumed that it would follow in a life hereafter. Now the recognition of this third class of actions is really a mere restatement of one's belief in the efficacy of the moral law and is not so definite as one's faith in the production of appropriate results either here or hereafter from two different kinds of actions like *Jyotistoma* and *Kariri*. Besides, the operation of unseen hindrances was such a vague and yet dangerous supposition that no one could be sure of the production of any desired result by the performance of appropriate actions. The undesirable past not only determines the present condition but also operates to our discomfiture in an unseen way and stabs us from behind in the dark.

That there was no definiteness about the time of fructification is also certain. Particularly heinous deeds were supposed to take effect at once or within

a short time: a curse, for example, could take effect at once and even violate the law that the type of embodiment was fixed by the actions of a previous life. Nahusha was changed into a serpent and Ahalya into a stone almost simultaneously with the pronouncement of the curse by Agastya and Gautama respectively. We have already referred to the fact that the time of fructification was also supposed to depend upon the kind of sacrifice performed. In later times people began to think that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush and reverted to the Vedic method of ensuring worldly prosperity in preference to transmundane benefit. Accordingly many forms of action were devised to get children and health and worldly advancement and to get rid of enemies. We shall speak of these magical rites later on; but there is no doubt that a cash earthly return of moral action was preferred to a future credit in heavenly account. Possibly the successes were remembered and the failures forgotten, and thus the system of rites to secure the fruits of action here below took firm root.

One thing stands out prominently in the first theory of Karma, namely, that man is the architect of his own fate for good or evil and that no outside help is available to redeem him from his destiny. It has been pointed out that the slow progress of Christianity among the cultured classes in India is due to this peculiar Indian belief that no intercessor can render effective help in salvation nor any redeemer take away man's personal guilt. This is not wholly true, for, as we shall see later on, theistic faith was not an unknown thing in India and the cult of the Gurus came very near the belief in the intercessor or mediator. But there is no doubt that extreme individualism in morals is the keynote of Indian spiritual development.

How to Raise Her from the Slough of Despond

A dependent country is subject to onslaughts from many quarters. It is very difficult no doubt to hold on to the inherent ideal. The editor of *Prabuddha Bharata* discusses this in his paper and suggests that Indian religion and culture will help us out of this *impasse*:

But how to bring strength to the country so that the people will be able to shake off their Tamas, will find impetus to make a determined effort to improve their condition despite all obstacles and difficulties? The strength will again come from religion—genuine religion as opposed to what is encrusted with superstitions and blind beliefs and encumbered with rites and rituals. Hinduism in its essence teaches that man is Brahman, that there is infinite power and strength hidden within each seemingly tiny human being. To this unfailing mine of strength the appeal should go. When it is clearly perceived that the same God resides within every individual, the spirit of service in the country will become strong. India has been the land of religion. People have long sought God through rites and rituals and dead ceremonials, but now they should be led to seek God within men through service and love. For, is not in man the greatest manifestation of God? When the thoughts of the general populace can be turned to this direction—namely, that service to humanity offers a no less, if not a better, opportunity to realize the Self than worship in temples and shrines, a tidal wave of the spirit of mutual help and service will

pervade the country. And in this way much better result will be achieved than what can be expected by simply trying to arouse the political instinct of the people. And if the nation can be raised through this method, it will set a new example to the modern world: for its civilization will be based not on competition and greed, but on consecration and service, peace and goodwill.

No doubt this is a hard task. And the difficulty has become greater as India at the present time coming in direct contact with the whole world through modern means of easy communication, has to contend against modern tendencies of the individualistic spirit that there is no higher law than the survival of the fittest and there is no greater virtue than the preservation of the self-interest. That being the case, we should be all the more particular to keep the banner of religion aloft, to spread the message of religion far and wide, and should not think that religion has become a burdensome superfluity.

With regard to the national problems of modern India and the means of raising her from the present slough of despair, Sister Nivedita once said, "Immense batteries may be made, by numbers of people uniting together to think of a given thought. If the whole of India could agree to give, say ten minutes every evening at the oncoming of darkness to think a single thought, 'We are one, we are one. Nothing can prevail against us' to make us think we are divided. For we are one. We are one, and antagonism amongst us are illusion, the power that would be generated can hardly be measured." And will not religion, as described above, supply with the fundamental basis for this unity? Then why this misgiving against the utility of religion?

Indian Music

The Morning Star offers some editorial comments on the progress of Indian music at the present moment:

There is no doubt that to-day a renaissance of music is taking place throughout India. It is no longer considered one of the less respectable arts. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has been largely responsible for introducing music and dancing by respectable girls and ladies to the public stage in Bengal, and in the homes of people all over the country there is a revival of interest in the Indian art. Many developments are taking place which will mean the enrichment of the musical culture of every part of India. The North and the South, East and West are borrowing from one another. Madras delights to listen to the simple Hindustani melodies as well as to its own classical pieces; and the northern audiences are beginning to appreciate and understand Southern music. Orchestral music, in the sense of a group of instruments playing a melody in union, is being experimented within Baroda, Jamnagar and Madras. The late Pandit Vishnu Digambar began to popularize community singing in various places in India. The National movement during the past two years has witnessed the use of music as a vehicle of national aspiration and enthusiasm; bands of volunteers, both men and women, parading the streets singing national songs. The drama, to-day, as in the past, is assisting in the development of the musical life of India. In the midst of all this popular activity there is also an eagerness to study the facts concerning Indian music,

to understand it better and to give it a worthier place in the life of the people as a whole. The coming of the wireless and its concomitant, broadcasting, is going to mean a great deal to the development of music in India.

Germany in 1931

Mr. M. R. Narayan gives us a resumé of the progress of Germany in 1931, in all its departments, in *The Mysore Economic Journal*. We quote the following from the paper:

The population of Germany in 1928 was estimated to be 64,500,000 while in 1913 it was 67,000,000. An actual decline has occurred during this period of fifteen years. In 1920 alone the decrease was estimated at 1,100,000. One thing of importance that has to be taken into account is that the present boundaries of Germany are smaller than those which she enjoyed before the war. This accounts to a great extent the decline in population after the peace treaty of 1919. Under the present boundaries population has increased by 4,500,000. In 1931 there was a great decline in men of middle ages who form the backbone of industrial efficiency of the country.

The main industries of Germany consist in coal, iron and steel and textile work to a small extent. There has been a reduction of 50,000,000 tons since 1913 and the reason for this is that some of the most fertile coal producing lands have gone over to the hands of French people. In spite of all this Germany's present output is equal to that of 1913. Of late years the amount of output has decreased by 30 per cent which is in conformity with the general decrease in coal output throughout the world. The cause for the decline is in the increased use of electrical and oil fuel.

Both imports and exports have fallen and are running on lines parallel to those of Great Britain and America. The pig iron and steel industry have shared the same fate as that of coal and the only industry which shows a tendency to increase is agriculture, but even here Germany has little hope to hold her own as there is a heavy fall in world prices and over-production of grain in America on the one hand and Russia on the other which in their turn has effected Germany.

It is not surprising therefore to find an increase in the number of bankruptcy side by side with an increase in the number of unemployed. The stability of German credit has been shaken and the other European countries hesitate to advance money to her.

These influences led up to the climax of 1931 when Germany forced a serious situation and there was great apprehension that a period of inflation would necessarily be followed by a period of depression.

It was at this time that the United States of America came forward with her proposal to suspend the payment of war debts for one year and Britain having stopped payment for America during that period did not ask for payment from Germany. France on the other hand received twenty million pounds for herself over and above the amount she paid to America. This she paid out of the amount received from Germany as reparations.

University Education for Indian Women

Much ink has been spilt over the question whether university education is beneficent for the women of India. It is certainly true that higher education for girls has given rise to many knotty problems to-day. It has also served not a little to revolutionize the idea of marriage and the duties of man and wife. Miss Gladys Watsa discusses this point and also the benefit women derive from pursuing a higher course of studies, in *The Young Men of India, Burma, and Ceylon*. She says:

Let us think for a few moments about the effect of university education on the question of marriage. In India a love-marriage is a matrimonial freak. Husbands and wives love one another only accidentally. Love-marriages are most common among the educated classes and therefore may be considered a product of our university education. And yet we know what happens when parents do not see eye to eye with their daughters in the matter of choosing a husband. An education with anything western in it breathes freedom and what we all envy most about western women is their freedom in choosing a mate. But this goes against all Indian traditions. If parents are not prepared for such matrimonial freaks it were better they never sent their girls to college. Many are wise and do not take the risk. They marry their daughters by hook or by crook as the phrase goes in the good old Indian way.

Many of them do not marry but unmarried women in India are considered a social failure and are the product of our university education. Sometimes one wonders why this is so. Perhaps in their love for independence they postpone marriage till it is too late, or parents after giving them an education do not waste their time in the essential Indian business of match-making. And perhaps also educated men like to marry women who do not know the secret of their glory and will offer them a profuse though vague admiration. There is not yet a demand for comradeship as there is in the West and those whose only superiority is their learning find that an educated woman may remind them of their limitations in that quarter. University education also helps to remove some of the Indian middle class women's illusions about men with degrees. There is something at the back of Shaw's provoking story of the intellectual girl who fell in love with the pugilist. Having gone through the process of acquiring a degree she does not see anything particularly admirable in a man with this qualification. One begins to prefer brawn to brain, as it were. But the social prejudice in favour of the bricks turned out of the University mould is so strong that she is debarred from marrying what is called "beneath her." Perhaps on the whole the woman without a university education has the more Indian attitude towards men; after all it may be better to look up to them in the Indian way as gods.

But when we have said everything against it, the interest in books which our years in a university foster in us, is a joy that cannot be taken away from us. It is a purely personal pleasure and it does not matter whether we have a degree or not or whether we are married or not. To an Indian woman it means a brief respite from domestic worry and a prolonging of the period of youth that in India is so fleeting. A good story or a good poem is music that

soothes away the day's drudgery and acts as balm on an Indian woman's child-worn body and soul. They need it because they have more of sheer worry than men and have to guard against being embittered by the petty ills of life. The middle-class husband takes refuge behind his books from a domestic squabble. But the soul of the Indian wife is darkened by daily worry. The music of a poet's words or the vitality of a good novel are her only salvation. One can only conclude with the words of one of the most delightful of modern writers. They are more applicable to women because they have to bear the larger share of human pain. "When life is bitter or friendship slips away or perhaps our children leave us for their own haunts and homes we shall come and sit at the table with Shakespeare and Goethe, and laugh at the words with Rabelais, and see its autumn loveliness with John Keats. For these are friends who give us only their best, who never answer back, and always await our call. When we have walked with them awhile and listened humbly to their speech we shall be healed of our infirmities and to know the peace that comes of understanding."

A Disillusioned World

In the same journal occurs a thought-provoking article from the pen of Mr. John A. Mackay. Mr. Mackay says in part:

We also live in a disillusioned world. I should be perfectly willing to abandon the word "disillusion" if somebody insists that all disillusionment has a purely pathological origin. But I would immediately demand that a better word were offered to express the undoubted situation to which we have come and which, for lack of any more adequate term, we are bound to call "disillusionment."

The stark fact of a disillusioned world discovers several different facts. To begin with, we have become disillusioned about our economic order. We have taken for granted that communists and socialists would not accept our order. We have regarded them as the professional agitators of a utopian order of their own, but these have not become disillusioned. They have only become confirmed in principles they have consistently professed. The disillusioned people live in the heart of our present order, occupying its high places and directive posts. How can they be but concerned and disillusioned when confronted by the harrowing anomalies of the present world stage? At one moment men and woman are raised to the seventh heaven of financial success by a process of inflation; the next moment, and without any fault of theirs, they find themselves in the seventh hell of physical and moral misery by a process of deflation. Then suicides abound. At one point of the globe granaries spill over with grain, while at another point, and at the same moment of time, men and women experience the pangs of hunger. In the same geographical area vaults may be full of gold to overflowing, and millions be out of work. It is obvious that some major adjustment is required if the repetition of such a situation is to be forestalled in the future. What will happen, nobody knows. That something will happen of major significance, that a major adjustment is going to become necessary in society, few thoughtful people doubt. Will the fancy with which Anatole France closed his novel, "The Isle of the Penguins," come true? Shall we all slip back to a simpler, slower, more human type of living? One thing, at

least, is clear, that before the present crisis is weathered, the institutional aspect of Christianity will become very greatly modified. Wise leaders are those who will even now be preparing for the future to carry on the interests of the kingdom, when unlimited material resources will either not be given to, or not be available for, its promotion.

People are further disillusioned about idealism and ideals. The man on the street has heard so many idealistic utterances and seen their authors smugly accommodate themselves to circumstances, making expediency their norm of action, when they attained to places of power. How increasingly cynical the world public becomes when it thinks of politicians. But not only so: Idealistic people, themselves, who have kept their record pure, are conscious of a terrific strain and tension. Their efforts have not been rewarded as they had dreamed they would, while at the same time human nature unmakes itself in its ingratitude and savage, relentless self-assertiveness. It has become impossible to believe that sinister forces are not native to the human spirit as we know it—so native that they will wreck the best developed programme for human betterment.

Has human nature fundamentally changed? Is there such a thing, as progress, if by that we mean the essential modification of the spirit of man as expressed in the average human biped we are acquainted with? Is measureless aspiration after an ideal sufficient to satisfy the needs of the human spirit? If there is no more than tension, will not spiritual vitality go out in the end? Is it not going out in many circles now—among ministers, social workers, association secretaries? A little poem of Schiller's has become very meaningful in our time. That prince of idealists makes his hero a passionate devotee of virtue; but the young man feels that virtue with its inexorable mandate, which he readily acknowledges, and to which he has tried to be utterly loyal, is not giving him at the same time achieving power. At length in blank despair, he shouts, "O virtue, take back thy crown and let me sin." The needs of his nature demanded that he should be engaged in a task to which he could give himself with all the abandon of his soul, and not merely live a life of constant self-repression.

Biology and Education

Mr. V. D. Ghate is contributing a series of articles on the "Biological Stand-point in Education" to *The Progress of Education*. In the following extracts Mr. Ghate determines the relation between biology and education:

What is the definite relation between Biology and Education? How do they act on each other? We hear educators talking about a child being a biological unit and know that biological ideas have greatly stimulated educational thought. Has education a similar claim over biology? The modern biologists admit no such claim. Some of them maintain that education is not a biological factor and that it does not improve the breed. Qualities of mind acquired by an individual in his life-time have no survival value and are not transmitted to the children who tend to revert to the

stock. A few go further and say that education is likely to impede evolution by natural selection by prolonging the lives of the undesirables, the feeble-minded and feeble-bodied persons, who would be eliminated and should be eliminated in the struggle for existence. The family histories of the inevitable Jukes and Kallikaks are brought in support of the argument. According to these biologists heredity is a relentless, all powerful deity, and education wastes its energy in struggling against it in each successive generation. Here we meet again our old friend, the mechanistic conception of life, in a new garb. According to this theory man's place in life is predetermined by his heredity before his birth. Let us see if we must accept this biological determinism.

Biology has shown us that humanity is not a solitary species having a unique place in the scheme of life. Man is vitally related to all forms of animal life down to the lowest protozoa. Though the difference between man and the lowest organism is stupendous, it is only a difference of degree and not of kind. We do not know how life started its game on this earth. We do not know if like fallen Lucifer it came down with some meteor or if it evolved from a humbler origin, the nonliving matter. But given the unicellular forms of life, we know how the game was played.

Even at the lowest level the organism acted and reacted on their environment in a characteristically free fashion, which we connote by the significant expression "behaviour", as distinguished from the unchanging uniform reaction of the non-living. We can predict the material reactions in mathematical terms. Life has, on the other hand, been purposive and illusive in its activities from the beginning. True it is that there has been no consciousness, no awareness of the end, no intelligent selection of the means, as we find in the higher animal and man. But the behaviour has been undoubtedly purposive in character as we find from the interesting experiments of Prof. Jennings.

We now come to the second point. It is by ceaseless purposive activities that organisms have evolved from the simplest into the most complex. In biological evolution *function has always preceded and determined structure*. It is by functioning that unicellular organisms develop into multicellular organisms. It is by functioning that a body, a nervous system, a dim sentience and then a complex consciousness are evolved. We have literally carved our destinies in this game and consciousness has immensely helped the process. It is possible for a man by an effort of will to eliminate undesirable qualities of mind and body and to develop others which conform to his ideals. A social, a world-wide, will as illustrated in prohibition, in disarmament, in the prevention of the white-slave traffic or the opium evil, is very likely to change the progress of humanity. The history of evolution has been essentially the history of the striving and the purposeful willing of life. Education has therefore an important place in the evolution of mankind. The success which has crowned the educational efforts of the missionaries in improving and reforming some of the most backward races, shows that after all heredity is not such a relentless Moloch as some people want us to believe.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Academic Proletarians

The phenomenon of unemployed university graduates is not peculiar to India. According to *The Living Age*, both France and Germany now has plenty of such young men:

France as well as Germany now has an academic proletariat on its hands, a generation of young people with university training but no jobs. According to Marxian theory, this middle-class element is destined to be pulverized by the upper millstone of the capitalists and the nether millstone of the workers, but in actuality the plight of the property-less intellectual is not quite so simple. In spite of the deepening economic depression, more and more Germans, not less and less, have been attending the universities every year. In the summer of 1911, Germany had 55,000 university students: in 1925 60,000; and in 1931, 100,000. A similar condition exists in the secondary schools of France, where class rooms that used to contain twenty-five or thirty pupils must now accommodate forty or fifty. What has happened is that unemployment has driven young men who would normally have engaged in manual labour to pursue higher learning in the hope of getting technical or official positions. In Germany the number of scientific students has doubled within the past few years and there has been an almost equal increase in the number of prospective preachers, physicians, lawyers, and economists.

The growing demand for higher education not only swells the army of the unemployed, but it costs the taxpayer money. Protests have been made on both sides of the Rhine against the admission of unqualified students to advanced courses. A contributor to *Comœdia* says: 'It is not true that everybody has the right to a secondary education. It should be reserved for those who are capable of assimilating it and for those who, when they receive it, will be able to render a service to society.' A contributor to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, after pointing out that there will be 100,000 unemployed university graduates in Germany this year, says: 'Only those men should receive university training whose secondary-school studies prove that they will be useful to society as a whole.' It is worth noting that the French would curtail education at the secondary-school age, whereas the Germans are more worried about the number of candidates for still more advanced studies. Evidently a secondary school education is still considered the birthright of every German but not of every Frenchman.

Rabindranath's "Religion of Man"

The following appreciation of Rabindranath's *Religion of Man* by Dr. E. D. Starbuck appears in *The Cultural World*:

We find in the quite recent book of Rabindranath Tagore, *The Religion of Man*, as ripe and full a statement, doubtless, as can be found of that long continuous and fairly consistent development running through the Vedas, Upanishads, Brahmanas, Vedanta, Mahabharata, the reactionary groups and the variety of sects. The book is the compression in metrical prose of the best thought of this refined soul who is the flower and fruitage of one of the oldest and best matured of the civilization of the world. In it one feels the central soul of India brought to a perfection that is only often implicit in the ramifications of philosophical systems and religious cults. In the present volume he says: "I offer the evidence of my own personal life brought into a definite focus." "The idea of the humanity of our God, or the divinity of Man the Eternal, is the main subject of this book." "We have the age long tradition in our country, as I have already stated, that through the process of yoga man can transcend the utmost bounds of his humanity and find himself in a pure state of consciousness of his undivided unity with Para-brahman. There is none who has the right to contradict this belief: for it is a matter of direct experience and not of logic."

We have here the sharp antithesis between the culture of India and that of their Aryan cousins, the white races of the Occident. Religiously, the difference is between an experience of living the life of God and the attitude of having thoughts about God. Philosophically, the differentiation is between a world completely accepted in all of its ramifications and a world partially rejected. In other words, Mr. Tagore, true to the ancient traditions, is bent upon the elimination from the God concept of every fact of nature and, every experience that would seem to interfere with an absorbing sense of one's union with transcendent spiritual being.

He gives realism in all its forms no quarter. The technique by which Mr. Tagore achieves this personalistic absolutism is not simply the one ever-recurrent in Hindu thought, emphasizing on the one hand the infinite deeds of immediate personal experience and on the other stamping out the external world as being illusory. His methods are much more shrewd. In squaring himself with the concepts of biological evolution in chapter three, entitled "The Surplus in Man," he finds constantly factors which are 'absolute-superfluous for biological existence.' Mind which is "abnormally scientific" finds itself only when it touches the Brahman in man. When nature introduced the "element of mind" she threw open "her gates to a dangerously explosive factor." Mind which is concerned with the elements of concrete existence is earthbound. The sensory powers "never take us over the border of physical existence."

The escape from earthiness and the things of sense is through the imagination "which is the most distinctly human of all of our faculties." Through its functioning has sprung up Religion, which is the

expression of free spirit which "alone can claim kinship with God." We possess qualities which do not belong to a natural order. We begin our history with all the original promptings of our brute nature which helps us to fulfil those vital needs of ours that are immediate. But deep within us, there is a current of tendencies which runs in many ways in a contrary direction, the life current of universal humanity."

Taken as a work of art, as the author intended, *The Religion of Man* will be received by the reader as a beautiful poem or a great symphony. Considered as philosophy or theology, it contains the supreme challenge of the thought of India to the predominant naturalisms of Europe and America. Western thought seems destined never to be willing to crush out from the world of real existence a single atom of the so-called physical world, nor a shred of sensory or perceptual experience, nor a solitary pattern of idea or reason. Are these not all symbols of meanings as truly as are the words of a poet or the notes of a musician? Nordic thinking may be quite rude and imperfect; but it is endlessly faithful and courageous and will probably never throw itself without restraint into a triumphant spiritual ego-centrism abstracted from the world of experience in order to enjoy union with a Para-brahman severely abstracted from a cosmic order.

An American Editor on Mahatma Gandhi

Our readers who have read Dr. J. T. Sunderland's review of Bishop Fisher's book on Mahatma Gandhi on another page of this Review will surely be interested in the following comments of the editor of *The Catholic World* apropos of that book:

I make bold to proclaim here and now, in the midst of the repression, that the secret of the rebirth of hope and courage has been discovered, and—of all places—in India, by a little bald toothless ugly man named Mohandas Gandhi. A "strange" man he is called by Frederick B. Fisher, his latest biographer, but "strange" in this case means "wonderful"; for Gandhi, with no army, no money, no diplomatic training, no overmastering intellectual gifts; and in spite of a "contemptible" appearance (spectacles, loin cloth, missing teeth, emaciation and all that), frequent imprisonments, merciless fastings, personal austerity to a degree that seems cruel to pampered westerns—with all this curious equipment and lack of equipment, Gandhi has none the less proved himself a stupendous influence, and has made the statesmen of the only great empire now remaining seem like blundering boys beside him.

Strange indeed, and wonderful, but not on that account am I enthusiastic for Gandhi. I think I see in him an extraordinary spiritual force, and though it bring down on my foolish head the contempt of the more enlightened, I admit that I have been stirred to the depths of my soul by the doctrine and the life of this much despised Oriental. Not as a statesman, but as a kind of saint he moves me. I shall not compare him with St. Francis of Assisi, still less with Christ, the only True Son of God, but I content myself with saying that with the reading of each new book about him (especially of those books that speak of his spirit rather than of his achievements), I am touched and thrilled more

than by any but the best of recent books of what we Catholics call "spiritual reading."

Perhaps, after all, it is not the man who enthuses me, so much as the ideal which he preaches and which I think he exemplifies. But in that case, I am confident that he would say that if the ideal warms us it matters not what we think of him.

Now I hope the orthodox will be merciful to me if I say that reading Gandhi helps me to appreciate Christ. Not, of course, that I would be absurd enough or sacrilegious enough to call Gandhi another Christ. I squirm when I read on one page of this latest book, which I have in general admired so much, "Gandhi is India's human god." No Christian should say that. There is only one God and only one Incarnate God. But what I mean is that Gandhi, heathen though he be, has sent me back to the New Testament and the Sermon on the Mount, not only as a source of religious inspiration, but as a cure for all the political and social ills that beset the race.

Gandhi is no god, no Christ. We shall not salute him as Sidney Lanier saluted Jesus, "Thou, O Crystal Christ!" Gandhi's is no crystal character. He has flaws. But—incidentally—he confesses them to the wide world and not only confesses but does penance for them. But with all his idiosyncrasies (unkind and ignorant persons call them fanaticisms) he does represent in a degree that should shame many of us (it utterly humiliates me) what we call specifically Christian virtues, not to say such pagan stoic virtues as patience, quiet endurance and self-control.

Apropos of self-control: Gandhi seems to have completely mastered himself. Whatever be his motive, natural or supernatural, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian or a combination of all three, he has made himself captain of his own soul. Frederick B. Fisher, close friend as well as biographer, tells a stirring incident of how Gandhi when a boy learned from his mother how to control his feelings. A scorpion ran across the living room where the mother was teaching her children. "The boy cried out in alarm, 'Mother! A scorpion! It will bite you! Kill it!' His mother said quietly, 'Be still, my son. If you do not frighten it, I shall not be hurt.' She watched the insect crawl up upon her heel, and then slowly disengaging the silk scarf from about her shoulders, she reached down, picked up the scorpion and dropped it out the window. 'Now it will neither harm me, nor I it,' she remarked gently."

The Story That a House Tells

The following passage from *G. K.'s Weekly* illustrates some of the changes that have come over English society in course of the centuries:

I lay in the sun the other day on the lawn of a great and rather ugly house and considered how the fortunes of that building reflected some changes that had taken place in our recent history. It was built by a shuffling lawyer, at a time when lawyering was amazingly profitable, out of the pickings of his chancellorship. The English then were still conscious of their rights and jealous of their liberties, and the new masters had to tread warily. A lawyer who could point the way to an encroachment upon those liberties which did not involve a literal breach of law was certain of a rich reward, and so lawyers bred and flourished and built themselves great houses. The

lawyers tricked and twisted at a great pace and for a period became the virtual rulers of the country until the industrialists, by sheer weight of wealth, pressed them back into their original condition of subservience to the rich. The great house passed from the lawyer to his descendants who for a generation or two conducted themselves quietly in a manner of the decent rich, so that only scholars remembered how the name hand stunk. Quietly and in the manner of the decent rich they lost their money and the place came under the hammer. A brewer bought it. It was the house to take the fancy of a brewer very new to great riches—large, costly, with ready-made ancestors hanging on the wall. He died. His heirs, bred to the place, took it over. By the former rule, they should have developed gently into aristocracy, with the virtues and the failings of the class. They should have attached themselves to the estate by ties of pride and memory. The lawyer's descendants had held on to the place grimly, sacrificing all kinds of luxury before they were finally obliged to sell it. But the brewer's children found it inconvenient for the night clubs. Besides, it was too large. It needed, for its management, the kind of servant before whom one must preserve some semblance of dignity. Jazz drummers and musical comedy actresses and other leaders of the new Society found the place rather boring. The money spent upon it would enable each of the children to keep up a flat in the West End. Anyhow, it was a dreadful nuisance having to bother about looking after the estate. So it was given the nation and is now your property and mine. At certain times of the day and on certain days of the week we may inspect certain rooms in the house. There are large metal receptacles about the grounds in which we may deposit our paper bags, and the paths are neatly sign-posted for us. But the lawyer is dead, and the lawyer's children, and the brewer, and all those who cared for the great barn of a house all those who tricked and cheated to become possessed of it, all those who schemed and stunted themselves to keep it; so that it does not matter much. Something else has died as well, and these litter-baskets mark its passing, something intangible, an atmosphere in which riches used to mellow quickly, in which families of the most disreputable origin used to acquire a certain poise and dignity in the course of a generation or two, in which the rich recognized a small responsibility, if only to their own pride. That atmosphere has been broken down and the new rich may now be satisfied that although wealth may sap the vigour of their descendants, their original naked and uncouth vulgarity will be preserved intact from generation to generation.

Towards an Irish Republic

The Irish demand for a complete severance of the British connection is explained by Mr. Mícheál Ó'Kiersey in *The Commonwealth*:

After a decade of suppression the Irish question again breaks through the wall of silence and clamours at the door of American public opinion. Unfortunately the news despatches are far from illuminating, and, as there has been no serious editorial attempt at retrospective analysis, nor any effort to sound the depths of the national resurgence in Ireland, Americans can scarcely be blamed if they see the situation only from a British viewpoint....

To arrive at a true sense of values, it must first be clearly understood that Ireland is a nation and not a dominion or colony. Had Ireland ever abandoned her nationality, the issue would be reduced to one of achieving the fullest possible measure of political and economic independence. But Ireland has never abandoned her nationality, and has never surrendered her claim to sovereign nationhood. The conquest has never been consummated, and Ireland's claim has been asserted by every generation. National sovereignty implies that the rights of the nation to everything within the nation shall be good as against all external claims and as against the claims of any class, group or individual within the nation. There can be no compromise in the issue between England and Ireland. The only alternative to an enslaved Ireland is a free Ireland.

It will, no doubt, be contended that Ireland could not long maintain her status as a sovereign independent republic. To dispose of this argument it is necessary here to stress that separation from England does not imply isolation from the rest of the world. It is doubtful if there is any country more ideally conditioned for independence than is Ireland. Her boundaries are determined beyond dispute. Her harbours facing to all points of the compass would, British influences being removed, bring her into closer contact with the outside world than ever before. Her natural resources, adequately developed under a national government, and unfettered by foreign exploitation, would make her practically self-sufficient economically. For national defense she would maintain territorial forces but would depend, primarily, for protection against outside aggression, on the wise development of a policy of friendly alliances. Her unique geographic position, which has been perhaps the most significant factor in British domination, would ensure her neutrality.

Thomas Bata, the Shoemaker

The name of Thomas Batya is not unknown in India. A sketch published in *The Spectator* gives a description of the man and his methods:

Who are the six best-known men in Central Europe? In the cause of international comity I will not answer that question in full, but one of them, anyhow, is Thomas Bata—(pronounced Batya)—the shoemaker of Zlin, whose father was a cobbler and who himself started life as a shoemaker in the little town of Zlin in the heart of Moravia. Wherever people buy boots and shoes throughout the world Bata's name is known. He is frequently referred to as the Henry Ford of Europe.

On a cold March night, when the hills of Moravia were deep in snow, I undertook a long journey to the now flourishing town of Zlin, where Bata's works are situated and where he employs some 20,000 work-people.

The town of Zlin is Bata. From the moment you board your sleeping car at Prague there is one name on everybody's lips: Bata, the uncrowned king of Moravia. Armed with letters of introduction, I went to the works, only to be told that the 'Boss' had had to fly to Poland the day before to visit one of his branch establishments. Just as Henry Ford personifies the new age of industry in America, so does Thomas Bata typify the manufacturer of the future in Europe.

Bata thinks in terms of world trade; for him national frontiers do not exist. He has a fleet of ten aeroplanes in which he and his heads of staff visit his foreign selling organizations at a moment's notice. To-day he is in Poland; to-morrow he will fly to Switzerland; last month he returned from a trip by air to the Far East. Bata cannot be bothered with such tiresome things as frontiers and passports. On a recent flying trip he forgot his passport and was held up at a foreign frontier until one of his assistants flew back and produced the necessary document.

Disappointed that Mr. Bata senior was away, I asked if I could see his son and heir, who works in the factory just like an ordinary hand. The manager turned round and said, 'Has anybody seen Tommy?' In a few minutes a pleasant-looking, thick-set boy of seventeen, in appearance just like an English school-boy, came and shook hands with me. I was face to face with the future head of the Bata world organization. Tommy, as all his fellow workers called him, is absolutely without 'side.' He speaks excellent English. He told me that he had spent two years at schools at Hemel Hempstead in Hertfordshire. He takes a great interest in Great Britain and things British, and is specially fond of association football. He recently passed his pilot's examination for flying in England, getting his certificate at the early age of seventeen. Flying plays such a large part in the routine work of the organization that Mr. Bata felt that his son should be able to fly.

One of the things that impresses you about the Bata works is their democracy. There is no favouritism; no one has any 'pull.' The only thing that counts is efficiency. The humblest employee can get to the top of the tree. Like the late Lord Northcliffe, Bata believes in a five-day week. His vast factory at Zlin works five days of nine hours, beginning at seven o'clock in the morning, with an hour for luncheon at twelve o'clock, and going on till five o'clock. It is only the staff of the counting house and certain other sections—and, of course, Bata himself and his managers—who work on Saturday. Every Saturday the 150 odd department heads meet together in a kind of parliament, when they discuss the past week and the future programme.

Bata himself 'checks in' just like any of his workmen. He served his early apprenticeship at a cobbler's last, and there is nothing he asks his workpeople to do that he cannot do himself. Before the war Bata went to live in America for a couple of years. He studied methods of mass production, and as a result the factory at Zlin is probably the nearest approach in Europe to the Ford factory at Detroit. As I walked through some of the vast factories and watched the finished shoes being turned out, I was reminded of Packing Town in Chicago, where the pig goes in at one end and the cured ham (almost) emerges at the other.

A Girl Student of Russia

The *New Republic* is publishing a series of articles on Soviet Russia by Waldo Frank. The following account of the life of a girl student will surely prove interesting:

We went into the office. It was filled with girls; there seemed to be no difference either of years or purpose between the scholars and the office workers. A student was detailed to show us through.

She was a woman of eighteen, pure proletarian of course (else she had not been granted the privilege of study). Her room was narrow; a grand piano filled most of it, leaving space for a single bed and a chair and a table. The piano had once stood in some banker's or merchant's salon, and murmured Chopin in response to a lady's dainty fingers. In the narrow bed slept both our guide and her husband.

"Aren't you crowded in that bed?" I asked.

"Oh, no. You see, with the piano, there is no room for a big one." The girl had made what is the conventional choice in Russia. What is physical comfort compared to a piano—when you want a piano?

This university was a world. We went through store-rooms, kitchens, butcher shop, bakery. We sat in a dim basement dining room made bright by the eyes of the students. We visited the *crèche* and the dormitory kindergarten, where students who were mothers kept their young. Everywhere, only students; they dressed meat, they dressed babies, they balanced books. The university was a little world at work integral and serene in its relation with the Soviet Union. Deep down in the Ukraine, there was an enormous *kolkhoz*—a collective farm—which sent produce directly to the university, and the students went down there in groups for their vacations or to teach the peasants. Even the *crèche* was a conscious member of the U. S. S. R. Lenin looked down on the bright-hued cribs, and gay posters proclaimed to the children that the *bourzhui* of old were ogres and that their immediate present land was Kingdom Come.

We had swapped guides several times as we went from house to house. Now, at the end of our visit (when you visit anything in Russia, be prepared to see *all*—no detail of routine, no apparatus, no storeroom will be spared you), we were in the hands of a girl built round like a peasant mother. She worked in the kitchen when she was not studying medicine. Her dress was a dingy gray, not free of grease, and her blond head was moist with the steam of cookery. But her body was hard like springtime. I liked her. Since we were leaving, she felt it her duty to accompany us to the tram. As we trudged through the unpaved field, she asked questions.

"What do American girls do?"

"They work in factories and offices, when they have to."

"What do they do, when they do what they want to?"

"They enjoy themselves."

"How do they enjoy themselves?"

"They go to dances, to the movies; they eat candy, they 'pet.'"

"Don't they have any work which they enjoy?"

"I doubt it . . . as a rule."

"Why do they work?"

"To get money, of course."

"What do they do with the money?"

"They spend it on themselves."

"Don't they think of anything but themselves?"

"Not often."

"Why do they think they are alive?"

"To have a good time."

"She did not understand. Her eyes said clearly, that she found these girls a dull lot; that probably, for reasons of my own I was maligning them."

"How do you spend *your* spare time," I asked her, "when you are not studying medicine or working in the kitchen? Surely, then, you enjoy yourself?"

"Of course." And she explained how she spent it: she had a class of illiterate mothers, every night. Also she had her party meetings (she was a Young Communist). And there was lot of reading to be done, along non-professional lines.

"What sort of reading is that?"

"Marxian theory," she answered.

"Do you always enjoy yourself?"

"Oh, yes," she murmured.

Our tram was about to leave.

"My class for illiterate mothers is only an hour," she said. "Then I go to my room. Come and see me."

PRINCE OF WALES SCHOLAR OF PATNA UNIVERSITY

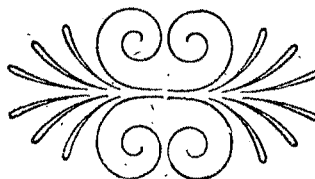
Mr. Harihar Banerjee has stood first this year at the B.C.E. examination from the Bihar College of Engineering, Patna. Mr. Banerjee's result is unique inasmuch as he is the only student (since the Bihar College of Engineering came into being) who stood first both in the I.C.E. and B.C.E. examinations. Mr. Banerjee has become the Prince of Wales scholar and will get a stipend of the value of Rs. 3,500 for practical training in London under a firm of engineers. He will specialize in roads and building construction.



Mr. Harihar Banerjee

ERRATA

The Modern Review for August, 1932, p. 150, col. 2, l. 25: for *Suraj Man* read *Suraj Mao*.
 " " September, 1932, p. 308, col. 2, last line: for *Shankiram* read *Shaukiram*.
 " " " p. 309, col. 1, l. 8, 9 and 16: for *Navabai* read *Navalrai*.



INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

A Misunderstanding

I have received a number of letters from some people in Malaya requesting me to send them to Brazil. They are under a wrong impression that I have been recruiting people for this purpose. I have never done such a thing for any colony nor have I any idea of doing it in future. As regards Brazil I only published an article or two in this journal containing general information about that country. I shall be obliged if my friends in Malaya will remove this misunderstanding by writing to the colonial Press. They may also add that the Brazilian Government has stopped all immigration into that country for the present.

Communal feeling in the Colonies

The communal poison that has entered the body-politic in India and is playing havoc with our national life is spreading its contagion in the colonies also. A correspondent writes from Fiji that Muslims in that colony want separate election for themselves! Upto this time Indians in Fiji have been fighting for a common roll for all—Europeans and Indian alike. Now if this movement for separate representation among Indians themselves gathers strength, as it may do after this Communal award in India, we should give up all hope of ever getting the rights of equal citizenship in the colonies. All our movements in India have their reaction in the colonies, where Indians have settled in large numbers, and it is our duty to warn our colonial compatriots against the dangers of communal representation that will bring misery and unhappiness to their homes in Greater India as it has already done in India herself.

Anti-Indian propaganda in Trinidad

One Mr. Ernest C. Digby, who was "born in the Far East, and who lived for many years in India and travelled at one time or another in every part of this country in the interests of the *Statesman* the largest and most influential newspaper in India" has been writing to the *Trinidad Guardian* and the *Beacon* a number of articles containing a mixture of many half truths and falsehoods about this country. Here are some ideas from this writer:

Can the admirers of Gandhi point out a single

piece of work that he has accomplished of a constructive nature in India?

What has Great Britain done for India? The Editor of *The Beacon* seeks to convey the idea that England has been only a taskmaster and sought at all times to exploit the Indian population.

England has built up the resources of the country in spite of the opposition of such men as Gandhi. She has had the welcome assistance of the Indians who count in trade and education. Are these men followers of the Gandhi cult? Are the men with the interests of the country at heart followers of the Gandhi cult...I say emphatically No.

It is quite true that Great Britain has benefitted by the exploitation of the resources of the country but why not? Millions of money have been sunk in public works for the benefit of the small tiller. Take the cotton mills of Bombay and Baroda, the enormous development at the iron works at Tatanagar, the development of the coal mines in Bengal. Has Great Britain done nothing to bring about the development of those hives of industry—Calcutta and Bombay, the former city the second largest in wealth and population in the British Empire?

What about the wonderful irrigation work throughout the Punjab, where thousands of Indians were employed for years irrigating a territory larger than England and turning a huge desert into cultivated fields and for ever doing away with the fear of famine invading that country.

If England has sent her best brains out to India and turned arid wastes into fertile lands, built up industries, cities, and given a fair and honest administration to that country, surely she is entitled to reap some benefit for the outlay of money and brains.

Gandhi cannot throw India back a thousand years and get away with it. The Gandhi cult does not mean the whole of India, but only a very small portion of it, and his followers are rapidly drifting away, like a good many other popular idols he has had his day.

Gandhi cult does not, and I make this statement after mature consideration, represent the thought, brains, or best interests of India.

Gandhi went to the late Indian Round Table Conference full of the idea that he represented the united voice of India. When he found that his impossible demands met with the only possible response he deliberately went back to India resolved to throw that country into a turmoil.

I have been accused of mis-stating facts, to quote the words of the Editor—"Can anyone say, with Mr. Digby, that the Indians were a

primitive and illiterate people when the British staged their conquest of India?"

What was this "Golden Age of India?" Distance lends enchantment to the view, and in no case does this better apply to India.

Anyone would think that it was at that time a land flowing with milk and honey with everyone rich and contented, all well-clothed and no one hungry and that the Brahmin and the Maharaja more or less slept alongside of the untouchables.

As a matter of fact very few Indians know India as a whole. They of course know their own provinces. What has been the actual history of India? Many towns beautiful in days gone by have crumbled day by day into absolute ruin and have been eaten up by the jungle. The Moguls had over-run the land and the Mahratta from the Deccan followed by Pindari masses brought ruin, and there was always the danger of that dreaded pair, famine and pestilence.

It is related that the Emperor Asoka slew 100,000 men and took 140,000 prisoners when he marched down further north into Orissa about the year 250 B. C.

In the year 1590 famine was so appalling that cannibalism was resorted to. In the time of the Moguls the law of the land ran: Every man shall retain from his crops so much as he needs for his own family and seeding for the next harvest. The balance shall go to the State.

The State income from this amounted to nearly 110 crores a year. Now Great Britain takes a revenue of 34 crores only from the same tax but spread over a greatly increased area of land. So much for the "Golden Age."

England is only too willing to give India responsible government but it must be not only a responsible government but a representative government. It must be a government of the people and for the people—not a government of a coterie of agitators and low caste Hindus, with no stake in the country and with a mystical idealist at the head of affairs.

India should realize what she owes to England, and instead of being in any way ungrateful she should thank God for the inestimable advantages she has gained from the men and women of Britain who have devoted themselves to her well being and to the advancement of her people.

Mrs. Beatrice Greig of Shanti-Niketan, St. Augustine, Trinidad has already given an effective reply to these statements of Mr. Digby and we need not write anything here in that connection. We should only recommend to Mr. Digby a book written by his name-sake (Sir William Digby). We mean the *Prosperous British India*. That will convince him of the errors of his misleading articles.

Kunwar Maharaj Singh in East Africa

The latest mail from East Africa has brought an account of the hearty reception that was given to the Indian Agent—Kunwar Maharaj Singh at Mombasa, Zanzibar and Dar-es-Salaam. Kunwar Saheb was not a stranger to East Africa. He had visited the East African territories in company with Mr. R. B. Ewbank in 1927 when both of

them were sent by the Government of India to help the Indian community in preparing their case for presentation to the Hilton Young Commission. The valuable services that he rendered to the Indian community at that time are still remembered with gratefulness by our people in those colonies and it was in the fitness of things that they gave him a splendid reception.

At Mombasa

A Garden party was given by Mr. J. B. Pandya in honour of Kunwar and Kunwarani Maharaj Singh at which two hundred guests from all communities and classes were present. Mr. Pandya made a welcome speech in which he referred to the services of Kunwar Saheb in 1927 and wished them happy voyage and success in his task. Kunwar Saheb said in his reply:

Mombasa is a place where I have always found a spirit of great friendliness and co-operation, which are so much needed in Africa. I am told that Indians, Europeans, Arabs and Natives get on very well together in this Island town. I am very glad to see this state of things. I am also extremely pleased to see the Allidina Visram High School flourishing. My wife paid a visit this morning to the school and noticed that while in 1928 number of boys taking education in the school was four hundred it had doubled itself in 1932. This in my opinion is a great advance. I am also very much pleased to find that Indian ladies are now taking part in such social functions and are coming out in large numbers."

Kunwarani Saheb also made a suitable reply.

Kunwar Saheb did not miss this opportunity of doing some service to the cause of our people in Kenya. He met the members of the Working Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and discussed with them the question of trade in the Native Reserves. In reply to the speech of the President of the Federation, Kunwar Saheb said:

"...I have discussed this question of trade with Mr. Pandya and I agree with him that this is a very important question. I also agree with him that the question is of great urgency. It appears that the intentions of the Government of Kenya are to introduce legislation on the lines of Tanganyika and Uganda and restrict trading licences. I would like to discuss the matter further with you here and I am prepared to help you in all ways I can. You have heard from the Government of India that it is not possible for me to stay in this country but if at any time the Government of India feels the necessity and if it is possible for me to come, I shall be willing to do so."

The Committee pressed the points that legislations on the lines of Tanganyika and Uganda if introduced in Kenya would be injurious to Indian trading interests and that in any case before such legislation is introduced fullest opportunity should be given to the local

Indian community and to the Government of India to present their case. Kunwar Maharaj Singh promised to cable to the Government of India on these lines and support these views. A cable to this effect was sent by him on 24th of July.

Kunwarani Saheba visited the Indian Maternity Home in the town and was glad to see the facilities available to the Indian ladies of the town.

The Mombasa Indian Sports Club also gave a dinner in the honour of Kunwar Saheb and Kunwarani Saheba. It was a pleasant function. In the end Kunwar Saheb gave a fine piece of advice to our people there. He said :

"I would ask you to do one thing. Close up your ranks and co-operate. Differences exist but such differences should not prove unfortunate.

If you do not settle these differences yourselves, I will ask these ladies to settle them for you."

This advice was well received by the Indian community there and the *Kenya Daily Mail* wrote a leading article about it. Kunwar Saheb spent two busy days at Mombasa before he sailed for Durban.

At Zanzibar

An influential deputation of the Indian National Association consisting of Mr. Tayabali, Bar-at-law, and others met Kunwar Saheb on board the steamer. The chief function in this colony was the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri at the Hindu Gymkhana. Mr. B. N. Ananantani, Editor of the *Zanzibar Voice*, delivered an interesting speech before requesting Kunwar Saheb to unveil the portrait. In his reply Kunwar Saheb said among other things :

"I am happy to know that the Indians in Zanzibar are contented and happy and have no cause for any grievances except the lack of a high school. I hope His Excellency Sir Richard Rankine will take early steps to remove this grievance. I can assure my Indian brethren that Sir Richard will be very sympathetic to their problems. He was very helpful to myself and Mr. R. B. Ewbank in Uganda is preparing the case of the Uganda Indians for presentation to the Hilton Young Commission."

At Dar-es-Salaam

The Indian Association gave the Kunwar and Kunwarani Saheba a very hearty welcome. In reply to the address Kunwar Saheb said :

"...I was privileged to meet Sir Steward Symes when some Indian leaders were present this morning. His Excellency spoke very nicely about the community and he said that he had no complaint to make about the Trade Licensing Ordinance which had caused considerable anxiety. His Excellency assured that it will be sympathetically worked. It is not his intention to injure Indian trade and benefit the commerce of other communities, I feel sure His Excellency meant what he said and what I have said will do generally to allay your anxieties. I also spoke about the education for girls. In India and in colonies boys' education has left the girls' education far behind. These are bad times financially but His Excellency said it was his policy to increase facility for girls' education."

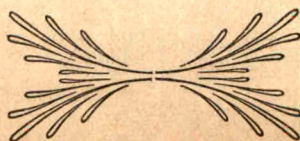
Kunwarani Saheba visited the Arya Samaj Girls' School in company with Kunwar Saheb. This school was built through the efforts of public spirited Indians like Seth Mathura Das Kali Das, Mr. Govindji Purushottam and Mr. A. K. Patel and others who subscribed 150,000 shillings towards the fund. The building cost more than 50 thousand shillings. There are seven classes in the school and besides literary and classical subjects music and physical exercise were also being taught. The distinguished visitors were much impressed by the work of this institution.

Before his departure from Dar-es-Salaam Kunwar Saheb gave the following message to the Indians in Tanganyika :

"I am delighted to visit Dar-es-Salaam again and to see my Indian brethren here once more. They have established for themselves a permanent place in Tanganyika by their perseverance, thrift and industry. I hope and feel confident that as in the past so in the future their work for this great country will be recognized and appreciated by Government.

Thus on his way to South Africa Kunwar Maharaj Singh utilized to the fullest extent the opportunity given to him to meet our people and their leaders in Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

He has already arrived in South Africa where his work for our countrymen will be watched with keen interest by us all.



INDIAN WOMANHOOD



Miss Rama Sarkar, M. A.

MISS RAMA SARKAR, M. A., has passed the M. A. examination from St. Stephen's College, Delhi, in the first-class, standing first in order of merit.



Mrs. Kamalrani Sinha

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. KAMALRANI SINHA, a brilliant Sanskrit scholar. She had stood first in Sanskrit in the last M. A. examination of the Calcutta University.



Miss Indumati Bakshi

MISS INDUMATI BAKSHI has passed the B. A. examination of the Benares Hindu University with distinction.

A CORRECTION

The illustration published in the "Indian Womanhood" section (p. 75, col. 2) of the July issue of this *Review* is that of Mrs. Hemlata Devi and not of the late Lady Basanta Kumari Chatterji.

NOTES

Nepotism in the Calcutta University

'Nepotism' means undue favour to relatives. As it is derived ultimately from Latin *nepos*, which means *nephew*, its derivative meaning is undue favour to nephews. A flagrant case of such favouritism is the recommendation of the Board of Management of the Rani Bageswari and Khaira Professorships that Mr. Shahed Suhrawardy, nephew of the present Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, be appointed Rani Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts. This recommendation is to be placed before the Senate at its forthcoming meeting.

In our last issue we have shown, by quoting from the Calcutta University Calendar and the Report of the University Organization Committee as adopted by the Senate, that briefly the Bageswari Professor's duties are to carry on original research and help advanced students to carry on such research in Indian Fine Arts, including "Fine Arts," "Iconography" and "Ancient Architecture," to extend the bounds of knowledge in those subjects, and to take part in post-graduate teaching in the *Ancient* Indian History and Culture Department.

Let us see what qualifications Mr. Suhrawardy, the Board's nominee, possesses, as stated by himself and given in the "Statement showing the names, qualifications etc. of candidates for the post of the Rani Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts in the University." The reader will notice the misleading omission of the word "Indian" before "Fine Arts" in this heading, though in the Calendar it is distinctly stated "That the Chair of Indian Fine Arts be named Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts." Mr. Suhrawardy's "Qualifications" are given as follows in this Statement :

Graduated from the Cal. Univ. with Hons. in English in 1910. Took B. A. (Hons.) degree (Oxford) in 1914. Member of the Com. of Producers of the Moscow Art theatre, became one of the artistic Directors. From 1926-29. Secretary of the Artistic Society of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations at Paris. Connected with the publication of the Quarterly of the Seminarium Kondako-Vianum at Prague, an international institute dealing specially with Byzantine Art and the Art contributions of peoples at the period of Great Migration from 1929-31. Entrusted by Osmania Univ. with writing of series of headlong (*sic*) on Musalman Art in the various countries. Appointed to the Nizam Professorship of Islamic studies at the Viswabharati with the object of making researches and delivering lectures on Persian Art. Besides English, has adequate knowledge of French, German, Italian, Spanish and Russian.

His "Teaching experience" and "Research" are stated thus :

1. Senior Reader in English literature at the late Imperial University as well as at the Moscow Women's University.
2. Senior Research student in Literature and was preparing a thesis on 'Novalis and the German Romantic Movement' under the direction of Sir Walter Raleigh. Has been studying ancient Christian Art and its sources.

At the end of 1931, delivered a course of six Readership lectures on the artistic activities, of the Musalman (*sic*) of Spain at the University of Calcutta.

Assuming that his "Qualifications," "Teaching experience" and "Research" have been correctly stated in every detail, the reader will find that he has never studied or taught Indian Fine Arts, or carried on original research relating to Indian Ancient Architecture, Iconography, Sculpture and Painting. Nor has he extended the bounds of human knowledge in those subjects. Hence he is not in the least eligible for the Bageswari Chair of Indian Fine Arts.

This is the only possible conclusion which

can be arrived at even on the assumption that his qualifications and teaching experience and research have been correctly stated. But there is definite reason to call in question the correctness of the "Statement" in some particulars. One of his qualifications has been stated in it thus: "Appointed to the Nizam Professorship of Islamic studies at the Viswabharati with the object of making researches and delivering lectures on Persian Art." But when we received the August number of *Viswabharati News*, the monthly newspaper of Viswabharati, we found there an item of news to the effect that "Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy...has joined Santiniketan for a few months as a temporary Professor of Islamic culture." Here there is no mention of any *pucca* appointment, any appointment to the Nizam Professorship—nothing about researches and lectures on Persian Art. Finding these discrepancies between the "Statement" and *Viswabharati News*, we wrote a formal letter in Bengali to Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, Principal of the Research Department of Viswabharati, to which the Nizam Professorship belongs, for correct information. His reply in Bengali is given below :

"আপনার পত্র পাইলাম। শ্রীযুক্ত শাহেদ সুহরাবর্দী মহাশয়কে আমাদের আশ্রমসমিতির এক অধিবেশনে আদ্যারই প্রস্তাবে মুসলমান সংস্কৃতি সম্বন্ধে মোট দশটি (ইহার মধ্যে পাঁচটি লিখিত) বক্তৃতা করিবার জন্য নিযুক্ত করা হয়, এবং স্থির হয়, যে, তাঁহাকে এই জন্য নিজাম ফণ্ড হইতে মোট ৫০০ পাঁচ শত টাকা দেওয়া হইবে। তাঁহাকে উল্লিখিত বা অন্য কোনো বিষয়ে অধ্যাপকরূপে নিযুক্ত করা হয় নাই। নিজাম অধ্যাপকের পদ এখনও খালি আছে। পায়ত্ত্ব শিল্পকলা সম্বন্ধে তাঁহাকে নিয়োগ করার কোনো কথা ঐ সভায় আলোচিত হয় নাই।"

Translation—"I have received your letter. It was on my motion that at a meeting of our Ashram Samiti *Shriyukta* Shahed Suhrawardy *Mahashaya* was appointed to deliver ten lectures in all (five of these to be written) on Mussalman culture, and it was decided that for this a sum of Rs. 500 in all would be given to him from the Nizam Fund. He has not been appointed a professor of the above-mentioned or any other subjects. The Nizam Professorship is still vacant. At the aforesaid meeting nothing was said about appointing him in connection with Persian Art."

So, at the Viswabharati, Mr. Suhrawardy was not appointed to the Nizam Professorship (which is still vacant), not appointed a Professor at all of any subject, and it was not at all thought of or discussed at the meeting

of the Ashram Samiti that he was to make researches and deliver lectures on Persian Art. There was, it appears, only a sort of *thika bundobust* with him for ten talks or papers.

These discrepancies between facts and the "Statement" make it essentially necessary that all the other details in it relating to him should be subjected to a thorough scrutiny before the Senate can take up for consideration the recommendation relating to his appointment. He should be called upon to submit proofs of all his statements.

It is necessary for the Senators and the public to know how the recommendation was obtained first from the Selection Committee and then from the Khaira Board. In personnel these two bodies are substantially the same, as the Selection Committee consists of the Kharia Board *plus* three experts. Hence a recommendation proceeding from the Selection Committee is practically a recommendation of the Board. The meeting of the Selection Committee was held on *Sunday* the 7th August at such short notice that some members were precluded from attending it. The meeting of the Board took place a few days afterwards to register practically their own previous recommendation at the meeting of the Selection Committee.

Sir Hasan Suhrawardy, Vice-Chancellor, uncle of Mr. Suhrawardy, and Sir Z. R. Zahid Surhawardy, father of Mr. Suhrawardy, are both members of the Selection Committee and the Board.

The "Statement" referred to above and "Copy of rules defining the duties and the conditions attached to the Professorship" were supplied to members of the Selection Committee. But we understand that the "Copy of rules etc." supplied to them did not, significantly enough, include among other essentially necessary things the following *duty* of the Professor proposed by the Board and adopted by the Senate on the 21st December, 1926 (*vide* Calcutta University Calendar for 1930, p. 166):

"(e) To take part in teaching as the Board of Management of the Khaira Fund may direct."

Nor did the "Copy of rules etc." supplied to the members include the following extract from the Report of the University Organiza-

tion Committee, as adopted by the Senate with amendments, so necessary for a knowledge of what the Bageswari Professor is required and expected to do :

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

100. The services of the Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts are not at present in any way utilized for formal teaching purposes. In general, it would seem desirable that this should be done. We are aware that, in certain circumstances, the services of the incumbent of the Chair may not even in the future be available for the purposes of regular lecturing. In such an event other arrangements will have to be made, but it will very frequently be the case that the incumbent will be in a position to help considerably in the lecturing work of the University in his subject and, when this is so, every effort should be made to utilize his services in accordance with the conditions already set forth in the rules applicable to this Professorship.

PROPOSED STAFF

	Salary Rs.	Lectures	Tutorials
1. Carmichael Professor	1250	4	...
2. Bageswari Profes- sor of Indian Fine Arts	700 ⁵⁰ / ₂	1000	6
3. Reader	500 ⁵⁰ / ₂	700	8
4. Lecturer	200-20-500-20-600	10	4
(efficiency bar at 500)			
5. Do.	Do.	10	...
6. Do.	Do.	10	...
7. Do.	Do.	10	...
8 and 9. 2 Lecturers (Part time or outside the grade)	400	8	...
		64	8

It is thus clear that some of the materials necessary for a correct decision regarding the appointment were not supplied to the members. Whether they were deliberately held back, is more than we can say.

It seems to us that the qualifications of the other nine candidates were not at all, or in any case not seriously, considered. For, so far as Indian Fine Arts are considered, they were all better qualified than Mr. Suhrawardy, some being far better qualified in this respect than he, who does not possess any qualification for this post. In fact, the "Statement" is so unjust to one of the candidates, *viz.*, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, that it is necessary to enter into some detail.

Of the qualifications of all the candidates the briefest summing up is that of Mr. Chanda, being simply "B. A. (1896)"! Yet, if we could spare space for all his qualifications as stated in his application, they would fill two pages of the *Review*. He supports his state-

ments by extracts and references which would cover another two pages of our magazine and the list of his publications would cover similar additional space. Such a man is only "B. A. 1896"! But in the case of Mr. Suhrawardy all past, present and future (!) facts, unsupported by any references, are given in full in the "Statement." Mr. Chanda is one of those savants in and outside India who are considered authorities on Indian architecture and plastic arts. In important works on Indian Fine Arts recently published in German, French and English, many of Mr. Chanda's works have been referred to and many of his views accepted.

We have heard it said, we hope not seriously, that Mr. Chanda could not be appointed because he was about 58 years of age! But he had not applied for the post of leader of a hockey, foot-ball or cricket team! To be serious, it is not necessary to inquire whether in the famous universities of the West, professors are retired at 55. For, only the other day, the Calcutta University itself has rightly appointed Rabindranath Tagore to a special chair at his 72nd year. Mr. Khagendranath Mitra got the Ramtanu Lahiri Chair last month after retirement from Government service. The University has more than once renewed the appointment of Sir P. C. Ray after he was over 60 and over or nearing 70. Professors Dr. Herambachandra Maitra and Dr. Hiralal Haldar, both much older than Mr. Chanda, take post-graduate classes. Mr. Chanda is in full possession of his mature intellectual powers. But, supposing he was really unqualified for some reason or other, there were younger eligible candidates.

We have read in the papers that the Khaira Board has recommended to the Senate that Mr. Suhrawardy be appointed for five years, that his pay for the first year (which he will spend in Europe qualifying himself for his post) will be Rs. 500 per mensem, that when he returns after one year his pay will forthwith be Rs. 750 per mensem, and that he is to be given immediately a sum of Rs. 3000 from the University funds (Khaira Fund) for his travelling expenses! It is said that even before his application he had arranged for his voyage to Europe and has left in the middle of August, and that,

before his appointment has been sanctioned by the Senate, the University has paid him Rs. 3000 !

All the works of European savants on the Indian Fine Arts are available in India, and, though some sculptures, bronzes and paintings have been carried off to Europe, *most of them* are in India. And *all* the specimens of Indian Architecture—Temples, Viharas, Stupas, Mausoleums, excavated cities, etc., are in India. So, if a man wants to learn by studying these at first hand and to do original research work, he must do so *in India*. No trip to Europe is necessary. In any case, for one who has still to learn the A B C of the subjects to be professed by the Bageswari Professor, a study trip to Europe is ridiculous nonsense. There are several advanced students, who know very much more of these subjects than Mr. Suhrawardy, who could (and should) have been given facilities for further study and research at much less expense than Rs. 500 per month. And they know Sanskrit, too—so necessary for studying the ancient *Silpa-sastras*, *Mana-sara*, etc., which Mr. Suhrawardy does not know. Nor can he have the facilities for studying actual icons, temples, etc., necessary for original research. His appointment would be one of the worst yet made by the Calcutta University on the academic side. It is not denied that he may be a highly qualified man in other respects. But he is not in the least qualified for the post recommended to be given to him.

Policy of Insistence on Communal Agreement First

In his statement on the communal decision the Prime Minister has said that "the failure of the communities to agree amongst themselves had placed an almost insurmountable obstacle in the way of any constitutional development." Similarly, in the decision itself Government say that "the continued failure of the communities to reach an agreement was blocking the progress of the plans for the framing of a new constitution." In the articles on the Premier's statement and the communal decision published in this issue, some comments have already been made on

these observations of the Premier and the Government. So nothing more will be said on them here. It is quite true that communal disagreement and dissensions prevent a country from making as much political and constitutional progress as there could otherwise be. But there was no reason except selfish Imperial ones why the British Government should have insisted on a communal agreement being arrived at first before they would disclose what sort of political constitution, what kind of swaraj they were prepared to confer on the people of India. If the Government had at the very beginning told the people what rights they were going to have, that would most probably have smoothed the way to an agreement. But now even after giving their decision on the communal allotment of seats, they have not said what India's constitution is going to be, and after how many years Indians are to have full control. They have not even said what would be the constitution of the Central Legislature.

The communal decision has served to divert people's attention from the main issue, namely, what kind of constitution India is going to have. It would be idle to guess or discuss the motive of the Government in giving the decision first without making any definite pronouncement on India's proposed new constitution. But whatever reasons may have led the Government to adopt the procedure they have followed in giving the communal decision first, the *result* has been a stirring up of communal feelings and controversies. Whether that was intended or not is immaterial. But it is plain that any man of ordinary intelligence could have foreseen such a result. Hence, the Government ought not to have adopted this procedure.

But we should not and do not complain that the British rulers of India have acted, not as perfect idealists, but as quite ordinary mortals who must look to their own and their people's worldly interests first. Our duty is quite clear. While not refraining from pointing out the harmfulness of the communal award, we should try our best not to import any communal bitterness into the discussion ; for to do so would be to play the game of the British die-hards in Britain and India. They have made the Indian communalists

their catspaw and made them sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage. We should try to convince all our countrymen that this is so. But this should not stand in the way of our main endeavour.

What Should Be Our Main Endeavour

Different communities, classes and interests have expressed dissatisfaction with the communal decision for different—some times opposite, reasons. If different groups can arrive at an agreement as regards the distribution of seats among them, that would be good. For our part, we shall continue to have a national and democratic outlook, urging that there should not be any separate allotment of seats to different groups, nor separate electorates. As a *temporary* expedient, seats may be reserved in the Central Legislature for those all-India minority communities which demand them in proportion to their population. There may be similar reservation of seats in the legislature of each province for the communities which are minorities in that province, in proportion to their population, if they demand them. Such reservation should terminate automatically at the end of a period definitely mentioned in the constitution. Whether there be any reservation of seats or not, we insist on joint electorates in all cases.

We quite appreciate the value and importance of a communal agreement as regards the distribution of seats and other matters. But if any one thinks that a *complete* agreement on *all* points can be arrived at under the present circumstances of India, including the British influences at work, he is greatly mistaken. Similarly, if there be any Indian politicians who think that if important sections of communities arrive at a substantial agreement, the British Cabinet will accept that agreement in preference to the disagreement of other, perhaps less numerous and less important, sections, they, too, are mistaken.

Every effort should be made to arrive at communal agreements and understandings, *but not in the hope of these being accepted by, or influencing the decision of, the British Cabinet.* Prophetic powers have not been vouchsafed to us. But as far as we can judge, there will

not for the present be any substantial change for the better in the communal decision.

The main endeavour of all nationalists, irrespective of the religion they profess, should be to reach an agreed conclusion as to a common political, educational and economic plan for the good of the whole country. Whether there be joint electorates or separate electorates, reservation of seats or no reservation, this plan should be carried out in all-India matters, and in the different provinces with suitable modifications.

As far as can be judged from present indications, Congress will have nothing to do with the constitution foreshadowed by the decision. In action we have been neither 'Co-operators' nor Non-co-operators. But as observers and critics we are not in favour of trying to work such a constitution. But there will be others who will enter the legislative bodies. Hence, the utmost endeavour should be made by nationalists of all religious communities and of all classes and interests, to return to the Councils as many nationalists as possible. These nationalists should combine to work out the agreed political, educational and economic plan. Though Congressmen may not enter the Councils, they will, it is expected, give their moral and other support to the carrying out of the plan.

Thus, even if separate communal and group electorates remain, it is possible to return to the legislative bodies a sufficient number of Hindu, Muslim and other nationalists to form a political majority party for the carrying out of the national plan. Our best energies should be directed towards this object. If it can be achieved, to the extent that this is achieved the plan of those who want to vivisect India for selfish ends will be frustrated.

It is a difficult but not an impossible task to convince sectionalists that there cannot be any real gain to any section unless there is gain to the entire population.

Rabindranath Tagore's Appeal

Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has issued the following appeal to his countrymen on the communal decision of the British Government :

I should like to take further opportunity to dwell on the attitude which, I think, should be ours with regard to the communal award announced by the Government. A calm judgment should convince us that this award has provided another occasion for clouding the real issues, which are at stake, by arousing mutual irritation between our communities and classes, so that our attention is diverted from the coming constitutional reforms.

My advice to my countrymen is that they should ignore this award and focus all their forces to the united consideration of those new measures that are soon to be inaugurated. The solution of the communal problem is in our own hands, and we should take advantage of the new feeling of resentment that is sweeping the intellectual circles of our country today against the irrational communal and class differences to come to an agreement between ourselves and thus remove one of the greatest obstacles from the path of our national self-expression. But let us not be side-tracked by emotional considerations. Let us meet the real issues that are soon to be revealed to us, united amongst ourselves and prepared for any contingency.

We are in entire sympathy with the spirit of this appeal, though the "award" cannot be entirely ignored. As for avoiding mutual irritation, we have urged the same course in a previous note. As regards what may be called the constructive part of the appeal, perhaps what the Pccet has in view may not be quite different from what we have suggested in the foregoing note on what our main endeavour ought to be.

In the Decision No Escape from Sectionalism

In our articles and notes bearing on the subject of the communal decision we have stated our belief that no hope can be based on it and on the present circumstances of India that there can be any agreement of the kind recognizable by the Government or that Government will recognize any kind of agreement and alter the "award" in accordance with it. *The Servant of India*, which is the organ of the party which stands for a permanent Indo-British connection, appears to be of a similar opinion, as the following extract from it will show:

Let us first examine the two escapes from the lamentable solution proposed in the Award. In the first place, it is stated that, should the communities in India reach an agreement before the present Award is embodied in the Constitution, Government would be prepared to give it preference. That is a vain hope. The difficulty in the way of reaching an agreement has largely been due

to the consciousness of one party that they have "friends in the jury." The second escape is the intention of the Government to insert provisions in the Constitution for the amendment of the electoral arrangements after ten years. Even this is a vain hope. It has been said again and again that separate electorates for Muslims were a "privilege." The Government of India in their Despatch of 1930 on the Reforms observed that "the privilege which they now possess cannot and should not be taken away from the Muslim community against their wish." To give a community a privileged position and promise not to take it away without their consent, and still to hope that it will ever be removed is an optimism for which there is not much warrant. Elimination of privileges has always been due to the pressure of communities other than the privileged one and against its wish. The hope, therefore, that the present Award is a temporary accommodation to a necessary evil and that in course of time it will be replaced by a system more in consonance with requirements of nationalism and of responsible government is without foundation. The wrong done now will persist and become a permanent feature of the Indian polity.

No Cause for Despondency

Though there is cause for grave anxiety, there ought not to be any for the kind of despondency or pessimism which the following passage from *The Servant of India* may give rise to, though our contemporary most probably does not intend that there should be any:

India has been torn in twain. The British Government has struck the deadliest blow to the growth of nationalism in India. The dream of the founders of the Indian National Congress and of a long succession of political reformers of evolving out of the heterogeneous peoples of India a united nation has been, if not completely shattered, at any rate postponed to a far distant future, thanks to the British Government. That is the crowning achievement of British *raj* in India.

In spite of India being torn, not in twain, but into many more pieces, efforts must and should be made for combined action. One of the ways in which this can be done has been suggested in a previous note. There are other methods, all of which cannot be definitely set out or indicated. But no obstacles can stand against the sincere and firm resolve to be united and free, even of a part of the people. "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."

Would Majority Communities Gain By Reservation of Seats?

The communal decision reserves a certain number of seats for the Muslims in Bengal

and the Panjab, where they form the majority, as also gives them separate electorates. The question is whether they could or would have gained more seats through joint electorates, if there were no reservations? We do not know the trend of Muslim thought in the Panjab. But in Bengal, while the separatist Muslims feel that they have got less seats than their numerical strength, in their opinion, entitles them to, the Nationalist Muslims appear to think that with joint electorates and no reservation of seats, Muslims could have secured a majority of the seats in the Bengal Council. The latter section are probably right. The Nehru Report contains a carefully compiled table which leads to that conclusion. The table relating to the Panjab also shows that with joint electorates the Muslims there can capture a majority of seats. But the separatists have decided against joint electorates and in favour of separate electorates and reservation of seats, because they do not want to leave anything to chance and also because they do not want such Muslims to be returned to the Councils as have the confidence of at least a considerable number of Hindus—they want 100 per cent communalist Muslims. This predilection of the Muslim communalists has most probably lost them some seats, as well as deprived them of the privilege of serving the nation as a whole through broad-minded Muslim legislators.

The Nehru Report argued against the reservation of seats for a majority community thus, in part :

Reservation for a majority is indefensible in theory. It is an artificial restriction on the growth both of the majority and the minority and must necessarily retard national progress. ... A majority reservation or other fixation of seats is incompatible with real representative and responsible government. It obviously interferes with the right of the electors to choose whom they like. ... It is not only a negation of representative government but it is in direct conflict with the principle on which responsible government rests. ... It is absurd to insist on reservation of seats for the majority and claim full responsible government at the same time. Responsible government is understood to mean a government in which the executive is responsible to the legislature and the legislature to the electorate. If the members of the executive with the majority behind them have all got in by reservation and not by the free choice of the electorate, there is neither representation of the electorate nor any foundation

for responsible government. Reservation of seats for a majority community gives to the community the statutory right to govern the country independently of the wishes of the electorate and is foreign to all conceptions of popular government. It will confine minorities within a ring-fence and leave them no scope for expansion.

The Simon Commission was also opposed to the separatist Muslim demand of reservation of seats for them in Bengal and the Panjab. It observed :

"It would be unfair that Mahomedans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces, and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition, a definite Muslim majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate."

Felicitations to Sir Nilratan Sircar

Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar completed 70 years of his life some ten months ago. Last month the Calcutta Municipality and the Medical profession offered him their felicitations on the completion of 70 years of his life and half a century of his practice. We cordially join our countrymen in their tribute of respect and wish him a long life. The Municipality passed the following resolution :

"The Corporation convey their cordial greetings to Sir Nilratan Sircar, who has been an eminent physician of this great city and has taken an active and prominent part in the public life of the country for over half a century and has rendered invaluable service in the various spheres of public activity.

"The Corporation desire that an expression of their appreciation of Sir Nilratan's eminent services and good wishes for his long life and continued usefulness be conveyed to him."

In moving this resolution Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu said :

"As the premier exponent of the art of healing in this city for more than a quarter of a century, as one of the greatest Vice-Chancellors of the Calcutta University, as a man who has taken a deep and abiding interest in industrial research and development of this country, as a scholar and scientist—the fame of whose deep erudition and knowledge has travelled beyond the shores of India—Sir Nilratan is a living personality in the different spheres of our life and activity in this country."

Mr. C. C. Biswas said :

"Sir Nilratan is not only a prince amongst physicians, he is a prince amongst men. Rarely do you come across one endowed with such a large heart in which self occupies the least place. If there was ever a man who has put service before self it is Sir Nilratan in a pre-eminent sense. He has not only served his country but he has suffered for it. Whenever the call has come, he has always come forward to meet it. Never

has he been found wanting. He has sacrificed his leisure. He has sacrificed his fortune. He has sacrificed his chances of amassing money for the sake of dedicating himself to the service of his Motherland. 'Whatever record leaps to light, he never shall be shamed.'

Dr. B. C. Roy, the Mayor, said :

I have been Sir Nilratan's pupil. He has been my teacher and guide in the professional life. He was my examiner when I appeared for the final examination of the Calcutta University, and for the last 30 years I have been closely associated with him in many matters which affect the life and health of the citizens of Calcutta and of the Province. I have tried to analyse and find out wherein lay his greatness. It seems to me that there is one peculiar trait in his character and his nature, and that is, although he is over 70 years of age—although he has passed the biblical age of three score and ten—still he is young amongst the old. His spirit is young. His heart is young. He is able to adapt himself to changing circumstances of life. He is able to look into every matter from the point of view of those with whom he is associated, and that accounts for the largeness of heart which we all appreciate and about which you have heard this afternoon. He is able to identify himself with the needs of the people. In fact, as often as I have seen him working in the professional life I am reminded of the words of the poet :—

Teach me to feel another's woe;

To hide the faults I see,

The mercy I to others show,

Oh, God! show that mercy to me.

That has been to me the guiding principles of his life and which have left him even in his old age a young man.

The Calcutta Medical Club, of which Sir Nilratan is the President, celebrated the occasion of his completion of the 50th year of his practice on the 17th August last. The address presented to him on the occasion ran as follows in part :

"Born and bred in adversity, amidst humble village surroundings, you have, by your own endeavours, succeeded in securing an abiding place in the esteem of your countrymen ; starting your career in the medical profession at its lowest rung, you have been leading the profession for nearly thirty years. Both as a man and a physician, you have captivated the imagination of an increasing number of admirers and of successive generations of followers. Gentle yet firm, courteous yet courageous, you have, by your patience, tact and dignity, won the admiration of all, high and low, great and small. Your erudition, your versatile knowledge of men and things, your character, your mature judgment have been recognized by the Government of the day and by the people whom you have served with unflinching devotion for nearly half a century.

"Your alert mind and indomitable spirit, in spite of growing years, are yet young and free. You have adapted yourself to the varied environments of this changing world, keeping steadfastly to your ideal of Service and Sacrifice."

In replying to the address, Sir Nilratan said that the sweet words of the members of the Club had revived in his mind the memory of many an inexcusable failure and of a thousand duties left undone and of the opportunities missed in life. With reference to the young members of the profession, the great doctor said that he had received inspiration and learnt many things from them.

Military Forces in Bengal To Fight Terrorism ?

The following Press *communiqué* has been issued :

The situation in Bengal caused by the terrorist movement has been reviewed by the Government of India in consultation with the Government of Bengal. In spite of special measures which have been taken murders of officials have not ceased and political dacoities, mail robberies and thefts of arms and ammunition still continue. The Government of India are in full agreement with them that military forces in the Presidency should be very substantially increased. In accordance with this decision a force of two infantry brigades less one British Infantry battalion, that is to say, six battalions of Indian Infantry and 1 battalion of British Infantry will proceed to Bengal at the beginning of the ensuing cold weather and will remain there so long as circumstances demand their presence.

This *communiqué* contains a confession of failure of the special measures which have been hitherto taken by the Government to prevent, punish and extirpate terrorism. For long years, during each period of recrudescence of terrorism and after fresh acts of terrorism, we have tried to give our diagnosis of terrorism as far as the publication of views thereupon was possible under the laws and ordinances in force for the time being. We have also suggested what the people and the Government should do to put an end to terrorism. We have never denied that crime ought to be punished and repressed by the use of force. But remedial measures are also to be taken simultaneously. Hitherto only force has been used, and the repressive measures taken have caused sufferings to the innocent and the guilty alike—more to the innocent than to the guilty. Such sufferings have increased the bitterness and resentment in the public mind, thus providing fertile soil for the growth of terrorism. Even if it be impossible to enforce repressive laws and ordinances

in such a manner as would not cause any inconvenience or misery to the innocent, there was nothing, except Imperial policy, to prevent remedial measures being taken. The principal remedy is the grant of self-rule. A subsidiary and indirect remedy is the reduction of unemployment, for, though it may not be a direct cause of terrorism, unemployed young men may be recruited by terrorists with comparative ease.

But, though along with other journalists and publicists, and along with Indian political leaders, we have suggested remedial measures, Government have so far depended upon force, pure and simple, to stamp out this political distemper, which has become chronic in Bengal, with sporadic outbreaks in some other parts of the country. Now that there is practically an admission that force has failed to produce the expected result, what is the new cure proposed? Why, a still bigger dose of force!

As to the reasons for stationing military forces in some Bengal districts, it is said:

Enquiries made by the Associated Press go to show that it is for the purpose of putting fresh heart into Government officers stationed in out of the way places in Bengal and to encourage loyal citizens who may have become disheartened by long series of terrorist crimes against persons and properties in the province that the Government of India have agreed to accept the recommendation of the Government of Bengal to send here six battalions of Indian Infantry and one battalion of British Infantry at the beginning of the ensuing cold weather. It is also intended to demonstrate unmistakably to terrorists and their sympathizers that the Government can never be overthrown by force and that constitutional methods are likely to be more effective for the attainment of the political ideal than terrorist methods.

Provisionally it is intended that a battalion of the British Infantry shall be stationed at Dacca and one battalion of the Indian Infantry each at Chittagong, Comilla, Mymensing, Saidpur, Midnapore and Bankura. It is understood that two brigade staffs will accompany the troops. They will not be allotted to duties other than such protective duties as may be considered desirable locally after mutual agreement between the local, civil and military authorities.

The Associated Press has published the information officially placed at its disposal. But it is very doubtful whether it has been given full information or been told the real object of locating troops in some districts of Bengal. The crimes which, according to the *communiqué*, have led the Governments of

India and Bengal to increase the number of troops in Bengal substantially, are murders of officials, political dacoities, mail robberies, and thefts of arms and ammunition. In Bankura no official has been murdered or attempted to be murdered, but civil disobedience has been strong. Mail robberies and thefts of arms and ammunition have not also taken place there. Dacoities there have been, but not political dacoities. So it cannot be said with truth that it is for fighting the crimes officially enumerated that soldiers would have to be stationed in that district.

It will be admitted on all hands that terrorist crimes in Bengal require to be dealt with with the utmost possible expedition. The authorities know the extreme urgency of the situation. But what do they propose to do? They have issued the *communiqué* on the 18th of August from Simla, which means that their decision was arrived at in the beginning of that month. Having decided to take steps to deal with an emergency, they say that they will give effect to that decision in the beginning of the next cold weather, say, early in December, which is a period of four months from the beginning of August. If to strike at terrorism be the real object of sending troops to Bengal, why are the terrorists to be given four months' respite? Or, are the Governments of India and Bengal giving them ample time to repent and mend their ways? When any kind of rebellion breaks out in any area, do the powers that be ever decide to face the rebels after a delay of four months and in the meantime do they give indirect notice to the rebels of their intention to do so by means of a Press *communiqué*?

It is said that troops are to be sent to Bengal "for the purpose of putting fresh heart into Government officers stationed in out of the way places in Bengal and to encourage loyal citizens who may have become disheartened by long series of terrorist crimes against persons and properties in the province." If the troops are really meant to serve as a cardiac, cordial or heart-stimulant to down-hearted or dispirited Government servants and loyal citizens, why is the medicine to be supplied so long

after the diagnosis? Does heart disease safely admit of such dilatory treatment?

To prevent mail robberies, political dacoities, etc., in towns and villages, detachments of troops would have to be placed in every town and village in all the six districts of Bengal. That is scarcely possible. And even if all the localities in six districts could be garrisoned, without garrisoning the other districts, that would be for Government to unintentionally and indirectly give would-be offenders ample notice to remove themselves to other areas. Moreover, soldiers have neither the training nor the experience to detect offenders or would-be offenders.

As for terroristic murders or attempts at murder, the way to prevent them is to provide the police and executive officers with arms and efficient body-guards. These must have been supplied long ago. If more are required, they ought to be provided. But the *communiqués* do not say that the troops are to act as body-guards to policemen and executive officers.

Lastly, it is said that "it is also intended to demonstrate unmistakably to terrorists and their sympathizers that the Government can never be overthrown by force and that constitutional methods are likely to be more effective for the attainment of the political ideal than terrorist methods." In what exact manner that is to be demonstrated which is intended to be demonstrated, we do not know. But as regards the first part of the intention, namely, to demonstrate that the Government can never be overthrown by force, perhaps the authorities want to convince the inhabitants of the districts concerned by ocular demonstration that the Government has soldiers and arms and ammunition enough to crush rebellion. But are even the ignorant masses of Bengal unaware of this fact? Moreover, the terrorists do not go in for mass action so as to make mass action by troops against them applicable and effective.

Ordinarily, the expression 'overthrowing a Government by force' means overthrowing it by organized rebellion, by fighting pitched battles, guerilla warfare, and the like. We do not know the motives, object or strategy of the terrorists. But from what they have

hitherto done, it may be inferred that they do not intend or expect to overthrow the Government by force. Hence, to try to "demonstrate unmistakably" the impracticability of that which nobody wants to do, is a work of supererogation.

As regards demonstrating "that constitutional methods are likely to be more effective for the attainment of the political ideal," we confess we are utterly unable even to imagine how troops can demonstrate it. The only possible proof of the effectiveness of constitutional methods is to show that they have been effective, that they have succeeded in bringing Swaraj to India. But everyone knows that the constitutional method as understood by the old Congress school of politics, now known as the Liberal school, has not been successful—at least not yet. And the method of non-violent non-cooperation also has not enabled its followers to win self-rule—at least not yet. Terrorism is in the same category with these two methods so far as success in the attainment of the political ideal is concerned. Ethically, of course, these methods do not stand on the same plane. But that is so obvious that the thesis does not require any elaboration.

We have shown the unconvincing character of the reasons given by the Associated Press for the Government's decision to substantially increase the number of troops in Bengal. Perhaps the real object of the authorities is to deal with any revival of the civil disobedience movement, the "Buy Indian" movement, or any other patriotic movement, due to the announcement of the communal decision of the Government and to the possible declaration of the acceptance of Imperial Preference by the Government of India. It may be that what is sought is the production of a moral effect. But if the moral effect takes the form of striking terror, that is undesirable both on moral grounds as well as because such "moral effect" does not endure. Jallianwalla Bagh and the Martial Law regime in the Panjab have not pacified or cowed down the Panjab.

The presence of troops in small towns and villages, where their movements cannot be confined to prescribed bounds, is very likely to give rise to offences against women with

their serious resultant complications. On that ground also the massing of troops in the interior of Bengal is highly undesirable.

More sufferings for an indefinite period appear to be in store for the people of Bengal—sufferings which will not promote either the worldly or the other-worldly interests of the British people.

India & The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague

The Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague is composed of 11 judges and 4 deputy-judges. By a resolution of the Assembly of the League of Nations, the number can be increased up to 21. The judges are elected from a list of candidates composed as follows :

Each national group in the Permanent Court of Arbitration (appointed respectively by the individual States which are members of this Court) nominates, after consultation with its highest Court of Justice, its schools of law and academies devoted to the study of law, not more than four candidates, of whom two only may be of the nationality of the nominating group. In the case of States not members of the Court of Arbitration, special nominating groups may be appointed by the respective Governments under conditions identical with those governing the appointment of the groups of members of that Court. The list thus established is communicated to the Assembly and Council of the League of Nations.

There is a further rule that the Court as a whole should represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world.

England is a member of the Court of Arbitration. Has she ever nominated an Indian? India is a foundation-member of the League. Has any Indian ever been put forward by the British-Indian Government as a candidate for either a judgeship or a deputy-judgeship? Is not the Indian civilization one of the main forms of civilization? An answer is due from the British Government, both in Britain and in India. Has any nominating groups for nominating Indian judges been formed by these Governments?

J. M. D.

Crimes Against Women in Bengal

Questioned in the Bengal Council by Mr. Kishorimohan Chaudhuri, M.L.C., the

Hon'ble Mr. Reid submitted a statement of the crimes against women committed in Bengal during the six years from 1926 to 1931 inclusive, district by district, mentioning whether the offenders were Hindus or Musalmans or both, and whether the women offended against were Hindus or Musalmans. The statement reveals an appalling state of things. It appears from it that more Musalman than Hindu women were victimized, that among the scoundrels who made Musalman women their prey the vast majority were Musalmans, that the number of Musalman women victimized by Hindu scoundrels was very small, that the number of Hindu women victimized by Musalmans was much larger, and that the number of Hindu women victimized by Hindu scoundrels was also large. The scoundrels, whether professing to be Hindus or Musalmans, ought to be imprisoned for long terms and such other steps ought to be taken as would result in reforming their character. In cases of "gang rape," the brutes ought to be subjected to vasectomy.

The returns show that the ordinary law of the land has failed to cope with this class of crimes, which is on the increase. Many cases are not reported to the police for fear of social obloquy. In many cases, the police fail to find out and arrest the accused. In many, the offenders are not punished owing to lack of sufficient evidence, the reason for such lack of evidence often being terrorization of the witnesses by the accused or their fellow-ruffians. Many are the cases in which the women abducted are never found.

In spite of the ordinary laws and procedure and the ordinary police having failed to put a stop to or even check offences against women, Mr. Reid said that Government did not intend to adopt any special measures, such as going in for special legislation, etc. That amounts to neglect of duty on the part of Government. In our last number we have reproduced a passage from Syed Amir Ali's Memoirs in which he wrote that he suggested that gang rape should be punished with death. But whatever Government may or may not do in the matter, all communities, irrespective of their creed, ought to combine to put a stop to such

crimes, as the women of all communities are victimized.

In these days of communal excitement, we do not like to point out the duty of the Muslim community, as we may be misunderstood. But even at the risk of being misunderstood by the Hindu community, we must say what we owe to our womanhood. The social system of the Muslim community is such that the women, whether Muslim or not, who are victimized may find shelter in Muslim homes and society and may get married and lead a life which is not disreputable. But the Hindu women who are victimized used formerly to be discarded both by their families and by Hindu society. At present there has been some improvement in this respect. Such women are not all turned adrift. They do not all become homeless. Some of them are given shelter by their relatives or find an asylum in the very few homes provided for them. But it is the duty of us Hindus to see that not a single woman who is victimized becomes homeless. Every such woman should, as a matter of course, receive the sympathy and support of Hindu society. If they are unmarried, they should have the same chance of marriage as other unmarried girls. If they are married, they should be received back into their husbands' homes. If they are childless widows of a marriageable age, efforts should be made to get them married. And in all cases, if they cannot get shelter elsewhere, there should be "homes" provided for them at public expense, where they can receive ordinary and vocational education in addition to maintenance.

Large numbers of women fall a prey to the brutal passions of wicked men. Others are abducted for an additional evil purpose. They are treated as merchandise for vicious traffic. State help is necessary to put a stop to both forms of crime. But whether such help be forthcoming or not—and most probably it would not be forthcoming to an adequate extent as abduction and gang rape are not political offences, every possible effort should be made for the protection of women by the non-official public. Unremitting efforts should also be made for raising the moral tone of society.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar's "Shashtipurti"

We congratulate Mr. N. C. Kelkar on his *Shashtipurti* or the completion of the 60th year of his life and wish him long years of happy usefulness to our common motherland. He has been a notable figure in the political life of the country—particularly of Maharashtra, and has also made his mark in Marathi literature. Without being a narrow communalist, he has been one of the pillars of the Hindu cause. Though he belongs to the Tilak school of politics, he has not sacrificed his individuality and independence. He is one of the three distinguished Indians whom *The Leader* of Allahabad recently congratulated on the celebration of their birthday anniversaries, the other two being Sir P. C. Ray and Sir Nilratan Sircar. Of him the Allahabad paper has written :

Mr. Kelkar gave up the practice of law at Satara in 1897 to take up the *Mahratta* and the *Kesari* when Mr. Tilak was sent to jail by Mr. Justice Strachey for 'absence of affection.' And ever since he has stuck to the Tilak tradition and policy. He was one of the great Mahratta leader's closest associates and most devoted followers. He edited both of Mr. Tilak's papers as the master would have him do. At the same time he has never found it difficult to cultivate and retain the friendship of other public men who did not worship in the same political temple as he. He was a great admirer of Mr. Gokhale, to whom he frequently went for advice and guidance. His political opinions may be described as being of moderate extremism or advanced radicalism. Mr. Kelkar was a member of the Legislative Assembly and president of the Poona municipality and of the Sarvajanik Sabha. He is also an author of distinction in Marathi.

Ottawa and Imperial Preference

Imperial preference is not a new topic. It is not a new British device. It has long been understood to be conceived in British interests. And, therefore, whatever may have been decided at the Ottawa Conference, real representatives of India cannot vote for it. We wrote a paragraph against it in our last number.

In the foreword to Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni's pamphlet on "India and Ottawa," Prof. Brij Narain summarizes the Indian position thus : "Imperial Preference is not acceptable to India, as it is a policy conceived wholly in the interests of Britain. It means protection for British manufacturers at the

expense of Indian consumers and producers." Professor Ruchi Ram Sahni himself closes his pamphlet with the considered opinion of the Indian Economic Society expressed a quarter of a century back, which he holds to be the considered opinion of every thoughtful Indian today, namely, that "A scheme of Imperial Preference for India is economically detrimental, politically inexpedient and financially ruinous."

Among prominent Indian men of business who have declared against the Ottawa agreement are Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker. Such an agreement cannot but injure India's export trade. Our exports, most of which go to non-British countries, are for the most part agricultural produce. So injury to India's export trade means a blow to Indian agriculturists. If they cannot sell as much of their produce as is necessary or at an adequate price, which will be the case if India be a party to Imperial preference, there will be less money in the hands of Indian agriculturists and their purchasing power will be reduced. So they will be less able to purchase both Swadeshi and foreign goods, including British goods. Hence, as Imperial Preference is meant to push the sale of British manufactures in India, that object will not be gained.

Commercial Museum of the Swadeshi Sangha

Last month Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya opened the commercial museum or permanent exhibition of the Swadeshi Sangha in Calcutta. This institution will enable the purchasers of Swadeshi goods as well as their vendors to know what descriptions of India-made articles are available and where and at what price. Such permanent exhibitions, though not everywhere on equally large scales, should be opened in all towns in the country.

Pandit Malaviya in Calcutta

The occasion for Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's coming to Calcutta was the opening of the Commercial Museum of Swadeshi

goods. He has been utilizing his stay here to infuse enthusiasm into Swadeshi workers and the general public, by public lectures and other means, in order that more Swadeshi things may be produced and consumed.

Puja Purchases and Sales

Except the very poorest, all Hindu families—and many Muslim families also, in Bengal buy at least *dhotis* and *saris*, if not also other articles of clothing, for their boys and girls and young men and young women, before the commencement of the Durga Puja. Perfumery, soap, and many articles of luxury are also purchased. All these descriptions of goods are now made in the country. Every purchaser should, therefore, make it a point to purchase only Swadeshi articles. The manufacturer's also should have the patriotism and the sound business instinct to fix the lowest remunerative price for their goods.

Vidyasagar Bani Bhavan

Nothing can be a more appropriate means of showing respect to the memory of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar than institutions for the benefit of widows. The Vidyasagar Bani Bhavan is such an institution, established in Calcutta under the auspices of the Nari Siksha Samiti, of which Lady Abala Bose is the devoted secretary and founder. The Samiti was founded thirteen years ago. The Vidyasagar Bani Bhavan was founded in 1922 for training Hindu widows in literature and arts and crafts so that they may be economically independent and useful members of society. Up to date some 100 widows have got their training in this institution and have become self-supporting as teachers. They also render service to the needy. On the 13th of August last the foundation stone of the Vidyasagar Bani Bhavan's own home was laid by Lady Jadumati Mukherjee, wife of Sir R. N. Mukherjee, before a distinguished gathering of Indian and European ladies and gentlemen. Lady Abala Bose read a report on the occasion giving an account of the work done by the Nari Siksha Samiti. The report stated that out of 250 lakhs of women in Bengal, 35 lakhs of girls were of school age, but unfortunately 30 lakhs of them could not get

facilities for learning even the alphabet. After 13 years' hard struggle, the Nari Siksha Samiti has established 50 girls' schools in Calcutta and in different districts of Bengal from which five thousand girls have obtained education. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, Srijukta Sarala Bala Sarkar, and Mr. Ramaprasad Mukherjee, wishing success to the Bani Bhavan and emphasizing the need of such institutions in different parts of the province.

The Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Bill

The Tea Districts Emigrant Labour Bill which will come up before the Legislative Assembly in the autumn session, seems from its provisions to be no more than a reproduction of the rules and regulations on the "Statute Book" or hand-book of the Tea Districts Labour Association. If the bill is passed, the T. D. L. A. and the Indian Tea Association will be the sole authority for labour in the tea area and in the areas of recruitment. This will not be to the benefit of the labourers. To what extent employers of labour are prone to violate labour laws while they are in force, may be gathered from the following extract from a letter addressed to a District Officer by the Inspector of Factories, Shillong :

"I have the honour to inform you that the practice of not reporting fatal and serious accidents by telegram as called for in Assam Factories (1930) Regulation No. 63, seems to be increasing."

If this happens when Government control is in full force, it may easily be guessed what the state of affairs will be when employers become the administrators of law.

One of the clauses of this bill raises a very important issue. Clause 39 (1) [Chapter V] of this bill is likely to prejudice the cause of persons other than tea planters, who carry on timber extraction and similar trades. It seems to be the intention of the bill to compel them to get their labour through the T. D. L. A., which will mean great extra expense. The labour they require is of a temporary nature, generally only for the winter season, and they seldom take up family groups. If, therefore, traders, other than tea planters, have to recruit labour

through the expensive T. D. L. A., they may think of no more going to Assam for any kind of trade that requires labour. In that case, Government interests, particularly the working of the forests, will be seriously handicapped. There was a case in 1926-27, in Gorakhpur, in which a forest contractor was prosecuted for having taken up a few sawyers to the eastern and central forest ranges in the Goalpara district in Assam. A small fine was realized from him, as the offence was only technical, and the District Officer was fully satisfied as to the man's ignorance of the Assam labour legislation. That contractor pointed out that there were others who had taken up hundreds of labourers for forest work and asked why he was the only person to be prosecuted? Naturally, there was no answer to this query. Such emigrant laws as may be enacted ought to be applicable to the tea plantations only where labourers are required to make a stay of some years at a stretch.

The Annual Anniversary of Afghan Independence.

This month the Afghan people are celebrating the thirteenth anniversary of their independence, which was proclaimed in February 1919 and recognized by the British Government by the treaty of Rawalpindi of August 8, of the same year. As Afghanistan has always been an independent state, this independence festival may require some explanation. It is a very simple one. Independence here means complete independence in foreign relations. Before 1919 Afghanistan was not a full sovereign state and had no international status, for in her foreign relations she was under the strict tutelage of the British Government. This latter controlled her foreign relations in all their phases and did not recognize the right of Afghanistan and other foreign Powers to communicate with one another except through the British Foreign Office. This right had been claimed by the British Government for one hundred years or so; the British had fought two expensive and sanguinary wars to enforce this right, and had at last obtained its recognition from Amir Abdur Rahman Khan as a result of

the civil confusion produced in Afghanistan by the second Afghan war.

Even after this, the determination to control the foreign relations of Afghanistan has been reiterated by the British and the India Governments on numerous occasions. In 1900, for example, when Russia notified her intention to have direct relations with the Amir as the ruler of a conterminous state, Lord Curzon telegraphed to the India Office that the "Amir would attribute the concession to our weakness, even if he did not welcome it as placing him on an equality with European Powers, and as providing him with arguments for the establishment of Afghan Agents at St. Petersburg and London." This very result was however achieved by the short war of 1919. That indecisive war had political results which were utterly incommensurate with its military record. It produced a revolution in British foreign and military policy comparable in many respects with the abject surrender of the traditional two-power standard of the British navy three years later at Washington. If the latter treaty involved the cheerful surrender of the hundred-year old claim of Great Britain to be the first naval power in the world, the treaty of Rawalpindi meant in no less complete fashion the abandonment, once for all, of the hundred-year old claim of the British Government to keep the Afghan Government in leading strings in the matter of foreign relations. From this point of view, the third Afghan war may with perfect justice and propriety be regarded as the *War of Afghan Independence*.

It is a pity that this interpretation of the third Afghan War is not more stressed in India. The official view still prevails that the third Afghan war was an act of unjustifiable aggression on the part of the new Amir, and as a practical corollary to this theory, the Afghan bogey is still dangled before the eyes of the Indian public as a justification for the enormous military burden of India. It is time that this current fallacy were done away with. But it would require a study of the historical background of the third Afghan war in its political and military aspects. We have received such a study of the military back-

ground of the war of 1919 which shows that the third Afghan war, so far from being a war of aggression, was in reality the inevitable reaction to the aggressive military policy of the India Government. This article will be published in this Review shortly.

The Ancient Monuments Preservation (Amendment) Bill

This Bill, which has passed through the hands of a Select Committee, will come up before the Legislative Assembly this month. Though the antiquities of India, properly so-called, are all Hindu (including Jaina and Buddhist), all permanent inhabitants of India, whatever their race or creed, should strive to keep the precious relics contained therein in the country itself, instead of licensing foreigners to excavate and carry them off elsewhere. It is a pity that the Select Committee consisted of a non-Hindu majority, though the Hindus were most concerned with the objects of the Bill. It is to be hoped that when the Bill comes up for discussion all Indian members, irrespective of creed or race, will have the patriotism to pay serious attention to every clause of the Bill.

In his minute of dissent, Mr. Gayaprasad Singh, a member of the Select Committee, has urged the postponement of the consideration of the Bill till after India has got her new constitution. His reasons, as stated below, are sound.

On the eve of constitutional reforms, and the impending changes in the form of Government, I am of opinion that a measure like this might have waited for 2 or 3 years. I do not think that objects of archaeological interest buried underground are likely to be lost or destroyed during this time. But if a legislation like this is at all to be taken up now, I should like to emphasize that no objects of antiquarian interest, which are unique in character, and which are of national importance, should be allowed to be taken out of India; and this should be provided, if possible, in the Act itself, instead of in the Rules, which are subject to revision without reference to the Legislature.

Mr. Harbilas Sarda made the object of the Bill clear in his speech on it in the Assembly and exposed its defects. Said he:

Sir, the object of this measure is, to put it plainly, to legalize the removal from India of its most cherished possessions, its most sacred objects,—some of the remains of its ancient great-

ness,—its choicest treasures, which nothing in the world can buy, which no price can secure. And the hypocrisy of it all is that this is sought to be accomplished in the name of preservation of India's sacred trust, in the name of scientific research, in the name of helping civilization. Sir, what great wrong has been done to any country, to any people but the perpetrators of it started to do it after trumpeting forth their earnest desire but to help their victims or to advance the cause of civilization and culture.

He would not only not allow any more antiquities to be taken out of India but would urge the restoration of those which have been taken away :

Sir, rather than allow any antiquities and finds to be taken out of India, the problem before Indians at present is how to get back all those antiquities, sculptures, Mss., and works of art which have been taken away from India. Sir, when accounts are settled between England and India, whether an apportionment of the public debt of India is made between the two countries or not, I do hope and trust that India would insist on England returning all these treasures which are now kept in its various museums and libraries and which are the great heirlooms of the people of India.

He next dealt with the Egyptian and Palestinian parallels thus :

It has been said, in Palestine and Egypt licences for exploration and excavations have been given to foreigners and that, in the interests of research, the same may be allowed in India. Egypt is not quite independent, and foreigners have a controlling voice in its administration. But even in Egypt the licence to make excavations at Luxor in favour of Mr. Howard Carter was cancelled in 24 hours when it was suspected that Egyptian antiquities were being removed from Egypt. Is the Government of India at present in the hands of Indians to enable them to take the same action should an eventuality of a like character arise here? I would further say in reply that I should like to see foreigners secure such licences in England, France, Germany or America. Where a country is under foreign rule and is helpless, and has no controlling voice in its administration, this exploitation and legalized robbery has been permitted or tolerated. But, Sir, we have enough shame left in us to refuse to consent to and become parties to this robbery being legalized. I am told that exploiters from America are anxious to obtain licences to rob India of her treasures; that Dr. Stein and Sir John Marshall and others are anxious that licences should be given to foreigners. They have the support of foreign financiers and they wish to undertake this exploitation and carry away from our country our antiquities and sacred objects, which no nation with any self-respect or sense of honour, or a sense of duty to the country and to its future generations would allow or tolerate.

He also disposed of the argument that antiquarian finds would be better looked after and used in Europe and America :

It has been suggested that these finds would be better looked after in Europe and America and made good use of there. Sir, I would undertake to look after the valuable possessions of some of the protagonists of this doctrine. Would they give them to me? Why cannot the foreigners, if they are only honest and genuine students of archaeology and are inspired only with a genuine love of research, excavate the mounds, but let the relics of India's glorious past remain in India in her museums and libraries? Indians are more deeply and directly interested in them than any foreigners, however well intentioned.

Sir, if some of the material remains unutilized for the present, let it remain so. We will make use of it in good time, but let us not be deprived of its possession. It has also been argued that if there are duplicates of a thing, if there are two images of a deity or two coins, why should one of them be not allowed to be taken away. This argument is the argument of a robber against his victim, of the strong against the weak. Will England or America listen to an argument like this, and on the strength of it part with its priceless treasures? Is there not enough room in the far-flung provinces of this vast country for duplicates or triplicates to be kept? And are there real exact duplicates of any antiquity, except coins?

Mr. Sarda made it quite clear that he was "in no way against any excavation made in a proper and scientific manner."

I will allow, even welcome, foreigners imbued with a desire to know things—not exploiters and wolves in the shape of lambs—to come and help us in research work and make full use as freely as we ourselves can do, of all finds. But I will oppose, with all the strength there is in me, the removal out of India of any of the finds whatsoever.

In their joint minute of dissent Messrs. Amarnath Dutt and Harbilas Sarda have pointed out many defects and undesirable provisions of the Bill, some of which are noted below.

2. In the first place we draw attention to the fact that the Indian Legislature, being a subordinate and not a sovereign Legislature, cannot extinguish private rights of property. So far as we understand the legal position, property rights in subterranean antiquities are on no different footing from those in subterranean commercial articles, for example, minerals; at any rate this is the position in some provinces, e. g., Bengal. The notes on the clauses state that clause 3 purports to vest all rights in antiquities found in "protected" areas in Government, so that any person, including the original owner, removing them would be guilty of theft. In our opinion this is a case where the Indian Legislature purports to extinguish rights of private property as recognized by the law of the country so far. We fear the Bill is *ultra vires* in this sense.

They pass on to mention certain highly important matters in relation to which there

are not but ought to be *statutory* provision in the Act itself and not by rules thereunder.

(2) We think a formal statutory provision should be inserted providing for compensation to all those whose property rights are expropriated or to whom loss, damage or inconvenience is caused.

(ii) Statutory provision should be made for the following and similar matters :

(a) The excavation of places, *e.g.*, stupas, the sites of tombs or *chhatris*, stone monuments to heroes erected on or near the spot where they died, the sites marking the birthplace of India's famous men, should not be allowed to be excavated by any foreign or non-Government agency, except where the applicant for the licence to excavate belongs to the community concerned and is domiciled in India.

(b) Remains of religious or historical personages and relics, antiquities or other objects connected or associated with their lives should on no account be allowed to be removed from India.

(iii) Our most fundamental objection is to the non-insertion of a clause declaring that valuable antiquities shall be and remain the property of the nation and shall not under any circumstances be allowed to be removed out of the country. The removal of many Indian antiquities and relics has already done incalculable and irreparable damage, with the result that for a serious study of India's ancient history one has to rely to a very large extent on collections abroad. These priceless treasures cannot now be got back. The question we have put to ourselves is, whether the Bill as amended will help to stop the removal from India of such additional antiquarian treasures as may be discovered by licensed excavators from abroad. We are satisfied that the Bill should, but does not provide reasonable safeguards against such further damage. Not only does it purport to legalize a serious invasion of private property rights but is a menace against the entire Indian nation's rights of property in India's antiquities. Its real object is to facilitate and legalize the removal of irreplaceable antiquities.

After pointing out in detail that real duplicates of antiquities, except coins, are extremely rare, Messrs. Dutt and Sarda observe :

A country of the size of India, where numerous museums are already in existence and many more are springing up—*e.g.*, the valuable collections of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras—has an almost inexhaustible capacity for absorbing even genuine duplicates. There is no reason why even when a genuine duplicate is available it should be allowed to go abroad rather than be made over to a public museum somewhere in the country. Students of history and archæology already find themselves handicapped by the fact that archæological material is not easily available locally or within a reasonable distance.

We take the strongest possible exception to the view that Indian antiquities should be treated as semi-commercial wares, some of which can be sold or given away in exchange for financial or other assistance in carrying on exploration work. If foreign students of Indian archæology, whether individuals or bodies, are not prepared to assist

India for the mere love of their work and its cultural value to humanity, but insist upon immediate and tangible recompense in the form of share in the finds, India should, in the interests of the present and future generations, decline the offer with thanks.

Pandit Krishna Kamal Bhattacharyya

Pandit Krishna Kamal Bhattacharyya passed away last month at the advanced age of ninety-five. For the last two decades he had been passing a retired life. He was a great scholar, familiar with the learning of the East and the West alike. A pupil of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, a class-fellow of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, a colleague in the Ripon College (of which he was principal) of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, a teacher of Sir Guroo Das Banerji, he was a conspicuous landmark of the older generation. With his death, perhaps, has passed away the last of the distinguished scholars who were his contemporaries.

Economic Reservations for Nationals

The Mussalman writes with justice :

The representatives of a certain class of vested interests in Indian always raise a hue and cry whenever there is a proposal of giving the Indians as such any special facilities in the trade and commerce of India. Such discrimination is at once attempted to be shown as most unfair and unjust and subversive of freedom in the field of trade and commerce. To those who think or speak like this the newly promulgated law in Turkey by which certain trades and professions are henceforth to be reserved for the nationals only should be an eye-opener. A discrimination in favour of the nationals (*e.g.*, the reservation of India's coastal shipping for Indians only) cannot therefore be a sin in India if such pro-national discrimination is not a sin in other countries.

What is done in Persia with regard to imports and exports is in pursuit of a similar principle of guarding the interests of the home land. Mr. K. N. Chatterji, in giving an account of his travels in Persia, writes in the *Bhadra* number of *Prabasi* :

"Recently the rule has been promulgated in Persia that, if any goods have to be imported from a foreign country, Persian goods of equal value have first to be exported and the licence for importation is to be obtained by producing the certificate proving such export. Among imports sugar, tea and tobacco are State monopolies; on other imports high customs duties are levied. Needless to say, owing to such arrangements import trade is on the point of disappearing." (*Translation*).

In connection with coastal shipping, it may be noted that Sir Archibald Hurd has observed in the course of a newspaper article that "the coasting trade of a country has always been regarded as a domestic trade in which foreign ships cannot engage of right, but to which they may be admitted as an act of grace." Of course, like the Sermon on the Mount and like all correct political and economic principles, the principle enunciated by Sir Archibald Hurd is not applicable east of the Suez.

The Bengal Municipal Bill

Some two thousand amendments to the Bengal Municipal Bill had been tabled. Most of them have been disposed of. When the Bill is passed, it will be possible to compute the total loss and gain to democracy. Most probably there will be much more on the debit than on the credit side, as the pro-bureaucratic forces have been intent on making hay while the anti-Nationalist sun shines.

Interpellations in the Bengal Council

The Hon'ble official members of the Bengal Legislative Council have been trying to cultivate the art of being deaf and dumb to perfection. Their replies often make those thirsty for information still more thirsty. And if their thirst makes them inconveniently inquisitive, why then the Hon'ble members "have nothing more to say or add," or remain completely silent. Mahatma Gandhi has a weekly day of silence which is known to all. But the official members may have their minutes of silence all of a sudden any day during the legislative session when questions are asked.

In spite of interpellations and numerous supplementary questions, the real causes of the death of Anil Kumar Das in jail are still shrouded in as much mystery as ever, though Dame Rumour claims to have definite information on the subject. The official members will not say how much allowance different detenus and their families are given. So the public cannot judge whether the frequent complaints in the papers regarding their inadequacy are well-founded or not. Regarding

the treatment received by political prisoners and detenus in jail, the official answers are inadequate and unconvincing. The number of such persons who become insane or contract serious and sometimes fatal diseases, is alarming. The dietary, sanitary and hospital arrangements in special jails and detention camps are unworthy of any civilized jail administration.

A Third Round Table Conference?

Most probably there will be a third (so-called) Round Table Conference with a much diminished number of so-called delegates in November. The first two conferences did not yield results satisfactory to the bulk of politically-minded Indians, who are active Congressmen or in sympathy with Congress views. So a third Conference would be no consolation to them—particularly as Government will reduce the number of the "delegates" (who are their nominees) without consulting Indian public opinion. So those who want the substance of self-rule cannot attach much importance to it. We do not make a fetish of the Round Table Conference *method*, whatever it may exactly be. The method or manner of obtaining or framing a constitution is undoubtedly important. If the elected representatives of our people framed it, it would certainly have a value. And even with Government-nominated "delegates," something might have been gained if the nominations had been made on the basis of the population, educational progress, etc., of the different communities and sections. But that was not done. The procedure also was not always what it ought to have been. Under the circumstances we do not expect any appreciable good to come out of the third conference.

The method is important, as we have said. But the matter is more important than the manner. We want to know *what* India is going to get more than *how* she is going to get it.

50 Per cent Ad Valorem Duty on Cotton Goods

A *Gazette of India* Extraordinary, issued on August 30, publishes the Government of

India's resolution on the Tariff Board recommendations for additional protection for the cotton industry. A notification states :—

"In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (5) of section 3 of the Indian Tariff Act of 1894 (VIII of 1894) the Governor-General in Council, having considered the report of the Indian Tariff Board presented in pursuance of the resolution of the Government of India in the Commerce Department No. 311T (161) dated the 25th July, 1932, is pleased to increase the duty chargeable under Part VII of the second schedule to the said Act on the articles specified in the annexed table to the extent set forth therein and is further pleased to direct that the increased rates shall remain in force until the 31st March, 1933."

The articles chargeable are :

Cotton piecegoods (other than fents of not more than nine yards in length.)

(A) plain grey that is not bleached or dyed in the piece if imported in pieces which either are without woven headings or contain any length of more than nine yards, which is not divided by transverse woven headings, not of British manufacture—present rate of duty chargeable under the Indian Tariff Act being 20 per cent *ad valorem* or 3-1Y2 annas per pound, whichever is higher; increased rate of duty 5 per cent *ad valorem* or 5½ annas per pound, whichever is higher.

(B) Others, not of British manufacture, 20 per cent *ad valorem* increased to 50 per cent *ad valorem*.

Another notification exempts the additional duty from surcharge. The increased duty takes immediate effect and will be in force till the 31st March, 1933.

In their resolution on this subject, the Government say they are satisfied that the present depression in the Indian cotton piecegoods market is due to the competition with Japanese imports, which gain from the advantage of a depreciated monetary value of the yen. Since, however, it is not possible to subject Japanese piecegoods alone to increased customs taxation, as a measure of protection to the Indian industry, without infringing on the Indo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1904, Government have levied a 50 p. c. customs duty on all imported non-British cotton piecegoods of specifications mentioned above.

This increased customs duty on non-British cotton piecegoods may become the thin end of Imperial preference.

That the Indian cotton mills are not able to stand Japanese competition may be now partly due to the depreciation of the yen. But even before the yen had depreciated, Indian mills could not compete with Japanese mills, though Japan had to import all her raw cotton. So Indian mill-owners ought also

to make immediate efforts to improve their methods and machinery of production and their marketing organization. They ought also to take every possible step to increase the efficiency of their workers.

A Tariff Board Notice

On the 30th of August we received by post a copy of the Report of the Indian Tariff Board regarding the grant of additional protection to the cotton textile industry. The following notice was attached to its cover :

This (Report on Cotton Textile Industry) will be released for reproduction in this country in the morning papers of 2-9-32. The advance copies are issued on the distinct understanding that no part of the report etc., and no comments on or reference to the subject matter of the Report, etc., shall be published either in the *dak* or city editions before that date.

Since the Government resolution on this Report has been published on the 30th August, we do not see any valid reason for forbidding the publication of the Report itself or any comments on or reference to its subject matter before the 2nd September.

A Comment on Tagore's Messages

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

It is now ten days since the announcement of the Communal Award of the British Government. Hindu feeling all over the country was outraged—we cannot express the feeling by any other word, by what appeared to be a deliberate slight on the community. Great credit is due to Hindu leaders who have fairly succeeded in steadying opinion by the exercise of much tact. How serious the position was is shown by the fact that the Poet Tagore, who has never before in our recollection appeared in public as a communal adviser, felt obliged on this occasion to issue two messages on two successive days reminding his co-religionists of the broader issues at stake compared to which the communal issue is a minor one. He also told Hindus that they are themselves largely responsible for the plight in which they find themselves owing to their failure to redress the inequalities and injustices of their social system. It is characteristic of India and proof of the essentially non-political temperament of the Indian that the most potent voice at present in Hindu as well as Muslim politics is that of a poet. The difference between Sir Muhammad Iqbal and Rabindranath Tagore is the difference between the Koran and the Upanishads.

Separation of Sind

Sir Pheroze Sethna and some other R. T. C. "delegates" have stated publicly that

they were definitely given to understand that Sind would be separated from Bombay only if she could pay the entire cost of a separate administration, otherwise she must remain a part of the Bombay Presidency. Two successive official committees have found that a separate province of Sind would have an annual deficit ranging from 130 lakhs to 80 lakhs of rupees. So, it ought to have been immediately decided that Sind was not to be a separate province. But the British Government have got such a communal bias that, in spite of the conclusions of two official committees, they have given in their communal decision separate figures of the communal distribution of seats for Sind, as if the question of the separation of Sind could any longer with any decency be treated as an open one! That it has been still kept open shows that the British Government feel compelled to make a desperate bid for communalist Muslim support for the constitution they propose to give our unfortunate country.

When such is the pro-Sind-separation bias, it is useless to refer repeatedly to other than financial arguments against the separation of Sind. But a passing reference to the principle of linguistic redistribution of provinces may be allowable. According to that principle, the whole question should be considered by an all-India Boundaries Commission. But, if piecemeal redistribution is to be made, the most urgent case is that of the Oriyas. It would be scandalous if Sind were separated even partly on linguistic grounds before all the Oriya-speaking tracts have been included in one province.

Financial Justice to Bengal

In the Bengal Council even the Government members have openly supported the plea for financial justice to Bengal, strongly criticizing the present unjust arrangements. But perhaps Imperial reasons will stand in the way of justice to Bengal. For Imperial reasons, a big subvention has been given to the Frontier Province, and another deficit province—Sind—may have to be given a big annual subsidy. And who is to find most of the money if not Bengal?

Dr. Moonje's Statement

Some Bombay papers have criticized that portion of Dr. Moonje's statement on constitutional problems which relates to the limit of time during which India should have full control over Defence, Foreign Relations and Finance. We quote below the exact passage to show what Dr. Moonje has suggested.

2. that though the principle of certain reservations during a period of transition is accepted by all, people do not like that the period of transition be left indefinite and unlimited. This condition therefore be amplified as follows :

(a) that the period of transition for the full and complete transference of control of Defence and Foreign Relations should not be more than 30 years. In this connection it should be noted, as I have said more in detail in my notes of Dissent on the Report of the Indian Military College Committee, that the Committee of Military Experts of the late Lord Rawlinson, sometime Commander-in-Chief of India who was its chairman, had submitted to the then Govt. of India a scheme of complete Indianization of the Indian Army in 30 years. Thus no higher authority can be conceived for limiting the period of transition to not more than 30 years.

(b) that the period of transition for the full and complete transference of power in respect of Finance should not be of more than 15 years.



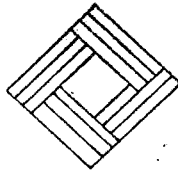


ON TEMPLE STEPS IN BALI
By D. K. Dev-Varman

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ASIA'S RESPONSE TO THE CALL OF THE NEW AGE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

MAN the Great appears in the drama of human history from age to age choosing different lands of birth. For many centuries man's creative manifestation had the continent of Asia for its stage, revealing a manifold wealth of civilization. Today the luminous expression of the human personality is in the great continents of the West. Often we try to dwarf its reputation by labelling it as materialistic; but no race can build the heights of greatness on the quicksands of unspirituality. The pure materialist is a pure barbarian drifting in a fortuitous world of chance and circumstance which holds no abiding principles and can yield no permanent foundation. Scientific truths can be won only by those who can give full value to them in ardent faith. This faith is spiritual, this power of unflinching devotion to truth. The Western nations have conquered truth by spiritual endeavour that frees our mind from all intellectual delusions and it is this power which sustains their triumphant position in the world today.

With the diminishing vigour of our physical body its expressions grow more and more mechanical. With the choking up of the channels of her living efforts and aspiration the creative life of Asia languished, dead custom invaded her daily existence, religion and art hardened into unchanging tradition that checked all freedom of thought. This

lack of confidence in reason and right relationship with the world of reality is materialistic; it is this which reduces man to slavery and destitution.

On the other hand, the signs of imminent danger which appear today in the Western civilization are due to the same reason. Scientific intelligence and power have made it masterful, rich in certain gifts of truth. But when the relationship between man and truth is contaminated then truth itself comes round and takes revenge. Europe has made science the vehicle of her greed and has hurt the very spirit of science which is disinterested and high above all clamour of profit-hunting. When excess of passion in any form becomes the principal motive power in man's nature then he is wire-pulled by it like a mechanical doll and is powerless to check his blind movements even when urged by reason. Such uncontrollable convulsive spasms of greed or of anger, of jealousy or of suspicion are truly materialistic, however intelligent may be their method and means. The reason of this degradation is not in the use of machinery itself, it lies in spiritual lacunae, in emergence of primitive barbarism in some civilized form. When a free lunatic hurts himself, then it is not the external freedom which is the cause of his hurt but lunacy itself, and if he is a skilful one his danger is all the more fatal.

When I was young, I read with deep pleasure the literature of the West; and my acquaintance with the mind that has the intellectual honesty revealed by the West in her science moved me to profound veneration for its great exponents. Today through this world-wide pursuit of truth in science and other high forms of culture the Eternal Man finds its manifestation. It was to know this great humanity, the ever-awake spirit of Man that one day I took leave of my home for a far away pilgrimage to Europe in the year 1912.

That journey I consider to be auspicious. Because we are Asiatics, a protest against Europe seems to run in our blood. Since the time that its pirates of land and sea have gone out to exploit the weaker continents, from the 17th century onward, the European races have irretrievably damaged their own reputation in the East. But coming to Europe I first discovered that the simple humanity of the peoples and the organized humanity of nations do not belong to the same category. Just as the natural body and the heavily armoured body are different in their attitude and manner; the former expressing the character of life, the latter imitating the machine. I found that there is no difficulty in accepting the natural man as one's own. The humanity that is expressed in him is attractive, is worthy of respect. I loved him, I hailed him in regard and our feelings were reciprocal. It is rare good fortune to be able to know the Eternal Man amongst unknown humanity in a foreign country.

But for that very reason my mind was troubled. It was obvious to me that the peoples' character in the West is being constantly moulded by their passionate political preoccupation and a furious competition of diplomacy with their neighbours; and not only mechanization in their economic world but also in their own inner nature is growing fast. The sole fulfilment of a machine is in achievement of result which in its pursuit of success despises moral compunctions as foolishly out of place. This aspect of the West, darkly designing, is constantly turned towards Asia callously revealing to us its materialism, its tendencies that are mainly for exploitation of victims.

I remember, recently in Iraq a man of eminent position asked me, "What do you think of the English?" I said, "The best of them are among the best in humanity." He smilingly asked, "What about the next best?" I remained silent. There was a danger of intemperate language if I had tried to answer just then. In Asia the greater part of our business is with this next best. They are large in number, their influence is wide, the memory of their dealings with us lies deep in the minds of multitudes of our people. Their human dealings are not for us and gradually even for their own people they are growing rarer.

I came back home. Soon afterward began the Great War in Europe. Then it was found that the Western people were using science for devastation of the human world. The conflagration set by it has died down, but the embers are still glowing in fierceness. Never in the history of humanity has there been such an appalling orgy of evil. It is this which I call materialism, which gives rise to a moral inertia, that paralyses our will and intelligence even when we are aware of the fatal danger that threatens us.

In the meantime life in Asia has become restless and self-assertive. The reason is, in spite of the unrelenting pressure of Europe she has completely lost her true hold upon Asia's mind. Once even when being exploited and beaten Asia acknowledged Europe as in every way superior to herself. Today from one end to the other of Asia there is no longer any feeling of respect for Europe, and even fear in their mutual dealings is fast losing its force. It is impossible for Asia today to lower her prestige before Europe, because, of the latter's prestige nothing remains but military browbeating. Everywhere with a slight smile she is asking, "But what of these who are the next best?"

Today we are born at the end of an epoch in the history of humanity. Perhaps in the drama of Europe the scene is being changed for the fifth act of the play. Signs of an awakening in Asia have slowly spread from one end of the horizon to the other. This glow of a new dawn above the eastern mountain ranges of humanity is indeed a great vision—it is a vision of freedom. Freedom, not only from external bondages, but

from those of slumberous inaction and disbelief in one's inner power.

What I say is that if Asia is not fully awakened then there is no deliverance for Europe as well. The fatal arrow for Europe lies in the weakness of Asia. The heavy load of suspicion, hostility and hatred, of untruthful diplomacy and spying which Europe carries on her back is due to her grabbing for pieces and portions of the weak Asiatic continent. Rapidly grows the weight of her war armaments; having spread her marts of business far and wide, today at last in an unfathomable sea of wealth, her penury becomes evident.

Once I went out to eastern Asia to welcome there the birth of the new spirit of humanity. Then in the easternmost sky of Asia was fluttering the triumphant banner of Japan, encouraging new hope in the heart of Asia. I experienced joy, yet my mind was deeply disturbed. I realized that though Japan by mastering European science had found her national safety she at the same time had introduced for her future an element of grave danger that is sure to demoralize her international relationship. In Japan's blood has entered the poison of imperialism from the West; and her neighbours are wrought to a state of agonized apprehension. In history the favourable wind does not always blow in one direction. That day is certain to come when the debts due to the weak will have to be paid up to the last penny. Japan in her relation to others has not learnt the art of civilization, which heals and unites, she has trained her hands under Europe in the science that inflicts wounds with efficiency. This fatal cleverness will not spare the hand that wields it when the time comes at last.

The calamity to which I refer is tragic not merely because of its political consequences but for its cruel destruction of human possibilities. If the new age has indeed come to Asia then let Asia give voice to it in her own special idiom of civilization. If instead of that she imitates the roar of Europe, even if it be a lion's roar, yet it will sound pitifully unreal.

However, it cannot be ignored that the East is growing restlessly conscious of her own destiny which she is determined to save

from Western encroachment. Just when Turkey was about to collapse there appeared Kemal Pasha. It was a fateful moment. The patched up parts of the Turkish Empire had been rent asunder by the impact of the world war, but this had indeed been a blessing in disguise. Under the guidance of a masterful personality it now became possible to establish securely, on a normal basis and in an efficient modern manner the compact and reduced empire within narrower boundaries. The word "Empire" means an unnatural expansion of girth gained by tying together with ropes and strings bodies which are not vitally related to each other. When in evil days these bonds get loosened, it becomes difficult indeed to save the units of this unnatural congregation from mutual buffetings. Turkey freed from the burden of bigness became really integrated. England had then planned her downfall by letting loose Greece upon her territory. On the political platform of England sat Lloyd George and Churchill in close conspiracy. In 1921 the European Allies met in conference in England. The proposal that was then made by Bakir Sami, the Turkish representative of Angora, was a willingness to curtail a great part of Turkey's political claims. But Greece doggedly stuck to her own ambitious plans down to the last limit, England supporting her from behind.

In this time of trouble Turkey made alliance with France. With Persia and Afghanistan too she had a good understanding. In the second part of her treaty with Afghanistan we find:

"The contracting parties recognize the emancipation of the nations of the East and confirm the fact of their unrestricted freedom, their right to be independent and to govern themselves in whatever manner they themselves choose."

In the meantime continued the war between Greece and Turkey. Even now Angora repeatedly sent in vain proposals of peace to end bloodshed. At last all negotiations ended with the defeat of Greece. Under the dictatorship of Kemal Pasha was inaugurated a new era in the development of Turkish civilization with Angora as capital. This new Turkey accepted Europe's lessons in efficiency adjusting them to her own genius

of civilization. Kemal Pasha said that Turkey must break through the dark dungeon of unreason belonging to ages that are dead. The Turkish Minister of Justice said, "Mediaeval principles must give way to secular laws. We are creating a modern, civilized nation, and we desire to meet contemporary needs. We have the will to live, and nobody can prevent us."

When after his victory in the war Kemal Pasha entered the city of Smyrna he convened a big public meeting and addressing the women, said, "We have won undoubted victory in the war but that victory will be meaningless if you do not help us. Let the victory of education be yours, then you will be able to accomplish much more than we have done. Everything will be futile if you do not progress with steadfast mind and heart along the path of modern life. Everything will be futile if you do not accept the responsibility that has been placed upon you by scientific habits of living."

This fact has been acknowledged in eastern Asia by Japan and in Asia's westernmost corner by Turkey: that we must be strictly honest in our relationship with the material world and must organize our life upon a rational basis. This is true, but let us not forget that there are other aspects of the problem for us to consider. The sphere of Europe's success has long attracted our attention, but where Europe has failed is in the depths, at the very root, and so this has been kept hidden from us. That greed of Europe which forced opium down China's throat does not die with the death of China; its poison is everyday entering into the vitals of Europe's own life. The supreme method of self-preservation is to establish honest dealings with the human world and not merely with the world of matter. Europe has ignored this truth, thus making all her problems dangerously involved. Japan in her blind imitation of western aggressiveness, has forgotten this eternal principle, but the eternal laws of universe will not forget. History is a record of sudden surprises which have overwhelmed nations too sure of their inviolable superiority to moral laws.

It is good to know clearly how western Asia is responding to the call of this new age.

The time has not come yet for mature results on a big canvas of organized endeavour. Here and there signs and symptoms appear which do not compel attention, but the way of truth is to appear in the guise of the small. Asia has not yet swept off the clinging weeds of ancient habit which choke the currents of her national being but through various ferments in her social and economic life her psychology is being rapidly adjusted to a new order of civilization. All over Asia the cry has arisen that sectarian religion cannot be allowed to wreck the natural basis of community life, bringing dissensions where a common economic, social and historical background should preserve an inevitable continuity of co-operation. When during a farewell feast given to an Englishman of high official position in the Government of Palestine he said, "Palestine is a Muhammadan country, and its government should, therefore, be in the hands of the Muhammadans, on condition that the Jewish and Christian minorities are represented in it,"—then Mufti Haji-el-Husaini of Jerusalem answered, "For us it is an exclusively Arab, not a Muhammadan, question. During your sojourn in this country you have doubtless observed that here there are no distinctions between Muhammadan and Christian Arabs. We regard the Christians not as a minority, but as Arabs." I know that unfortunately this catholicity of mind all people, rather, most people, do not possess, but it is a great event that these creative ideas are raising everywhere in Asia their banners of rebellious life.

Observe what is happening in another unknown corner. In Russian Turkestan the Soviet Government in a very short time has imparted new life to the desert-dwelling tribes of Asia. The reason for this rapid success is that at least on the part of the Government there is no obstacle of greed which would deliberately create factions amongst the masses in order to rifle their resources for unholy profiteering. The people have full scope to develop their native gifts and gain inspiration from the modern age. Small nations, disunited and scattered all over this desert area, have each been given the right to establish their own republican government. Moreover, arrangements for spreading

education amongst them are rich and various. I have said before in separate context that in the vast empire of the Soviets comprising a large number of nations and races there is nowhere today any fight or discord between the different communities. During the imperialistic government of the Czar this was a matter of daily occurrence. The mental health which makes it possible to maintain the purity of human relationships is a product of education matured in an atmosphere of freedom. Through the benefits of both education and freedom Asia's humanity today is striving to rescue itself from self-humiliation and the tyranny of circumstance. However intense may the pain and suffering of this initial stage of our struggle for freedom nothing can be more glorious than this effort, than this unstinted self-sacrifice for the achievement of human dignity. Through Asia's freedom the freedom of the whole

world will be made safe. Let us not forget that imperialistic Europe today is herself entangled in the bondage which she has imposed upon alien peoples who are dragging her down with their weight of wretchedness.

When, in 1912, I went to Europe an English poet asked me, "What is it that has specially brought you to this country?" I said, "I have come to know the humanity of Europe." The lamp of mind has been lighted in Europe as well as the lamp of life, therefore man is not obscured there, his self-revelation is ceaseless and spontaneous. The other day in Persia also I was asked the same question. I said, "I have come to Persia to know the true Persian." I could never hope to see him if in that country humanity had lain hidden in intellectual obscurity. I knew that the lamp is already lit. Therefore, when the call came from Persia I felt eagerly ready to start on my pilgrimage.

ASIA IN REVOLUTION

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE whole of Asia has either passed or is still passing through the throes of a vast revolution. Nothing, perhaps, has happened like it, on such a universal scale, in all human history before. For this revolution has compassed more than one half the human race, and its repercussions are still being felt all over the rest of the world. The economic depression in Europe and America has had an intimate relation to these events which are happening in India and the Far East. For the world has suddenly shrunk in size, owing to the rapidity of modern communication, and the economic crisis in one hemisphere is felt acutely in the other hemisphere in turn. The whole earth has become one in a physical and geographical sense. We are, everyday, conscious of it.

This revolt of Asia has sometimes been called the 'Rise of Nationalism'. That is

only, however, a superficial aspect of it,—a symptom rather than a root cause. Two things go deeper still: (i) There has been an almost entire reaction in Asia against European domination; (ii) there has also been the uprising at last of the down-trodden peasantry of agricultural Asia against age-long tyranny and oppression.

Not merely in Russia and Siberia, in the North, has there been a peasants' revolt, including a forfeiture of land, but in China today it is estimated that at least one hundred million Chinese peasants have thrown off the yoke of centuries and organized themselves into incipient Soviet Republics. In India, also, while things have not gone so far as open violence, and though even today the misery of the peasant remains almost unrelieved, there has been a moral awakening and a fearless courage which both point forward to an epoch-making

change of attitude among the poor in the future. The Indian peasant will no longer be beaten down into an abject surrender. He is learning to assert himself and to combine in doing so, as he has never had the chance of doing before.

In the Near East of Persia, Iraq and Turkey, as well as in the Far East of Japan, the revolt has not yet reached the peasants in such a mass form as elsewhere. But there are clear signs that there also the awakening has already begun and cannot be much longer delayed.

Before I go on to explain what is happening in India, let me speak for a moment about China. It is suffering as no nation has suffered or could suffer; for its numbers are incredibly great. It is estimated that two million people, in all, perished and sixty million lost everything they had in the world, save bare life itself, owing to the floods of the Yangtse-Kiang and Yellow Rivers and their tributaries. Again, in the present year, it seemed almost impossible to build up anew the dykes before the next flood came down. Only by the barest margin of time was this accomplished. Owing to their untold miseries, whole provinces have cast off the central rule of the Nanking Government, and as, I have just related, they are now in revolt. They have joined the Soviet Republics in a mass revolution, born of despair and misery.

In India, there has happened an all-important event, which has distinguished that country from all others. The revolt against Europe, on behalf of the peasants, has been carried on without bloodshed under the leadership of one of the saintliest figures known in human history, Mahatma Gandhi. He has been the one prophet and inspirer, who has roused the Indian masses as they have never been stirred before. And in doing so, he has successfully tried to keep the revolutionary movement entirely peaceful at the very time that it is attempting to throw off the yoke and become free. Thus, India has stood before the world, in sheer moral strength, as no other country has ever done before seeking to win her freedom, not by the sword, but by suffering. Even though the ideal has been blurred and marred by

internal conflict, its universal appeal to non-violence by means of tens of thousands, both men and women, suffering joyfully imprisonment, has had such a response throughout the whole of India, that it may well be regarded as in the end invincible. It has also stirred the conscience of the whole world.

Among the peasant risings in India, one of the most remarkable has been that in the Bardoli district of Gujerat in Western India. Under the heroic leadership of Sardar Vallabhai Patel the excessive land tax was resisted by corporate action and a settlement at last was reached in the peasants' favour. This was probably the first time for many centuries that such a complete victory for the peasants had happened in village India; and the villagers in every other province took note of the fact and realized at last their power of collective action. Nearly a year ago, the peasants in the United Provinces were able to obtain a very large remission of the land tax in a similar manner. It is true, that the Congress leadership, which had been their main support hitherto both in organization and self-defence, has been taken from them for a time; but they have learnt the power of resistance by peaceful means, and they are not likely to follow China and Russia by resorting to violent methods. For in India, as I have said, this moral appeal of non-violence, which we call *Ahimsa*, is remarkably strong. It goes back to Buddhist and even to pre-Buddhist times and it gives strength and beauty and light to troubled India today, as it stands out before all the world with its vast sorrows and tragic disappointments.

The responsibility, which Great Britain insists on taking for Indian affairs, against the will of the majority of the Indian people, is indeed tremendous. For India is thousands of miles away from Great Britain and her civilization is different. Great Britain is still holding to the appeal of conquest in a post-war age when such appeals have lost all their logical meaning among civilized men and women. Yet many in Great Britain are arrogant enough to say, that they alone can rule over India, though they have never seen it or known it.

Now at this moment, owing to this clash

of forces and ideas, there has come a terrible deadlock. Emergency ordinances of such a drastic nature have been decreed by the Viceroy to have the force of law, that in every province something equivalent to martial law prevails. In a free country, like Great Britain, it is impossible to conceive of such a state of things as this. Private houses can be entered without warrant and private persons can be arrested in the same manner. Trials can be conducted in secret and political offences of the lightest character which are matters of conscience, can receive sentences severer even than crimes of a violent and brutal nature. Young people, idealists and patriots, men and women, are arrested and imprisoned in this manner.

Those who are then imprisoned, feel (just as you or I should feel in similar circumstances) that they are suffering for their country. Therefore, the movement of resistance has become for more deeply rooted than it was a year ago. The passion for nationalism has been driven inward and this has made its intensity far greater than it was before.

That is the situation in India today, as far as I have been able to outline it in the few moments at my disposal. The National Congress, with all its failures and shortcomings, is still the heart and soul, the care and centre, of the whole national movement. The question of all questions for us in Great Britain is this: Have we, or have we not, the will to peace? Are we going to begin again the war mentality? Is the British Government determined to kill the national movement embodied in the Congress, or is it ready to make peace with it?

Personally, I have no question at all in the matter. As a Christian, I am bound to hold out for peace, where peace is offered.

Let me explain what things are certain to happen, if the ordinances are continued for another six months, beyond their original six months' period of emergency.

(1) Those, who are now called Moderates and Liberals, will be driven into opposition.

(2) The police, when used in this punitive way, will get out of control.

(3) Trade with Great Britain will suffer worse than ever. The people themselves will refuse to buy anything British.

(4) The extreme revolutionary forces, which believe in violence rather than non-violence, will get more and more in the ascendant.

(5) The British Government will be driven more and more to fall back upon the Muslim communal section and the landlords and the princes. This will mean cleaving India in twain from top to bottom.

There then is the picture, as far as I can see it in perspective and the times are very dark indeed. What makes it all the darker still is the fact that over here in Great Britain there has been (owing to many causes) an utter breakdown in the belief in Mahatma Gandhi's trustworthiness. There has been an extraordinary spread of that wrong idea throughout the world and I am afraid there has been Press propaganda to carry this out in practice. The influence of the Press in these days of panic in Europe is inconceivably great, and there are large financial interests in the background ready to seize the occasion. Such an occasion came at Rome, and the false interview which was sent all over the world from that centre did incalculable harm. Anyone who knew Mahatma Gandhi could judge its falsity in a moment. But the harm had already been done. Mahatma Gandhi,—the one man who never told a lie—was made out by this Italian interview to be acting treacherously. It was a cruel stab in the back, because it was done after he had embarked; and so the false interview in this manner gained a whole two days' start. When it was contradicted by Mahatma Gandhi himself at last, it had already gained credence in every land. From that moment, things went from bad to worse, and today, while he is suffering in prison, there are thousands deriding and mocking him. That which always happens with a good man is happening today with him. For it is the fate of pure goodness to be tried in the furnace of affliction until the gold is seven times purified by fire.

Therefore, for him, we may hope and pray, that out of this evil, good may come. But for ourselves, we must be up and doing, here in Great Britain, lest the share in a cruel wrong that is being done, not only to Mahatma Gandhi and his followers, but to

the whole national movement of India, may through our negligence rest at last upon ourselves. We must see to it, that we do not share that guilt.

Substance of an address delivered to an audience of University men and women at Cambridge, as summarized by the speaker himself.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

IT is inspiring to see, standing at the head of one of the most prominent periodicals of India, the following words of Garrison :

"I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

This historic utterance of the great American liberator may well be taken as a motto by the people of India in their great and just struggle for national freedom.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in 1804 in Massachusetts, a State (in the northern part of the American Union) which had already abolished slavery. Before he was twenty years old, he had entered upon his anti-slavery work, which covered more than forty years—until, indeed, the need for it ceased with the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln in 1863.

Never did soldier set out upon a campaign that appeared more hopeless than seemed the anti-slavery cause in America when Garrison enlisted in it. Never were invincible courage, unyielding perseverance, tireless toil, more splendidly successful at last.

In almost every aspect, Garrison's career is worthy of study by all who battle for human freedom and human progress the world over.

I

His parents were poor and throughout his youth he experienced many hardships. At ten, he was apprenticed to a shoe-maker. Not liking this kind of work, three years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. But this

also failed to engage his interest, and when he was about eighteen he secured employment in a printing office. This work proved more congenial. Though his education was very limited, he had, by diligence and economy of his time, contrived to read many of the best books, and had made himself familiar with the outstanding characters and events of history.

He soon began to contribute articles of his own to the paper whose type he was setting, without, however, disclosing their authorship; but these met with such public favour as to suggest that his life-work had been found at last.

Garrison had somewhat brief connections with several different papers, first as contributor and later as editor. His real anti-slavery work began, however, with his going to Baltimore, one of the large cities of the South, as assistant editor of a paper published by Benjamin Lundy, a writer and lecturer who had for years laboured with great energy and devotion to influence public sentiment. The title of this paper was *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

In this new field Garrison, whose life until then had been spent in the non-slaveholding North, was at once brought into close personal contact with the slavery of the South in many of its most revolting aspects. The inter-State slave trade, of which Baltimore was an important centre, particularly shocked him, and an incident in connection with this called out his sternest rebuke. The captain of a vessel (which, Garrison was appalled to learn, was owned by a Massachusetts man) took a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New

Orleans—a city still further South and a great slave market. This was a common occurrence in the traffic between these two cities, but it was the first time that Garrison had witnessed such a thing and it burned itself into his consciousness. His subsequent editorial denunciation was so severe, that both a criminal and a civil suit were brought against him. Tried in a pro-slavery city by a pro-slavery judge and jury, conviction was a foregone conclusion. He was fined, also sentenced to imprisonment. But that a man should be condemned and punished for merely expressing an opinion, for simply speaking on behalf of freedom and against oppression, aroused widespread feeling and protest throughout the country, and considerable sympathy for Garrison was expressed. He went to prison, but remained there only forty-nine days, a wealthy New York merchant and philanthropist volunteering to pay the fine.

This experience confirmed Garrison in his determination to give his life, with every energy of body and mind, to the work of wiping the stain of slavery from every State in the Union. One of his biographers writes :

"This young Knight of Freedom, in all the fervour of ingenuous youth, with his Bible open before him, solemnly consecrated himself to the task of delivering the slaves from their bondage and his country from her greatest crime and curse. And the consciousness of a purpose so high, undertaken in humble dependence upon God, and from an intense sympathy with an oppressed and outlawed race, gave him something of the majesty of a prophet, which men of kindred spirit were quick to discern and could never forget."

Even from his cell in the Baltimore jail, he sent a letter arraigning both the arbitrary conduct of the Court, and the Law as well.

"Is it," he asked, "supposed by Judge Brice" [the judge who sentenced him] "that his frowns can intimidate me or his sentence stifle my voice on the subject of oppression? He does not know me. So long as good Providence gives me strength and intellect, I will not cease to declare that the existence of slavery in this country is a foul reproach to the American name; nor will I hesitate to proclaim the guilt of kidnappers, slavery-abettors and slave-owners wherever they may reside or however high they may be exalted. I am only in the alphabet of my task. Time shall perfect a useful work. It is my shame that I have done so little for the people of colour; yea, before God I feel humbled that my feelings are so cold and my language so weak. A free white victim must be sacrificed to open the eyes of the nation and to show the tyranny of our laws. I expect, and am willing, to be persecuted, imprisoned, and

bound, for advocating the rights of my coloured countrymen; and I should deserve to be a slave myself if I shrank from that danger."

This was the spirit in which William Lloyd Garrison began his forty years of toil in the anti-slavery cause. This was the spirit of that whole devoted band of anti-slavery men and women who, as the years went on, gathered to his support. Such a spirit, with right and justice on its side, could not fail to triumph in the end, even though all of earth and hell were opposed.

II

Surprise has sometimes been expressed that so late as the middle of the nineteenth century, any civilized and enlightened people—as Americans claimed to be—should have sought to retain so iniquitous an institution as that of human slavery.

As a matter of fact, human bondage, slavery in some form, is as old as history and as widespread as the world itself. The culture of ancient Greece and Rome and other countries was based on the assumption that slavery was right and good. This, however, was not in harmony with the feeling and teaching of the very best and highest minds in the world even in ancient times. Certainly it was not in harmony with the teachings of Buddha in India or Jesus in Palestine. Buddha taught human brotherhood, which is utterly incompatible with slavery in any form or with holding any class of human beings in any kind of degradation. Jesus also taught human brotherhood. He said, "The Kingdom of Heaven is in all"; "the last shall be first"; "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty"; "the greatest among you is he who serves." But in the time of Garrison many Americans, calling themselves Christians, strangely forgot these teachings. They opposed and tried to silence the man who preached them.

Organized Christianity, as such, has not yet accomplished much toward the abolition of human bondage anywhere in the world, whether political bondage, social bondage, industrial bondage, or intellectual and spiritual bondage. The same is true of most other established religions. This is all wrong.

Religion ought to be a great liberator ; not an enslaver. It ought to be in sympathy with freedom, with enlightenment, with progress,—not a hinderer of the world's advance. The world must have better religions. Not only Christianity but every religion must be reformed and purified ; all must be purged of their tyrannical and oppressive teachings, their superstitions, their outgrown elements, their lifeless forms, their low conceptions of God and their imperfect morality.

One wonders that an institution so cruel and so evil as human slavery has been allowed to continue in the world so long. In its worst forms it seems to have persisted longer in Europe and America than among the leading nations of Asia. During what are known as the Middle Ages in Europe chattel-slavery passed into the modified form of serfdom, which persisted in France until the Revolution of 1789 ; in Germany, until well into the nineteenth century ; and in Russia until about 1860.

Negro slavery was introduced into America by the Spanish and Portuguese, the discoverers and first exploiters of the country, whose supreme desire was to obtain wealth. At first they compelled the native Americans (the "Red men") to work in the mines but they died in such great numbers under the hardships and cruelties inflicted on them by their European masters, that their employment proved neither practicable nor profitable. It was then that the hardier natives of Africa were imported and what is known as the slave-trade began—that is, the forcible capture and transportation of Africans to America—a terrible traffic in which England and other European countries joined and which continued down to and into the nineteenth century.

In practically all of the thirteen colonies which revolted against Great Britain in 1776 (and later formed the United States), slavery existed and was legally recognized. There was, however, even then some opposition to its spread, and George Washington, in his will, ordered the emancipation of all slaves who belonged to him. Nearly all the other revolutionary leaders—Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry—looked upon slavery as an

evil and desired its abolition. In the convention which drafted the Constitution for the new nation, the sentiment was strongly against it, and but for the opposition of two of the Southern States (South Carolina and Georgia) it would probably have been done away with at this time.

Gradually it was found in the Northern States, with their long, hard winters, that African labour was not profitable ; the negro thrived only in a warm climate. For this and other reasons, slavery was given up in these States. In the Southern States, however, it continued ; and even in the North there were individual men who continued to own slave-trading vessels on the sea, and shares in slave-worked plantations in the South.

III

Garrison did not remain long in Baltimore. He soon became convinced that a Northern rather than a Southern city was the proper place from which to carry on a successful propaganda against slavery. The mass of the people in the North were better educated and more intelligent than the majority in the South ; free discussion would find a better soil in the North where new ideas were more hospitably received ; at that time Boston was regarded as the literary centre of the country, whence new ideas could more readily be disseminated.

So Garrison determined at whatever hazard, to raise the standard of freedom in Boston, within sight of Bunker Hill, in the very birthplace of American liberty.

Here, without delay, he established a new paper called *The Liberator* beginning without a single subscriber. Says one of his early co-workers :

"For a year and a half he and his partner Isaac Knapp, were compelled by their poverty to sleep at night on the floor of their printing-office (which Harrison Gray Otis, then mayor of Boston, in a letter to the mayor of a Southern city, called 'an obscure hole') and to subsist on bread and milk, cakes and fruit, obtained from a neighbouring shop. Many times did I see Mr. Garrison and his partner busy at type-setting or in working off their paper on a hand-press, a negro boy their only visible auxiliary. But they never complained nor were they for a moment discouraged."

One of our poets* has described the situation in very graphic language :

"It is late in the evening.

In a dingy little attic room by the feeble light of a lamp a young workman of resolute and engaging countenance is setting up type for the first number of his journal.

An old-fashioned hand-press stands beside him ; the floor is bespattered with printer's ink.

The type is second-hand and worn ; the paper was bought on credit ; the rent is unpaid ; the youthful editor has neither money nor influence nor friends, nor as yet a single subscriber.

At his elbow his supper awaits him—a loaf of bread and a glass of milk, the only food he can afford to buy.

When he has finished his day's work he will sleep there on the floor in the corner.

The world outside is thinking of Presidents and Senates and Elections.

Lost on false trails, it recks not that in that humble chamber is being enacted much of the contemporary history of mankind.

It has still to learn that it must look in lowly mangers for the promise of the new day.

The young printer smiles confidently as he goes on with his work.

Here are the words which he is forming at the case :

'The standard of emancipation is now unfurled.

Let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

I am in earnest.

I will not equivocate.

I will not excuse.

I will not retreat a single inch.

And *I will be heard.*

Posterity will bear testimony that I was right.'

For thirty long years he bears this standard aloft.

Mobbed by the people, imprisoned by the State, cast out by the churches ;

Dogged by kidnappers and assassins, a price set upon his head, despised, hated and reviled ;

The wealth, learning and religion of the land especially bitter against him ;

He presses onward unmoved.

Scorning all compromise, deaf to every suggestion of extenuation, he lifts his voice like thunder above all other sounds,

Blasting for ever the man-stealers and his abettors.

And at last, as he foresaw from the first even in his loneliness and want—victory, complete victory is his.

In Garrison the truth conquered, the simple truth that 'Man cannot own his fellow.'

IV

It is difficult for some of us today to conceive the opposition that confronted Garrison and his work. In such a cause one would suppose that at least the churches, the clergy and the religious leaders of the commu-

nity would, because of their Christian profession, have taken his part and supported his efforts. Here and there some did come earnestly to his assistance and defence, but these were a small minority. As a whole, the clergy turned a cold shoulder towards him, the churches closed their doors upon his desire to lecture on behalf of emancipation, and the religious Press of the country for the most part united in an effort to suppress his message. Long afterwards, in referring to this time, Wendell Phillips said : "I know and you know—you older men who can recall those days—that when one brave preacher in a Boston pulpit uttered a few strong anti-slavery words, his venerable father was accosted the next morning by a solicitous friend : 'Colonel, you have my sympathy. I cannot tell you how much I pity you.' 'What,' said the brusque old man, 'What is the reason for your pity ?' 'Well, I hear your son went crazy at King's Chapel yesterday,' was the reply. Such was the state of public sentiment that insanity was the only excuse that kind-hearted friends could make for such a 'madman'."

Writes one of the historians of that time :

"Ecclesiastical authority, political power and social influence all frowned on the young leader of abolition ; all united to surround his horizon and overspread his sky with a cloud black as night, a cloud from which thundered and lightened a malignity and hate of which men to-day can scarcely conceive. But on the very blackness of that cloud William Lloyd Garrison wrote in letters of fire his immortal words : *I will be heard.*"

And he was heard. Boston heard him. The whole United States heard him. In a few years Boston became the centre of a mighty anti-slavery movement that was felt throughout the country.

We shall not understand nor adequately appreciate Garrison if we do not bear in mind the personal danger which constantly menaced him, and the sublime serenity and unflinching courage with which he went through it all, turning aside not a hair's breadth from what he believed to be the right, conceding nothing to conciliate his foes, leaving no word unsaid which truth demanded should be spoken. Though in parts of the South, State laws made it a crime to circulate *The Liberator*, or even receive it from the post-office, and the legislature of Georgia passed

* Ernest Crosby

an Act offering a reward of five thousand dollars for the arrest and conviction of its editor, the little printing-press in the Boston attic went steadily on. Garrison's friends were in constant anxiety because of the flood of anonymous letters from the South that came to him threatening him with violence and death. But he steadily refused their advice to carry any weapon for his defence.

Again and again meetings where he was among the speakers were mobbed and broken up. At a meeting of the Boston Anti-slavery Society in 1835, he was dragged through the streets with a rope around his neck, and finally locked in jail to protect him from the fury of the crowd. And it should be distinctly noted that the mob of men who were responsible for this outrage, personally taking part in this brutality, were among the most influential and 'respectable' of the people of Boston. Garrison himself wrote on the walls of the jail where he was confined:

"William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell Monday afternoon, Oct. 21, 1835, to protect him from the fury of a respectable and influential mob who sought to destroy him for preaching the doctrine that all men are created equal and that all oppression is odious in the sight of god."

Those were indeed times that tried men's souls. Only men with wills of iron and with a mighty faith in the justice of their cause could have endured all that Garrison and his colleagues endured.

V

Garrison was a thorough pacifist. He did not believe in war for any purpose, under any circumstances. He did not believe that the cause of right and justice could ever be advanced by violence and bloodshed. But he fought courageously and unflinchingly with the weapons of reason and moral appeal. He was of the same spirit as Mahatma Gandhi who says:

"We must have no bloodshed. We have a right to our liberty; it is dearer to us than life. We will win it or we will die. But we will do no wrong. We will not kill, we will not harm our oppressors, we will not even hate them. But we will not co-operate with them in any way in their work of tyranny and wrong, in their work of carrying on an unjust Government in this country which does not belong to them. Time will compel them to give us our rights and our freedom. Non-violence on our part does not mean weak submission to the will of the evil-doer. It means putting one's

whole soul against the will of the unjust tyrant. Working under this law it is possible for a single individual to defy the might of an unjust empire."

VI

Of course, there had been anti-slavery sentiment in the country, even in the South, before Garrison and Lundy started their crusade. Early in the nineteenth century, a large number of Quakers had become convinced that the possession of slaves was incompatible with their religion, and had freed all their negroes, giving them enough land to support themselves, or employing them at a wage. But such efforts were sporadic, and as the South grew in extent and her wealth increased through the slave-labour on her plantations, the general feeling of hostility toward suggestions of the loss of this source of power, rapidly increased. Also, Northern seaboard cities were largely dependent on Southern trade for their commercial prosperity, and in their own interests resented anything that might alienate Southern co-operation. Economic interests had gradually asserted themselves as the dominant factor in the situation and anti-slavery sentiment seemed to wilt and disappear before this aggressive power.

About the time that Garrison began his work, there was a movement set on foot called the "Colonization Scheme." The object of this was the transportation of negroes, including all emancipated slaves, to a tract of territory purchased in Africa for their settlement. This scheme was approved by some of the Southern slave-owners, and many philanthropic people in the North regarded it as a sort of mild, inoffensive movement towards general emancipation. But Garrison soon saw that its real tendency was rather to support the institution of chattel-slavery, for by means of this scheme persons or classes that slave-holders found disadvantageous or unprofitable could be shipped over-seas under this cover of philanthropic intent, thus leaving the slave-holders unhampered in their authority over negro lives, and secure and unquestioned in their power over the race as a whole.

Other compromise schemes were devised—schemes for bringing about emancipation

gradually, by stages, promising freedom to the slaves *sometime*. But Garrison was unalterably opposed to all such makeshifts, delays and compromises. He saw that they meant nothing good to the slaves; that fifty years of them would leave the slaves just as firmly in bondage as ever, the wicked institution of slavery just as strongly rooted in the nation as ever.

VII

As soon as possible, Garrison formed an association called "The New England Anti-Slavery Society," on the basis of "immediate and unconditional emancipation."

This association at once issued a manifesto, taking its stand upon the Golden Rule—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," and the scripture "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth," and also that sentence from the American Declaration of Independence:—"All men are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "We believe," said this manifesto, "that slavery is an evil *now*. A thief found in possession of stolen property is required to relinquish it *immediately*. The slave-holder and the man-stealer are in unlawful possession of the sons and daughters of Africa. They should *immediately* set them free. Every principle which proves slavery unjust, an evil and a curse, equally demonstrates the duty of immediate emancipation."

A little more than a year after the organization of this New England Society, a similar association was formed in New York, and from this on, the work spread. Within nine years of the establishment of *The Liberator* in that dingy little Boston attic, there were nearly two thousand anti-slavery organizations in the United States, with a membership of nearly 200,000 men and women.

With the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency in 1860, Garrison's triumph came. Some of the most radical abolitionists—doubtless Garrison among the number—had not voted for him, but for a man on a separate, anti-slavery ticket. But though

he had refused to vote for the political party whose ticket had carried Lincoln's name, Garrison's years of work had none the less contributed more perhaps than any other one factor in the country, to the creation of the public sentiment that put Lincoln into power at that crucial time. Garrison stood aloof from all political parties, but his work was so forceful and fearless that its influence was felt in every part of the country's life, even by the forces that opposed him. In season and out of season he laid the great principles of human justice and human liberty upon the consciences of the people of America. Today we can see that without his work there would have arisen no "Abolition Party," and probably no "Republican Party" either, the new territories of the South and West would not have been rescued from the blight of slavery, and the Proclamation of Emancipation would probably have been long delayed.

VIII

It should be noted in this instance as in all similar social movements, that while the emancipation of the Negroes for the time being materially impoverished the South, yet at the same time it lifted a great miasma of inertia from that whole section of the country, and majority of thinking people in the South are today glad that slavery is a thing of the past.

In all human bondage, in all injustice, the moral degradation of the oppressor is inevitable. The oppressed may perhaps preserve his honour, self-respect, independence of spirit, but the fate of the tyrant is sealed. The slavery of mind under which the slave-owners of the South laboured was their own greatest curse—they were slaves to their own ignorance and selfishness, to their false pride and arrogance, their distorted values of human life and labour. The great majority of white people in the South were spenders only, unproductive idlers living on the sweat and blood of the men and women they held in bondage. With the freedom of their Negroes it became necessary for all to engage in the earning of bread and in the work of the world, a bitter task at first for most of them, but a

great factor in their eventual education and liberation of mind. Freedom for bondsmen always means a corresponding moral gain for those who have held them in bondage. Would that Englishmen might bear this in mind in connection with their dealings with India.

The conflict between Garrison and the slave-owning class was really a conflict between the democratic ideal—a government “of the people, for the people and by the people,” and the monarchical or feudal idea of one class or race ruling by the right of physical might over another class born to serve.

If ever a man had a “genius for justice,” a passion for thoroughness and truth, if ever a man lived whose very meat and drink it was to aid the right and oppose the wrong, to defend the helpless and the oppressed, such a man was Garrison. Indomitable of will, broad in sympathies, commanding in intellect, Garrison drew to his allegiance many of the ablest and noblest men of the nation such as Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Samuel May, Theodore Parker, who looked up to him as their leader.

It has been said of Garrison that no one man ever did more toward endowing a whole nation with a conscience, than did he by his uncompromising allegiance to his own conscience. Appeals which, at the beginning of his career fell on deaf ears became the earnest concern of the majority of the whole population before his life was done.

IX

I would like to speak of Garrison's domestic life, joyous and tranquil in the love of wife and children, undisturbed by the storms that swept over his public career. But to do justice to such a story would require too much space. His death in 1879, at the age of seventy-five, was a fitting sequel to such a life as his, his faith in God, in human nature, and in freedom burning brightly until the last. Well might Wendell Phillips, one of the most distinguished orators of that time, say on the occasion of his funeral, standing by his lifeless form: “It was really that hand, lying there, now stiff and cold, that wrote the Emancipation Proclamation—who held the pen is of small concern.

As God sees, as history will see, it was the hand of Lloyd Garrison and no other that struck the chains for ever from a subject race.”

Garrison's funeral in Boston was really an historical event. I shall never cease to be thankful that it was my own privilege to attend it. Throughout all the addresses made, the thought rang out—“Let our sorrow at this parting be dispelled by an exultant thankfulness that such a man was given to the world, and lived in our midst.” A great company of men and women whose tears and tributes of love would have done only too great honour to the mightiest king, paid there the homage of their hearts to this knight of human brotherhood and defender of human freedom.

The life of this faithful “servant of the ideal” teaches many lessons, of which the most important is perhaps the invincible power of the Right—that one may confidently take one's stand on the side of Truth and Justice, however powerful may seem the forces that oppose or the difficulties that confront one—a lesson finely stated by William Cullen Bryant,—

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
The eternal years of God are hers.”

And again by Longfellow,—

“The mills of God grind slowly but they grind
exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting, with
exactness grinds He all.”

Yes, there is a might in this world stronger than armies and navies, stronger than all rulers and governments—it is the might of Right. Matthew Arnold phrases it—“A power not ourselves that makes for righteousness.” Men are fools who presume to deny or oppose the ultimate triumph of the Right. Garrison himself expressed it in ringing words:

“High walls the body may confine,
And iron gates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways;
Yet scorns the immortal mind this base control,
No chains can bind it and no cell enclose;
Swifter than light it flies from pole to pole
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes.
It leaps from mount to mount, from vale to vale,
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale
And in sweet converse passes joyous hours.
'Tis up before the sun roaming afar,
And in its watches wearies every star.”

DICTATORSHIPS

By E. H.

THERE is enough to be surprised at in our time. But so there was presumably in our grandparents' time. It is more remarkable that that which excites our wonder is as often as not the same as that which excited our grandparents.

Take for instance our indignation when others do something most objectionable, which we ourselves do in exactly the same manner. What is that but 'the mote in thy brother's eye, and the beam in your own eye,' which you can never see, and which it always surprises the rest of us that you are blind to.

You may, for instance, find Englishmen who are shocked by the Jugo-Slav dictatorship. This dictatorship has now gone so far that it not only gags the Press and all oppositional mouths of the country, censors telegrams and cuts the country off from the rest of the world, but even deports correspondents to the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* and *The Times*. The indignation breaks out even in the English Press, which demands a public protest against the dictatorship which 'hopes to save itself by concealing the true state of affairs' and by stifling every cry for help.

But read India instead of Jugo-Slavia and place England in the chair of dictatorship and where is the difference? How are the foreign correspondents treated in India? Not even by way of America do we get anything but little drops from this huge, heaving ocean, where the English have forced the current down under the surface. Reports from people who have been there and come back and describe what they have seen are almost the only information one gets. And those reports do not appear in the daily Press. There one finds only the deplorable fights between Muhammadans and Hindus, which on the other hand are proclaimed in big capitals in the Press all over the world. For they benefit England and harm India.

But the volleys of rifle shots and the

police attacks on the population are not mentioned.

When it happens in Jugo-Slavia even an Englishman is shocked. When it happens in India it is a matter of course.

Another peculiarity of the same antiquity is the admiration for something in a foreign country which one would give one's life to get rid of in one's own country. Look at Mussolini's dictatorship, for instance. It is exactly similar to that of Jugo-Slavia, also as regards suppression of the freedom of speech and of the opposition.

If you buy a newspaper in Rome at seven o'clock in the morning and are surprised at a somewhat bold sentence, the whole edition is confiscated at seven five, and if you buy it a couple of hours later, there is nothing more to surprise you in that paper. Nevertheless you will hear people in all countries shout for Mussolini as soon as something goes wrong. And as everything goes wrong at present, there are by now not a few people who shout.

Most of them, of course, are people who know just as little of Italy under Mussolini as they know of India under the English. Honest citizens, to whom Fascism and dictatorship mean a bulwark for themselves and all honest citizens, while paying homage to Mussolini, look askance at Russia and have a vision of Mussolini, like a new St. George, killing the dragon of the Bolsheviks with his two armies. To them Fascism is a religion, arising from Bolshevik scare, and it is useless trying to teach that kind of people.

It makes a far stronger impression to read the sympathetic articles on Mussolini and Fascism which are continually found in Indian liberal papers and periodicals both by foreigners and by Indians—especially now that a mortal battle is being fought in India to get rid of a system which in its effects is as much like Fascism as one drop of water

is like the other, if only one reads Fascists instead of Englishmen.

English rule in India is a system which, like Fascism, is supported by means of soldiers and police. Fascism in Italy is a party government where the supporters of the party get all privileges and concessions and hold the best offices by turns. They form a privileged caste just like Englishmen in India. If a Fascist, for instance, has been mayor for five years and has become a rich man, he is dismissed to make room for the next. Is it not the same in the cases of the Indian governors? If a Fascist appears in court against a man outside the party, the Fascist wins the case. Is not the Englishman equally successful when he appears in the English court of justice in India against an Indian.

'The Fascists eat, and the rest of us go hungry,' say the Italians, and the country is on the verge of ruin. The population is oppressed by taxes, with wages that are steadily declining and prices that are not following suit, with an army budget which during the three years from 1925-28 rose by 40 per cent, with a police force costing almost £10,000,000 or twice as much as that of France, with the lira stabilized at a rate of exchange which has no basis in reality, just like the rupee in India.

The International Labour Office quotes the wages of the Italian artisan as the lowest in Europe, and living expenses average less than one-third of those in England. Wages have gone down from 13 to 35 per cent, *under* the pre-war level. A metal worker at Turin, where wages are above the average, is paid 36 s. a week, an artisan at Milan about 25. These figures have recently been reduced by 12 per cent, and in many cases 5 per cent are deducted in income tax. The employer may only engage men through a labour exchange and has to give preference to Fascists.

In the report of the Whitley Commission, a Bombay textile worker's wages, for instance, are given as 55 s. a month for men, 27 s. for women. At Sholapur they are 35 s. 2d., for women 14 s. 4d., and for children 8 s. The report is long, but Indian intellectuals pre-

sumably know how their own people live under the English Fascism.

The effect of such a system of oppression and exploitation may be imagined by everybody. The temptation to side with the government for the sake of profit is great; the indignation against those who do so not less. The result is hatred, vindictiveness and envy in those who are wronged, and the system of espionage and bribery abolishes all feeling of security, confidence, and justice.

In India, where it has been maintained for 180 years, it has produced what Gandhi calls a slave mentality, a cringing submission, an abandonment of the people's own dignity arising from the feeling of inferiority, which is the result of the arrogance and contempt of the English.

Beside these facts, which are based on information given by the Fascists themselves, for instance, in the Fascist Industrial Union of Milan, there is one point, which is, if possible, still more conspicuous when one reads or hears about Indians, who have taken a fancy to Mussolini.

If this dictator has had any other idea than that of coming into power and has any other than that of staying there, then that idea is the colonies of Italy. Whenever Mussolini mounts the cothurnus he throws out the word "the Italian Empire" to his blackshirts, who answers with all arms raised and all mouths open in a war cry. Has India forgotten that she is herself a colony, or does India think that the colonies of Italy are better off under Mussolini than India under the English? Does India know how Mussolini, when the Arabs would not submit, had them shot down by hundreds every day for a long time,—firmly convinced of the superiority of his own white race to all "coloured people," and of his right to treat them as if they did not belong to the same humanity as he himself.

If Mahatma Gandhi's beautiful teaching of the unity of all mankind beyond frontiers, creeds and races has not penetrated farther into the intellectuals of India, at least the understanding of what an empire means must have penetrated into a colony.

A PLANET AND A STAR

BY NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

THE MONASTERY OF OPI

PRECEDING CHAPTERS

This is a story of the future. It begins with a brief account of the changed conditions of life and the internationalization of all institutions of the world. War is at an end and remarkable progress has been made in all directions. International scientists have decided to send an expedition to the planet Mars, and a machine for this purpose has been built. Five men from five continents have been chosen as members of the expedition: Maruchi, a scientist, is the leader; Orlon is a man of wide knowledge; Nabor is the pilot and Ganimet is his assistant. The story is told by Sahir, the medical officer with the party. After some adventures the party has reached Mars safely.

VI

WE looked around. We had evidently alighted in a glade in some woodland. On the trees there were birds of a gorgeous plumage, altogether unlike any that we had seen on the earth. They were preening and ruffling their feathers, and calling to one another in musical cries. There were small singing birds that trilled exquisite notes and poured forth streams of ravishing melody. On the ground there were small animals like rabbits and squirrels that scuttled away as soon as they saw us. Overhead the sky was tinted red with the vapour that was rising like a pillar and spreading out in all directions. As we had seen the sunrise we could easily determine the cardinal points. Looking at our pocket compasses we found that the needle acted as usual showing that the magnetic poles were similar to the earth's. It was delightfully cool and there was a certain quality in the air which we could not specify, but which filled us with a curious exhilaration and went to the head like a draught of wine. And even as we looked in the opening of the wood at the end of the glade stood a woman!

It was a vision that held us rooted to the spot where we stood. Literally, we saw before us a being from another world. Was it one of the wood nymphs of whom men had dreamed and written, or a sylph who had chosen this sylvan scene for her home? She stood divinely tall, her wonderful clothes clinging to her slender figure and suggesting the long and harmonious curves of her shapely limbs. Never had Greek sculptor or classic painter dreamed of such a goddess, nor had any poet seen such a woman in his dream about fair women. It was not alone the fairness of her complexion, fairer though it was than anything seen on earth; nor the beauty of her

features, though they were more beautiful than any ever seen or dreamed of by man; nor the glory of her hair reaching down to the knees in a shining black cloud with the flowers in them glittering like stars. It was the whole vision of her beauty dazzling in its glowing splendour, the superb poise of her head and her gracious figure that held us speechless and breathless with admiration and amazement. As she looked at us her eyes, large and liquid and lustrous, opened wide in wonder. There was no trace of fear or nervousness, but merely the expression of a natural curiosity. She came, or rather glided forward a little, her feet scarcely touching the ground and her raiment shining and reflecting strange lights and shadows. She looked at us intently for a few moments, without either shyness or boldness, her calm eyes taking in our figures and clothing, and our large machine which looked like a gigantic, silent, mechanical blue bird. Then she turned and vanished into the wood, and we could have sworn that she passed through the air close to the ground, though we never saw her feet which were covered by her garment that trailed upon the grass underneath.

Presently, six men appeared and approached us slowly. The woman was not with them. They were stately, tall men, bearded and grave, with keen, piercing eyes, and striking length of limbs. They were pale, with a clear and fair complexion, and their gait and mien were full of dignity. Somehow, they seemed to be different from our own race, though we could not discover wherein the distinction lay. Coming up quite close to us they halted and subjected our persons, clothes and machine to a careful scrutiny. They themselves were wearing robes reaching down to their feet, violet coloured and of some soft, warm stuff. They had tall, conical caps of the same colour on their heads and their dark hair turning grey fell in curls on their necks. They looked with some curiosity at our smooth faces and chins, Orlon alone wearing a beard, but made no mistake about our sex. They were far too dignified and composed to exhibit vulgar curiosity, but they were certainly perplexed and knitted their brows while surveying us. And then one, who evidently appeared to be the leader, spoke a few words in a gentle and deeply musical voice, pointing towards us and the airship. We shook our heads to indicate our ignorance of the language. Maruchi said, 'We have come out of the sky in this ship,' and he pointed to the sky and the machine, and

made a movement with his hand to explain how we had dropped down from the heavens.

Our visitors listened carefully to Maruchi's words, followed his gestures, exchanged looks among themselves expressive of surprise and incredulity, and then the leader gravely motioned to us to follow them.

Maruchi looked at us and asked, 'Shall we follow these men? They seem to be men of peace, though of course we know nothing of their intentions. If we refuse to go with them, what else are we to do? Pleasant as this spot is we cannot stay here very long.'

Nabor said, 'How about the machine? We cannot abandon it.'

'Of course not. You and Ganimet remain in charge. Let us ask these people whether any shelter can be found for the machine.'

Maruchi again gesticulated eloquently, inquiring whether there was any place where we could put the machine. He went up to it and placing his hand upon it showed that it must be taken with us and could not be left behind.

Another of the men spoke and nodded his head in the affirmative, and stretched out his hand in the direction from which they had come.

'That's good,' remarked Orlon. 'We shall go and see how the land lies, and shall then return for the machine.'

'That's the idea,' agreed Maruchi; and again made picturesque use of the language of signs.

There were again affirmative nods and the three of us stalked behind the six Martians, leaving Nabor and Ganimet behind. By way of precaution we carried in our pockets the weapons by which we could send off men into temporary insensibility in the event of a sudden attack, though this seemed very unlikely. Calm as we looked our pulses were pounding with excitement, for we were on the threshold of high adventure and were about to step into the very heart of it.

VII

On emerging from the wood we could scarcely suppress a cry of astonishment. Right in front of us was a wonderful building, glittering like gold and shaped like an asterisk. There was a central dome with a pointed apex like a lotus before it opens to the sun and from the centre projected ten long arms like the directions on a mariner's compass. These were enclosed between two walls each; they were wide at the centre and gradually narrowed to a thin edge at the end.

The whole structure looked like a star as seen by the naked eye, and was partially concealed by the overhanging boughs of large trees with a thick and broad foliage. At a little distance there was a large orchard with small trees laden with beautiful and tempting

fruits. In another direction, standing in an extensive, open space was a fairly large, rectangular building with a wide entrance and looking very much like an aerodrome. Our guides pointed towards this building and proceeded towards it, motioning to us to follow. On reaching it we found it was a single spacious hall, walled all round except in front which was quite open. There was a high flat roof from which were suspended curious balls of different sizes while the walls were painted like maps. The floor was smooth, shining and hard, formed of some substance that looked like porphyry and agate laid down in alternate squares. The leader of the party looked at us inquiringly and then pointed towards the wood where our machine was standing. We nodded affirmatively and tried to express our gratitude as well as we could by hand, head and eyes. Next, we were led towards the house shaped like a star, and entered one of the wings by a short flight of steps built of some veined and polished marble which shone with a ruddy glow from within. We were shown a suite of three apartments contrived with remarkable ingenuity, each room differently designed from the others and displaying excellent taste in the appointments. The prevailing feature was one of severe simplicity combined with a fine sense of harmony and a highly developed artistic skill. There were no tables or chairs; the floor was covered by fine matting made of some soft and silky fibre, and there were divans, carpets and cushions, strange in shape and design but very attractive to the eye. Each room had a separate bath-room and a place for ablutions. There was a niche in the wall fitted up as a wardrobe with several articles of clothing. These were shown to us and it was courteously indicated to us that we were welcome to use them. And then we passed out again to arrange for our machine being put under shelter.

As we were entering the wood we noticed about twenty men looking very much like those we had first seen, with the woman in front of them, standing near the building and watching us pass. We went straight to the machine and Orlon clambered up to show Nabor the place where the airship was to be kept. As it rose into the air the Martians who had accompanied us cried out in wonder and lifted up their hands in astonishment. We walked quickly back to the building where the machine was to be stalled and observed the woman and the men with her staring up at the machine which was gracefully circling overhead. It came down in long spiral slants and alighting near the building entered it and came to a standstill in the centre of the pavement. The leader of our party courteously beckoned to us to approach the other party, all of whom including the woman who was evidently held in great respect by the men nodded to us in smiling welcome. We

passed on to our rooms where we had a shave and bath, put on the robes that we found in the wardrobes, and afterwards sat down to an excellent meal. We ate with our fingers as there were no knives and forks. There was no meat, and the dishes were strange, flavoured with spices unknown to us but agreeable to the palate and wholesome to look at. We washed the food down with sweet but unfermented drinks. As we had been accustomed to non-alcoholic drinks we found these pleasant. We were still somewhat giddy from the long continued swaying motion of the airship, and finding soft but firm beds underneath us presently fell sound asleep.

We woke up late in the afternoon and were offered some luscious but unknown fruits and sweets to eat and a hot, refreshing drink that reminded us of tea, though the flavour was of a new kind. We were treated very hospitably as guests, but were not invited to join our hosts at their meals. We were served in our own rooms by clean and well dressed attendants, who spoke no word. In the evening we sauntered out in the open and were joined by two or three of our hosts who attempted to carry on a conversation by signs. We walked under the stars, and presently Maruchi pointed towards our own particular planet, which shone clear and bright and fairly large in the sky. He tried to explain to the Martians that we had come from that bright spot in the heavens. He pointed at the planet, included us all in a sweep of his hand, stretched out his hand towards the machine resting under cover and showed the downward flight by vigorous gesticulation. The Martians stared at us and at the planet above our heads, and spoke a single word, '*Lamulo*,' which they repeated several times in a tone of great astonishment. We understood that was the name given to our planet by the inhabitants of Mars. There was a pale and shifting mist hanging in the sky. This was the vapour that we had seen on our arrival, but the pink colour was not distinguishable in the dark.

When we were about to retire for the night Maruchi said, 'We have learned the name that the people here give to the Earth, but it did not then occur to me to find out the name these people have given to their own planet. We call it Mars, but that cannot be the real name. Different peoples in our own world called it by different names. The Greeks called it the Ares, it was the Enyalus of the Sabines, the Camulus of the Gauls, and the Mamers of Carthage. We have to find out the name given to it by the inhabitants themselves.'

VIII

Early next morning we were roused by the musical chimes of bells ringing somewhere in the building. The notes were soft and low and very pleasant to the ear. It was evidently a call to

prayer and we realized that the house was a place of worship, a church or temple, or a monastery. The men that we had seen were probably monks, but we were somewhat puzzled by the presence of the woman. Was she alone, or were there other women besides her? If she were a nun was it the custom here for monks and nuns to live in the same building? A little later we were served with a light morning meal, and afterwards some of our hosts appeared with smiling countenances and inquired by signs whether we had passed a good night. Maruchi tried to explain that he was anxious to learn the language of the country and pointing to different objects in the room inquired their names. Thus began our first lesson in the language of the Martians. We then strolled out into open and our instruction continued in the open air, for Maruchi pointed at the trees, the grass under our feet, the building and whatever else we saw and asked their names. Finally he said, '*Lamulo*,' pointing upwards and indicating that we had come from that distant planet which was not visible in daylight. Then he made a comprehensive gesture sweeping both hands round and pointing in all directions. He then tapped on the ground and made an inquiry with his fingers and eyes. The principal host understood and waving his hands around said, '*Vata? Pur fa nato Heperon!*' The last word he repeated with emphasis and a large and proud gesture and we understood at once that it was the name of the planet. We learned afterwards that the words he had spoken meant, 'This? It is the great Heperon.' As we subsequently found out the language was not difficult. Our hosts were evidently scholarly men who spoke with deliberation and a clear enunciation. And they were willing to teach us.

In a few weeks we had learned some hundreds of words of the new language, found out the names of some countries and the different peoples inhabiting the planet, and various other details. We were told that we were welcome to stay as long as we liked as the guests of the monks, for our surmise had proved to be correct and the place where we had found shelter, was a monastery, but while we thanked our hosts we explained that our stay could not be prolonged indefinitely and after forming an idea of Heperon we must return to *Lamulo*, which we call the Earth. The woman we had seen was the high priestess and they spoke of her with awe and reverence. The name or office by which she was known was Narga, meaning the chief or ruler, and the monks rendered her unhesitating obedience in all things. It was rather a shock to us to find a brotherhood of monks ruled by a woman, but she was evidently possessed of some mysterious occult powers, which vested her with great authority and importance. There were a few other women, apparently novices, who lived with Narga quite apart from the men in some other

part of the building. They were rarely visible and we caught only occasional glimpses of them when they strolled out into the wood, and we heard them sometimes singing hymns in a beautiful, rich voice. Narga was hardly to be seen, but we found her once or twice pacing slowly in the direction of the wood, moving with incomparable grace, her feet seeming to skim over the ground. We were informed that she made inquiries about us and might be pleased some day to receive us in audience.

Ever since we had met these monks of Heperon we had a feeling that these men were somehow different from us, though we could not assign any reason for such a feeling. We noticed that these men avoided all personal contact with us. They never shook hands or attempted to touch our persons. Their usual greeting was a pleasant smile and a nod, or a lifting of the hand in salutation. Even when walking by our side they maintained a certain distance. We attributed this habit, either to the custom of the country, or perhaps to the notion that these holy men considered us either unclean, or as belonging to another order of beings whose touch would be pollution. We soon discovered that our surmise was wrong. One afternoon while we were strolling about on the skirt of the wood with some of the monks, among whom was the leader, Ganimet, who was next to him, noticed a serpent gliding across the path in front of the monk, and quickly putting out his hand he caught the hand of the monk and drew him aside. As he did so he could scarcely repress a cry of pain while his face expressed the utmost astonishment. The monk swiftly snatched away his hand while Ganimet remained shaking like an aspen for some moments. He told us a little later that he felt something like a severe electric shock as soon as he grasped the hand of the monk and thrills were still running through his body. We were bewildered as we looked at the trembling Ganimet who was a man of enormous muscular strength, and the calm and grave monk, who was looking at Ganimet with some concern.

He quietly explained that the snake was not poisonous and would have done us no harm. He impressively declared that there was danger if any part of our persons came in contact with the hand or the body of the monks. They had developed certain powers which distinguished them from other people.

'Have other people in this land got the same powers as yourselves?' asked Maruchi.

'Only those who pass through a course of training and discipline as ourselves,' replied the leader.

'Can we develop such powers?' inquired Orlon.

'That I cannot say. It depends upon your having the right kind of body and mind, and even then there must be a prolonged probation

and self-control unless one is born specially gifted when different stages are quickly passed.'

I ventured to ask, 'Do you know of any such?'

'Certainly.' You have seen Narga. She is quite young, and yet she is far more advanced than any of us. What has taken us months to accomplish she acquired in a few days. She is among the great ones'.

'What are her powers?'

The reply was an enigmatic smile. 'Perhaps you will see some of them some day.'

Maruchi inquired, 'What do you gain by the possession of the powers?'

'Ah!' replied the leader, a wonderful light coming into his eyes and illuminating his countenance, 'that is a matter for realization and cannot be described. For one thing, we have found peace.'

And there the matter rested. As we turned towards our own rooms we wondered how it benefited anyone to become a galvanic battery or a live electric wire.

We used to take out the machine every day for some hours on voyages of discovery in different directions. We saw below us fine stretches of land interspersed with rivers and lakes and what looked like towns with houses built in strange fashions. We did not at first attempt to approach the mountains which loomed in the distance with their red crowns. Occasional glimpses of the sea could be seen, but we did not try to cross it at first. The pillar of red vapour that we had noticed while coming down to Heperon was somewhere near the centre of the planet, but we wanted to make some inquiries about it before venturing too close to it. Accordingly, one day Maruchi put the question to Karos, the chief of the monks.

Our stock of words of the language of these people was limited, and it took some time for Maruchi to make himself understood by words and signs. When Karos comprehended the question he lifted his eyes and brows in awe and spoke the one word, 'Raba!' He then became voluble, though much of his eloquence was lost upon us. But we were greatly impressed by the solemn notes of his voice. When he pointed with both hands towards the ground and raised them repeatedly in imitation of an ascending object we noticed the rapt look on his face. It was obvious that what we had seen from a distance was looked upon as a manifestation of some mysterious divine power and the place was treated as a very holy spot. We inquired whether there were any people living near Raba. Karos replied that it was impossible for any one to go very near the place, but there were holy people living at some distance. Maruchi declared that we wanted to go and see the place, but Karos desired us to have patience and a visit would be arranged.

IX

At length the day came when we were summoned to the presence of Narga, the high priestess. Of the monks, Karos alone accompanied us. We found Narga sitting alone in a small room curiously furnished with strange devices and what looked like emblems of worship. There were strange figures designed on the cushions and painted on the walls, images of heavenly beings, mystic hieroglyphics, rosaries fashioned out of precious stones. In one corner there was a beautiful urn of shining metal from which rose a thin spiral smoke of incense, filling the room with a delightful fragrance. Narga sat at the back of the room with her face towards the entrance. As we entered she motioned to us to take our seats and after we had done so said in a clear, thrilling, musical voice, 'Greeting, Strangers from Lamulo!'

Maruchi gravely responded, 'Greeting, O Narga, high priestess, with thanks for the kindness we have received!'

Narga waived our thanks aside and continued, 'I have desired to hear from you about the bright land from which you come, but you did not have our language and so I have waited till you could speak for yourselves. And I am told you are quick in learning,' she added with a smile.

'Your language is sweet like your beautiful land and your own gracious self,' said Orlon like a courtier.

Perhaps Narga was not accustomed to compliments but only to respectful obedience, for she looked a little surprised as she looked at the new speaker. As the eyes of the two met they held one another for a moment, and there was a faint spot of colour on Narga's face and brow, and then her eyes fell. Orlon, a splendid figure of a man, with the gold in his hair and beard, gazed at Narga with open admiration, but without any rudeness, and then turned his eyes to the many objects of interest in the room. Narga turned calmly to Maruchi, 'You are the wise one among your friends. Tell me something about Lamulo and the people living there.'

Maruchi spoke of the great extent and divisions of the Earth, and the various peoples inhabiting it, the geographical features of land and sea, the mountains which were the abodes of perpetual snow, the systems of governments, the numerous inventions and triumphs of science. He mentioned the various devices for rapid locomotion and explained how man could travel swiftly and with ease over land and water, and through the air. He mentioned the submarine vessels that could remain for a long time under water without any harm to themselves or the men in them. He mentioned how messages could be transmitted to great distances in a moment and how men could speak to one another at a great distance. He spoke of the

instruments invented to observe the heavenly bodies and others that could reproduce the likenesses of all objects. He found some difficulty in explaining motion pictures, but pointed to the wall and moving his hands explained how the movements were shown without the help of the shadows of living men.

Narga listened with great attention and close interest, and then said, 'There are wise people among us who know many of the wonderful things you have mentioned, and some of them you will find in use in our cities. Have you got any of these instruments you have mentioned? We should be pleased to see them.'

'We have got a few and it will give us great pleasure to show them to you. And if you will permit us we should like to take the likeness of you all and to present you with copies of them.'

Narga smiled and looked inquiringly at Karos. 'Our guests are very kind,' she said, 'and we shall be glad to oblige them.'

'Certainly,' agreed Karos.

Maruchi observed that he would take photographs in the afternoon and also make a wireless installation. As an earnest of his offer he took out a pair of field glasses, adjusted the focus, and politely passed the instrument to Narga, requesting her to look through it from the open window. Narga picked up the glasses, rose slowly and gracefully and looked through the instrument at the distant landscape, the shadowy line of mountains in the far distance, the birds perched on the trees and other objects. She gave vent to a slight ejaculation of wonder and handed the glasses to Karos, saying, 'It is wonderful. I see everything much larger and nearer than with my unaided eyes.'

Karos looked long and wonderingly through the glasses and then laid them aside with the remark, 'You are a great and wonderful people, but what can be more wonderful than your journey from Lamulo to Heperon?'

'We are glad that we have succeeded in our attempt,' Maruchi replied modestly.

For a few moments the conversation flagged, after which Narga, who seemed somewhat preoccupied and thoughtful, said in a musing tone, 'It is a great gift, the power of invention. But is not the demand of the spirit higher than the urge of the intelligence? What have your wise men found out about the spirit world?'

'You mean the life after death?'

'That and many other things. Is not there something in us that impels to a higher life, are we not endowed with powers capable of indefinite development? Is the mystery that that surrounds us impenetrable and insoluble? Is the object of being fulfilled with mechanical inventions? This little thing that we call life, what has it got to teach us?'

We looked at her and wondered as well we might. This was not the priestess of some

superstitious faith, but a woman who, in spite of her youth, had thought deeply and wrestled with the problem of life and death, and the mystery that surrounds us. We looked at her with increasing respect, and Maruchi replied in a thoughtful tone, 'Ever since men have learned to think they have sought an answer to these questions. Some have found what they considered a satisfactory solution and others have believed them, but in our individual lives we find these problems as baffling as ever.'

'Wisely spoken, O wise visitor from another world! But what do we profit by inventing contrivances pertaining to the forces of nature outside ourselves? All the things you have mentioned are wonderful and striking evidence of the inventiveness of your people. But do they satisfy their spirit? We are ephemeral—that part of us which is represented by the flesh—and all that we see around us is ephemeral. Yet our thoughts tend towards eternity and there is an unbroken continuity of the consciousness of existence. We have within us some subtle forces which can be cultivated and developed just as you have increased the power of vision by instruments made by yourselves and have other instruments which carry sound to great distances so that you can speak to one another even when living in different countries. Still you feel that we are somewhat different from yourselves, not because we are the inhabitants of another world but because we have developed powers within ourselves which you have neglected. I am told you have felt, if not seen, something of these powers,' she added with a smiling inquiry.

Karos pointed out Ganimet. 'This guest rashly caught my hand,' he said.

Ganimet visibly paled at the recollection of his experience.

Nabor joined in the conversation. 'There are parts of my machine, the touch of which means instantaneous death.'

'True,' said Narga, 'but you yourself are not the machine. There are other things, the touch of which extinguishes life.'

Orlon ventured to ask, 'Would there be danger in touching you?'

'Much more so than in touching Karos and the others, but I can lay aside the power that is in me and then I shall become as one of yourselves. But we shall talk of these things when we meet again.' With these words she rose and we bowed and went out.

In the afternoon we got up an entertainment for our hosts. Maruchi set up a temporary wireless installation in an open corridor of the building with a loud speaker, the broadcasting station being the airship 'Mundanus'. Orlon worked the instrument in the plane and the listeners-in at the other end included Narga and the monks, the few women who were apparently novices and some of whom were very attractive

looking, though they were eclipsed by the regal beauty of Narga, the attendants and the rest of our own party. Orlon opened the programme by a flourish on the musical instruments in the machine and this was followed by a song in Orlon's rich baritone voice. The remarkable distinctness and vibration of the sounds indicated that the atmosphere was highly charged with electricity. Then Orlon came out with a photographic camera and several plates and Maruchi took a number of photographs. Besides groups he took single photographs of Narga and Karos, both of whom posed gracefully and with dignity, Narga looking like a goddess with her left hand resting lightly on a stand at her side. And then for the first time during our stay at the monastery Narga invited us to partake of a light repast in her company in the refectory. It was a large polygonal room, bare of all ornament except for some curious looking objects suspended from the ceiling. They were of different shapes and designs, and probably symbolic of the religion professed by the inmates of the monastery. The floor was polished stone, of a deep and beautiful azure, and stone seats with cushions were arranged along the sides of the room. Narga invited me to take the seat next to her, there being a space of about two feet between the two seats. She was in an excellent humour, and after I had taken my seat, remarked with a smile, 'You are the silent one and those who are silent are wise.'

'Perhaps I am dull of wit and words do not come to me readily,' I countered with a glance at her smiling eyes.

'Not so, O stranger of few words! you must have taken a vow of silence but it must be broken for my sake. Give me your name and tell me your occupation.'

'I am called Sabir, and I try to cure people when they are ill.'

'Ah! an excellent name and a noble calling. So I thought, for you look wise beyond your years and the stamp of thought is on your brow.'

'Spare me my blushes, Narga, for I am not worthy. Has no one ever spoken to you of your beauty and your wisdom?'

'Beauty? What is it but the flower that fades and falls to the ground? If I have any wisdom at all I have to thank my Master.'

'Where is he? May we not have the honour of meeting him?'

'Some day you may, but just now you must tell me all about yourself and your friends. Why you have undertaken this hazardous journey in which you might have lost your lives at any time.'

'For many hundreds of years men living on our planet have dreamed of visiting your planet. The risk to life was no deterrent, for many people would have cheerfully laid their lives down in the attempt. The real difficulty was in

making a machine capable of performing this journey through space. When that difficulty was overcome hundreds of men volunteered themselves, but the choice of the organizers fell upon us. Maruchi was selected as one of the great scientists of the day, Orlon for his wide knowledge and fearlessness, Nabor and Ganimet were chosen for their skill in steering and controlling the machine, and I for no other qualification than my slight knowledge of the art of healing.

'You are modest as well as wise,' said Narga. 'But do you not feel the separation from your dear ones?'

'Some of us have lost our parents and all of us are unmarried, and the appeal of this adventure was stronger than other ties. We have no regrets and we are anxious to learn what we can of your wonderful planet.'

'I am glad you came here first, for there are other places which are not quite so safe.'

'We have not seen any country yet and have been content with your generous hospitality. Is the danger from the inhabitants or from other sources?'

'There are ignorant people who dislike strangers and we have heard of strange lands full of peril. These you should avoid.'

'That will rest with Maruchi, but he is not the man to be turned aside by any thought of danger.'

'Truly said, O Sahir. Seeing what you have accomplished the mistake was mine in thinking that the sense of danger counts anything with you at all. But still you will be wary and not throw caution to the winds.'

'Certainly, we are not rash and thoughtless adventurers, but seekers of knowledge. We have no intention of flinging away our lives carelessly, for then our quest will remain unfulfilled. We shall be grateful for advice and shall certainly avoid unnecessary danger.'

'I am glad to hear you say so. It is our earnest desire that you should return safe to the world whence you come. But you are not in a hurry to leave us?'

'We have much to do and much to see; we must not trespass too long upon your kindness and hospitality.'

'On the contrary, it is a pleasure to have you as our honoured guests.'

She turned towards Maruchi. 'Sahir has unsealed his lips and I have learned somewhat of his wisdom. Pray, let me hear your names, for you know mine.'

Maruchi mentioned our names, pointing to each. Orlon with his bold frank eyes looked at Narga and said, 'Sahir, the silent, has had all the honour this evening. May we hope to have a similar honour in our turn?'

For half a moment Narga hesitated and then answered, 'At your pleasure. You are our guests and it is a pleasure and profit for us to listen to you.'

Presently we took our leave and retired to our rooms.

X

From this day we saw a good deal of Narga. She came and inspected our machine closely and Nabor explained the mechanism to her as well as he could. Maruchi invited her to take a trip in the air and she said she would think of it. Then she asked him, 'Have you ever thought it possible to fly in the air without the help of a machine?'

Maruchi thought she was quizzing him. He said, 'How is that possible?'

Narga replied quite seriously, 'It can be done. I told you there are powers within us which can be developed. Would you like to see it?'

'We should like nothing better, if it can be done.'

She turned to Karos and spoke a few words in a low tone.

Karos looked surprised, stared at us, looked at Narga and spoke a few words, evidently trying to dissuade her from some purpose.

Narga's eyes flashed, her head went up in an imperious gesture and she spoke half-a-dozen curt words. It was a command and Karos silently bowed his head in assent.

Our inference was that Narga wished us to see something which Karos considered a great secret of which strangers like us should be kept in ignorance, but she had brushed aside his objection with the habitual wilfulness of a woman and the authority of the high priestess. It was not our place to ask any questions and we could only wait and see what was going to happen.

Narga was visible only at certain hours of the day, sometimes in the morning she would stroll out into the wood as on the first morning that we had seen her as a wonderful vision, and in the evenings she would walk up and down behind the building or towards the open fields. Sometimes Maruchi would walk by her side and sometimes she would invite me to join her. She never singled out Orlon to accompany her, but he contrived to slip out and reach her side very often when she happened to be walking by herself. As Maruchi and I observed them we could not help noting what a splendid pair they made, and we looked at each other with a silent question in our eyes.

Maruchi would muse and mutter to himself, 'A fine eugenic problem, the marriage of the planets! Who would have thought of it? These two may be the progenitors of a glorious inter-planetary race but it is a futile thought. Narga is Vesta of old. How about Orlon?'

'He?' I muttered, 'he would fall for her with hands and feet plumb as we dropped out of the sky.'

'Right, but this is not a subject to be discussed with the others,' rejoined Maruchi as we slowly turned away.

Maruchi held frequent consultations with Karos about the nature of the different countries and peoples in Heperon, and the places we should visit. Karos had extensive knowledge on this subject as he had travelled widely before settling down to his present life, but he admitted that there were several regions which he had not seen and which were avoided by travellers on account of the sinister reports about them. There were savage and fierce tribes who put to a cruel death any intruder or stranger found in their country, there were other peoples who practised magic and threw a spell upon any one found straying into their land and held them captive, and there were monsters and frightful animals that preyed upon men. Karos gravely warned us to give a wide berth to all such places and not permit our curiosity to get the better of our discretion. It would be quite safe, however, for us to go elsewhere and Karos would give us letters that would ensure for us a friendly and hospitable reception. It appeared that the monastery of Opi, where we were staying, was well known and a letter from the monks would give us a safe conduct anywhere. Karos cautioned us not to wear our own clothes but only those supplied by the monks as there was a strong prejudice everywhere against strange clothes and we might get into trouble if we were seen in them. The people everywhere were very conservative and opposed to all newfangled things, specially clothing. There were learned and wise men who would receive us kindly and would be interested in the tidings that we brought from another world. Maruchi inquired about the systems of government prevailing in different countries and among different peoples and Karos gave us a long account. It seems in ancient times there were kings in Heperon as on the Earth and they fought with one another and invaded and conquered other territories in accordance with the immemorial custom of kings. A time came when the elders of many nations and tribes put their heads together and came to the conclusion that kings did more harm than good and should be abolished. The people readily agreed with them and it was decided to remove all kings and royal families, without, however, offering any violence to their persons. Accordingly all kings and their families were removed to a place which was now a large city and was known as the City of the Kings.

'Shall we be permitted to visit this city?' asked Maruchi.

'Of course, there is no prohibition, though very few people care to visit it. But you are newcomers and you may be interested.'

'How is the government in the various countries now carried on?'

'By the elders of the people. There is a college in every land of a number of men who

have grown old and wise in affairs and these men elect seven out of themselves, every three years, to administer the affairs of the country. The college is filled by rotation from all families, and no authority or power is allowed to run in a single family for more than two generations. Thus the nation governs itself and every family has a turn in sending a member to the College of Elders.'

One afternoon Narga and some of the monks were listening to the gramophone which Maruchi had brought out from the airship to entertain them. After listening for some time to a number of songs, recitations and a few selections of music Narga became thoughtful and she remarked, 'It is wonderful how you have imprisoned the disembodied voices of persons who may be no longer in the land of the living, and records of music of which the players may be dead. I am thinking whether there is any means by which the spirit behind the voice or the hand can be detained. You have succeeded in detaching the voice from the speaker and the music from the musician, but there is no power and no contrivance for preserving and retaining the vital spark after it has left the body. And yet it continues to exist unseen but not always realized by us.'

Maruchi asked, 'Is there any satisfactory evidence of its continued existence?'

'Not evidence palpable to the ordinary senses, though the senses themselves frequently deceive us. But those who cultivate the subtler and higher faculties in us are satisfied that the death of the flesh is not the death of the spirit.'

'Perhaps. It is after all a matter of individual faith.'

'And of individual knowledge, of personal realization. Usually the veil of ignorance is impenetrable and there seems to be no way out of the arcana of illusion. Just as a knife can be sharpened on a whetstone so can our spiritual faculties be made keener by the right process. Usually, even the simplest things are baffling and nothing can be obtained without labour and patience. The ground beneath your feet will not yield its fruit unless you till it and spend months of labour. And the fruit of the higher knowledge is far more difficult to attain.'

'O Narga, you shame us with the greatness of your wisdom.'

'Not so, O Maruchi, for I am only a wayfarer on the borderland of knowledge. The path is open to all who seek.'

Two or three days later Karos came to us early in the morning in a state of suppressed excitement. He invited us to accompany him to witness something we had not seen before. His face was very solemn and he made no secret of the fact that it was against his own inclination and only at the bidding of Narga that he had come. 'It is the rite of high worship,' he said, 'to which only the initiated are admitted and at which outsiders are not allowed to be present, but

Narga is self-willed and her word is law. You must come with me at once.'

We were flustered and agog with curiosity. Karos led us towards the central dome of the building. We were taken first to a small chamber, and Karos asked us to change our clothes and put on the robes that were hung on the walls. These were of some light woollen stuff dyed a pale pink. Karos also changed his clothes and explained that these were sacred robes which were worn at the ceremony we were about to witness. And then he walked in front of us with noiseless footsteps, opened a door silently and ushered us into the hall of worship. Not another word was spoken and we passed in and stood at a place pointed out by Karos.

We gazed around us in silent wonder. It was an immense, round hall of a great height with a lofty dome that rose in the centre, the smooth, round walls arching inwards to form the dome. The walls were painted sky blue and we seemed to be looking up at the vault of heaven in miniature. The central dome was studded with clusters of brilliant coruscant gems that shone like stars, the sunlight flashing on them through minute apertures. It was a marvellous illusion seen in the soft and mellow light that illuminated the circular hall. The floor was of blue marble polished as a mirror and reflected the lighted gems as a still lake reflects the stars. But what arrested our eyes more than anything else was a hollow pillar of some transparent substance that looked like glass, and which rose from the centre of the hall to the middle of the dome. This column was filled with a rosy vapour that curled up and down as a thing of life. A slender jet of sunbeam entered the pillar at the top and played on the vapour which coiled and uncoiled like a large serpent. As the vapour wound round itself and again lengthened out and moved slowly up and down with the shafts of the sun piercing and playing around it, the kaleidoscopic effect was amazingly beautiful. We saw all the colours of the rainbow and various other shades and combinations of colour, and we could not shake off the notion that there was something living, some indefinable vital principle in the confined but moving mass of vapour.

The monks were standing around, silent and with bent heads. Narga was not there.

While we waited in silence a door in front of us opened silently and two nuns passed in and stood on either side of the door. Presently Narga entered, a dazzling vision of beauty, with her arms bare and her white throat gleaming in the light. She was bare-footed like the rest of us and her small, arched feet glided over the floor with a slow and stately movement. She was wearing a close-fitting robe which set off the matchless grace and symmetry of her tall figure, and shimmered and shone as she walked with an undulating movement. The stuff was like cloth of gold shot with silver threads with

lights and shades of violet and purple, sea-green and the blue of lapis lazuli. She looked to neither right nor left but passed, a dazzle of colour and sinuous grace, straight to the foot of the pillar and there halted. She stood apart from the others and there was a rapt look in her eyes which we had never seen before. For some moments she stood still and silent as a statue, with face upturned and eyes introspective. She looked what she was, the high priestess of some mystic cult, gifted with some strange power and peerless in her beauty.

There was a slight movement among the monks and they spread out in a wide circle round the column. In a low musical voice Narga chanted some words in a language we could not understand and the others repeated them after her. It was some ancient hymn and the words had a sonorous sound, long drawn and intoned with a solemn cadence. Narga lifted up her hands and brought them down again as the chant swelled and the voices rose and fell in perfect unison. And ever came the refrain, Raba! Raba! Raba! the voices falling away towards the end and again rising in swelling but soft tones. The movements of Narga's hands passed to her feet and she swayed this way and that in a rhythmic movement. Rippling tremors passed over her body, her voice ceased, she drew a deep breath and held her hands to her sides, there was a tense moment of pause and then her feet left the floor and she rose slowly in the air!

The chant ceased abruptly. We gasped and bit our lips to prevent us from shouting out in amazed consternation. Narga went up with a slanting movement, going round the pillar in a winding, spiral screw, her body lying sideways at an angle like that of a swimmer in a sheet of placid water. Her face was glowing with a rapturous radiance, her eyes were half closed, while the light played with splendid effect upon her waving form and clinging garment.

Orlon was white to the lips and trembling. 'My God!' he whispered, 'if she were to fall!' and he took a step forward.

Maruchi held Orlon with fingers of steel. 'Not on your life!' he whispered back. 'It might startle her and prove the death of all of us.'

Narga ascended to where the pillar touched the centre of the dome, and we saw a ray of the sun striking her face and illuminating it with a pure brilliance. A few more moments passed and Narga remained suspended in the air as if she had been standing upon firm ground. Then she descended, slowly sliding down, as it were, an invisible spiral staircase until she reached the floor and stood again where she had been standing before. Immediately the two nuns came up to her and between them she slowly passed out of sight without a word or sign of recognition. We also dispersed in silence.

To be continued

THE NAZIS

By B. P. L. BEDI

“WE do not shrink from a war if it should prove to be the last means of defending Germany's political and social freedom,” said Herr Strasser on June 14 in his broadcast speech to the German people on behalf of the National-Socialist German Workers' Party.

The statement of the Nazi spokesman sounds more serious than a mere call of jingoism. It came on the eve of the Lausanne Conference, and no moment could have been psychologically better chosen to express what the Nazis stood for. Now the elections of the Reichstag are over, and the position of the Nazis as the strongest party in Germany is an accomplished fact. From the Prussian Diet to the Reichstag, the movement seems to be inevitable.

Hitler is a post-Versailles figure. How has he managed to form, organize, and lead his party to predominance, and what were the forces in post-war Germany which fed the Nazi movement and impelled the German people to flock under the “Hackenkreuz”? An answer to these questions which are so fundamental to the right understanding of the turn that German politics are now taking has been attempted in this article.

“NUN ERST RECHT”

Nobody can travel in Germany and yet remain unimpressed by the sight of a *swastika*. All over the Palatine one sees it tarred over the walls. In Heidleberg, I was amused to see the *swastika* chalked over every one of the hundreds of steps leading down from the schools to the Universitat-Platz. Further up in Pomerania, it appears everywhere painted on boards. In Schleswig-Holstein, almost every house takes pride in displaying it in the window.

The *swastika* with its Aryan origin commands the deference due to antiquity; it is also the centuries-old symbol of anti-semitism. Today, it has found its place on a white circle

in the middle of a red flag, and appears on miniature badges with the “Nun Erst Recht”—a stirring call—inscribed upon it. It has caught the fancy of people as the symbol of last hope on the one hand and the promise of future prosperity on the other. The one accounts for the origin of the party, the other explains the infectious character of its creeds.

“Is it the greatest mass bluff of the twentieth century” as the critics of the Nazi movement try to represent it? That is the question to be answered.

As every mass movement is the outcome of contemporary forces in society, so are the Nazis the true children of post-war Germany. The treaty of Versailles chained the nation hand and foot. Alsace and Lorraine were lost, the Polish corridor was created, the colonies were appropriated, and a fabulous sum was fixed as the price of war guilt. Germany lay disarmed at the feet of her victors and the Republican tricolour took the place of the Imperial eagles.

Accustomed as he was to the Bismarckian tradition and brought up in the school of Nietzsche and Treitschke what more could the heart of Father Fritz burn for but the return of the glory that was Germany! He waits for the arrival of a superman.

Gustav is now back home from the trenches. The army is disbanded. What next? He does not know. Militarism is in his blood—the conscript son of a conscript father. And now life on the front has hardened him to a military life. Thrown back to civilian life and its mufti, he feels worse than a fish out of water. His body itches to don a uniform, his heels ache to click, his spirit is restless and wants to handle a rifle once again—more so when he sees a French grenadier proudly pass by. He looks to God for a deliverer from the mufti.

Herr Niemann is back from the office, and is sitting pensively by the fireside. He

is reading and re-reading the same thing in the *Berliner-Tageblatt*. Yes! it is the latest decree that is worrying him: 20 per cent off his salary. As if by the collapse of the mark the loss of all that he had saved in life was not enough. Less sausages—less beer. His eyes glow. Reparations—France—revenge—despair. The clean shaven head droops back in the chair. "Liebe Gott!" Something has definitely got to be done about it.

"Germany, only Germany, and nothing but Germany."

An Austrian by birth, medium sized but well-built, with a resolute chin and a piercing eye, with a tenacity of purpose and an iron will to do, Adolf Hitler claims to redeem Germany. Fritz, Gustav and Niemann recognize in him the man of their prayers. They are the first to respond to his call. "Heil Hitler!"

There stood Hitler as the hero of the hour, the leader of the National-Socialists. His genius lay in yoking the forces let loose by the period of domestic disintegration and directing them into a clear-cut channel. Hitler was sagacious enough to realize that success lay neither in being only a Nationalist, nor a Socialist, nor a German Workers' Party, but in making youth itself the backbone of the movement. The small dynamic Austrian knew what he wanted and meant to get it. "Brilliant orator, efficient organizer," observes Miss Freda Houlston, "he has captured the imagination of the young men. Uniforms, flags, badges—insignia of party warfare—all do their work. The youth has been made to realize that to make or mar the future lies in its own hands. All its optimism, idealism and desire for change has concentrated itself into the hero-worship of one figure—Herr Adolf."

The *swastika* does not represent just a party which is fighting its way to power, it symbolizes a tremendous movement, in which worker and capitalist, peasant and landlord, young and old, all stand shoulder to shoulder. The Nazi forces clearly fall into three groups: the youth, the bourgeoisie, and the proletariat. How have all these mutually conflicting elements and interests

been harnessed to the service of National-Socialism? It can only be explained by the fact that the movement is entirely fed upon blind enthusiasm: enthusiasm born of prolonged despair and fostered by the superb art of political salesmanship which the Nazis have developed. They are clever enough to talk nationalism to the bourgeoisie and socialism to the workers.

'THE NATION OF TOMORROW'

Formerly, it used to appear interesting to note that there was a generation's difference between the Social-Democrats and the Communists, the majority of the Social-Democrats aging between 40 and 60, and the communists between 20 and 40. But now the National-Socialists have out-bidden the Communists even—the majority of them range between the ages of 17 and 35.

Hitlerism has gripped the mind of the young men. Being a Nazi and being a lover of the "Vaterland" are synonymous terms for them. It is the nationalistic aspect of the movement that appeals to the young and sentimental mind. No one can help admiring the zeal of a young Nazi in a smart brown uniform: there is an air about him, an air of one who realizes that he has a duty and is out to perform it. The organizations like the "Hitler Youth," the National-Socialist Scholars' League, and the National-Socialist Students' League are the strongholds of the Nazis in the young world.

An onlooker on German affairs wonders at the hooligan character of the Nazi students. They fight with their antagonists even inside the "sacred" buildings of a seat of learning as recklessly as those who make the acquaintance of the hard proletarian fists in the streets outside. A purist stands aghast at such an ill-advised effort at combining and confusing studies and politics. But young Germany is being brought up in that way. Strikingly enough, even children are growing up in a political tradition. One day talking to a school master in Hanover I was amazed when he told me that the children play during the recreation hours at street fighting, dividing themselves into two political camps, generally Nazis and Communists. In the class-room, the Jew is also isolated. The

Germans have moreover a system of *Kinderheime* (childrens' homes) in almost every health resort, where parents who cannot afford to have a holiday themselves or wish to be alone send their children. I remember it was in Prerow, a Pomeranian resort on the Baltic Sea that I got friendly with the inmates of a *Kinderheim*, thirty in all, who had just arrived for a holiday. Within a few days they formed themselves into small batches: one was a group of boys between the ages of twelve and sixteen, another a corresponding group of girls, and two such groups of those under twelve. But yet there was another group—an amazing phenomenon. It was a group of budding Nazis: no sex distinction and no age division, a mixed group of all ages, ranging from a boy of nine to a girl of sixteen. They made their separate enclosure of sand on the beach, and to the great pride of all hoisted their own flag. It was the *swastika* that bound them together. The morale of this group was a fascinating study. They had an amazing sense of solidarity in them and would stand to defend and avenge any one of their group if wronged by an 'outsider.'

One day a friend of mine happened to be with me. They inquisitively inquired who he was. "A Communist," he rather teasingly replied. There was a moment of stir. They 'spied a stranger.' I seemed to have fallen from their favour for a moment—a contaminated associate of a Communist. Incredible political consciousness! There was young Germany before me who would one day throng the educational institutes. Sitting on the beach amidst playful children, I could very well visualize bloodshed in the corridors of a University.

Violence or pacifism, these are only means to an end. The fact of the matter remains that young Germany stands determined. And only a nation whose youth is awake is the nation of tomorrow.

THE BOURGEOISIE

"Anti-Marxist! Anti-Jew!! Anti-French!"

The bourgeoisie is a very important plank in the Nazi movement. The North German Nationalist movement of 1923 was Fascist, national and anti-semitic. The election of

1928 revealed that that bourgeois movement was almost completely absorbed by the National-Socialists. The bourgeois recognizes in Hitler a weapon for the safeguarding of its interests—internal and external.

Externally, they see in it an effective threat for extorting concessions at the Reparations Conferences. For, every little bit of concession means a burden off the capitalist's back.

Internally, they are cheered at the possibilities of a Fascist dictatorship, which would not only stabilize their vested interests but would hasten to deal effectively with the Marxian menace.

Again, the anti-Jew war-cry of the Nazis attracts them heart and soul. In the elimination of the Jews, they recognize the extension of their own powers in the financial field.

These factors all combined explained the fervent support given by the Bourgeois Press to the cause of National-Socialism. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Rheinisch Westfälische* and *Bergwerks Zeitung*, the organs of big industry are also very friendly to the Nazis.

The presence, moreover, of a number of nobles in the Prussian Diet among the Nazi faction clearly illustrates the support of the big landowners which this party enjoys.

THE LOWER MIDDLE CLASS

"His kingdom is of this world."

The middle class forms the chief cadre of the Hitlerites. It is a bridge between the bourgeois supporters and the proletarian ranks. They occupy a queer position: "Proletarian in mode of living, bourgeois in ideas, striving to avoid falling into the ranks of the proletariat and dreaming of rising to the level of the bourgeoisie with whom they still feel themselves connected in spite of their empty stomach, their traditions, their school-drill, the lack of political training, lack of understanding of economic things, veneration for big leading personalities, contempt for the lower orders—all this renders them ripe for National-Socialism."

The educated unemployed among the middle class forms a very fanatical element of the party: young unwanted teachers, dismissed bank clerks, lower officials wounded by the State economy axe—one and all are Nazis.

The economic urge for National-Socialism is supplemented by sentimental patriotism. On my way to Cologne, I met in the train an intelligent looking young man, the sort with whom a foreigner is anxious enough to have a talk. After a few words about Deutschland being incomparably better than England, and that the French were a people upon whom the scourge of God should descend, he abruptly heaved a sigh and looked thoughtful. It was Alsace that his heart ached for. "I was born in that province—my place of birth under foreign rule!" His eyes glistened. The Teuton in him woke up—"We shall have it." Apparently unmoved by his sentiment, I asked him, "If you were born in Alsace, don't you think a Frenchman also could justify the possession of Alsace on exactly the same grounds?" "Ah, but that is a different question," said he. I thought he was non-plussed, but he was not. He put his hand in his pocket and brought out a German coin. It was a five-mark piece. He looked at it expecting me to realize what he meant. I could only see an oak on the coin. It had no significance for me. He seemed to pity the unimaginativeness in me which had failed to appreciate his fervour. "This oak is the symbol of our Fatherland. Here, as you can see, it has got three branches withered and bare, without a single leaf—representing the Polish Corridor, Alsace and Lorraine. Now do you think we could be Germans and see the oak?" He was choked with emotion, as he banged his fist on his bag. He represented a class and voiced a nation.

FROM THE RED FLAG TO THE HACKENKREUZ

"As things are now, it is not outside the bounds of possibility that Germany will be the scene too of the first great victory of the European proletariat." (Engels, April 20, 1892.)

With all his realism, forty years back Engels felt optimistic enough to expect Russia to be enacted in Germany. The revisionist school of Marxism, the Germans' jealous love of their 'kultur,' and the theistic tendencies of the man in the street, all combined to prove a severe setback to the march of Marxism. Above all,

Germany produced no Lenin, and when a Man took the lead, to the misfortune of the working class, he was a Fascist.

But, Fascism or Marxism, both appear meaningless labels to the hungry stomach of the unemployed, and what they care for is first bread and then freedom. Their promise of "Freiheit and Brot" has driven the working class into the arms of the Nazis. The revolutionaries among the proletariat, themselves despairing of the early realization of their dreams, have turned to National-Socialism, not as renegades to the Red cause, but rather justifying the transfer of their support on strategic grounds. They maintain that the accession of the Nazis to power would be an event of great disillusionment to the working class. Therefore, the sooner they get into power, the sooner would the bankruptcy of their programme be revealed. As the world hangs today on the edge of the greatest capitalist crisis, the only step next to a discredited Fascist regime would naturally be what the proletariat chooses to do.

Whether the march of events will bear out these calculations, only the future can reveal. But today, the peasant and the proletarian, the revisionist and the revolutionary,—all stand in the Nazi ranks, shoulder to shoulder, with the right hand uplifted, and sing at the top of their voice :

"Wir sind das Heer von Hackenkreuz
Hebt hoch die roten Fahnen,
Der deutschen Arbeit wollen wir
Den Weg zur Freiheit bahnen."

(We soldiers of the Hackenkreuz,
Hold now the Red Flag high!
To blaze the German workers' way,
'To freedom' is our cry.)*

"The spoken word can bring about revolutions."—Hitler.

Knowing the forces which sustain the Nazi party, and the elements which go to swell its ranks, one has only got to transport oneself to the sphere of a Nazi meeting to realize that in that claim Hitler is not far from the truth. Even an ordinary meeting is arranged with all the artfulness of a stage show. Amidst artistically arranged banners and slogans stand the brown soldiers lined

* Translation by Miss Freda Houlston specially for this article.

up on or near the stage, by the speaker—perhaps to symbolize the force that is behind his voice. Proceedings begin with a Nazi band playing one of the favourite old military tunes which they have cleverly adapted to their own songs. The fierce tempo which that music creates is punctuated by the almost hysterical shouts of "Heil Hitler." Enthusiasm overflows. No responsive chord in an emotional German heart is left untouched even before the speaker begins.

This stage-craft is supplemented by very skilful propaganda. During the presidential campaign, 50,000 meetings were arranged. During the recent Reichstag elections, leaflets were showered in town and country from the air and about a dozen or more leaflets were carefully delivered in every home. Pamphlets and papers were distributed gratis. But all that costs a lot of money! The anti-Nazis connect it with the anti-Soviet zeal of Henry Ford who, they allege, supports the Fascists; some see the Italian lira flowing into the Nazi coffers; and some even go to the absurd length of crediting France with chipping their palm.

The brown army itself, besides being the power behind the throne, is a great source of advertisement. It is modelled on the exact lines of the old Imperial German Army. An effort is made to stress the similarity more and more. The headquarters of various divisions are placed in the old divisional garrison headquarters of the Imperial Army. The storm detachments are the elite of the brown army. The marine, cavalry, motor, and music detachments all have their important part to play. The total runs up to nearly 400,000 strong. The superior organization of the Nazis is every

time tested in their conflict with the Iron Front—a body which comprises the Socialist Party, the Socialist Trade Unions, the Reichsbanner (the guardians of Republican Democracy), the Democrats and the Catholics. So far, the *swastika* has the better of the three arrows—the symbol of the Iron Front.

This state of conflict adds to the alertness of the Nazi headquarters in Munich. The influence of the chief Nazi organs—Volker Beobachter and the Angriff,—can hardly be overstated as far as nursing the constituency is concerned. With a people and a Press and an army at his command, what else could a leader want?

Hitler stands as the most enviable figure in the world today; one who enjoys all the charms of power without shouldering any of its responsibilities. He stays in a hotel and people gather outside in thousands to greet their leader. Children are always to be seen in front with bouquets of flowers. The door opens, the Nazi guards line up, the chief arrives, they present arms, and in a most spectacular way Hitler with his irrepressible smile, waving his hand to the crowd that is mad with enthusiasm, departs. All feel that a superman is in their midst.

"The *employers* see in Hitler their rescuer from Bolshevism: the dictator over the rebellious masses; the *petit bourgeois* sees in him the solver of the crisis, the emancipator from the foreign yoke, the leader to a national revival; the *peasants* see in him the protector of agriculture; the *intellectuals* the purger who will cleanse the Augean stable of corruption; whilst the misled *proletariat* sees in him the revolutionary fighter against the international finance and the emancipator of oppressed Germany."



IS INDIAN LABOUR COSTLY ?

BY N. N. DAS, M. A., B. L.

THE Indian Industrial Commission of 1918 have observed : "Indian labour in organized industries is much less efficient than the corresponding classes of labour in Western countries and there is evidence to show that in many cases, it does not produce as cheaply as western labour, in spite of its lower wages." The Commission have also observed at another place that "a factor that has tended in the past to delay the progress of Indian industrial development has been the ignorance and conservatism of the uneducated workman." Similar observations have also been made by other economists and publicists who hold that one of the impediments from which the industrialists of this country suffer is the high cost of labour. Skilled labour, if not non-existent in the country, at least falls far short of the demand, and the rapid development of the industries will further increase this demand which will necessitate the importation of large amount of skilled labour. Since the imported skilled labour will have to be paid a higher rate of wages than it can get for similar work at home, it is comparatively dear. Unskilled labour, though paid a lower rate of wages, is not necessarily cheap owing to its lower effectiveness. The Indian Fiscal Commission have supported this view and have recommended certain measures to increase the efficiency of labour. The Royal Commission on Labour have also observed : "We believe that the need for increased efficiency is generally recognized by all who have given serious consideration to Indian industrial conditions. The production of the average operative is at present low and the loss caused by this inefficiency falls mainly on the operative himself." The Commission have further observed, "But it must be admitted that the Indian industrial worker produces less per unit than the worker in any other country claiming to rank as a leading industrial nation." From these observations one might

conclude that the cost of labour in Indian industries is higher in comparison to the cost of labour in Western countries. But do all our industries really suffer from high labour costs? Do not the lower wages compensate for the lower effectiveness of labour? Do not the lower wages of unskilled labourers more than compensate for the higher wages of the imported skilled labour, thus reducing the total labour cost in an industry? At least in some industries are not the lower wages of unskilled labour a distinct advantage which Indian producers enjoy over their foreign rivals? These are questions which ought to be carefully considered. In 1923, the Government of India accepted the principle of protecting the Indian industries and set up a Tariff Board to examine the claims of the applicant industries for protection. The Tariff Board have examined a large number of industries and their reports have been published. In examining the claims of those industries, the Tariff Board had to consider whether the Indian industries possessed any advantage with regard to their labour costs. Nobody can question the thoroughness and impartiality with which the Tariff Board have examined the claims of those industries, and their conclusions regarding efficiency and cost of labour might fairly be accepted as correct. Let us now see if their reports can throw any light on these questions under consideration. The steel industry is a highly technical industry and complicated machinery is used in it. A highly technical industry requires the services of a large amount of skilled labour and unskilled labour has very little scope for employment in it. Moreover, the proper working of the machines in such industries calls forth some amount of skill and intelligence even from the ordinary labourers, and much heavy work has got to be done by them. The Indian labourers not being sufficiently intelligent and strong like the labourers of other countries, a larger

number of hands are employed in India than in Western countries. So the cost of unskilled labour is not cheap, though such labour is paid a lower rate of wages and the total labour cost is enhanced owing to the employment of imported skilled labour. The extra cost that the industry has to bear as compared with that of the Western countries owing to such employment of imported labour has been estimated at Rs. 2 a ton. Thus, the Board found that the "labour cost per ton of finished steel is unquestionably higher than the corresponding cost in Western countries." The manufacture of tin-plates is another highly technical industry and the saying goes that nobody can manufacture tin plates except a Welshman or an American. In this case, the Board found that one of the grounds for the grant of protection was the high cost of labour as the industry needed the employment of large number of imported skilled labourers. But most of the industries are not as highly technical as that steel and the tin plate industries, and except in the case of these two the Board have not found that the Indian industrialists suffer from any disadvantage of high labour cost. The paper industry, though not a highly technical industry, requires the services of some amount of skilled labour. But then, this industry is at least half-a-century old and one might very well expect that during this period of fifty years suitable Indians should have been trained to replace the imported skilled labour, thus reducing the demand for such imported labour and consequently the labour cost. But owing to the unreasonably conservative attitude of the manufacturers very little has yet been done in the large mills to train Indians, and the cost of labour has consequently remained as high as before. In spite of this disadvantage, the total labour cost per ton of paper or pulp is lower than that of a European mill. The Tariff Board observe on pages 77 and 78 of their report:

"It might appear that owing to the slow progress made in Indianization the cost of labour in the Indian paper mills would be higher than in Europe, but this is not so. The cost of labour per ton of paper in a British Esparto Mill is given by the Indian Paper Pulp Co. at £4-18-0 which is equivalent to Rs. 65 with the exchange at 1s. 6d. and Rs. 73 with the exchange at 1s. 4d. As against this, the labour cost at Naihati have been as low

as Rs. 61 per ton of paper and the grass mills should be able to bring down the cost of labour to about the same figure when they are manufacturing to capacity. It is true of course as we have pointed out before, that the paper which competes with Indian paper is not made from Esparto but from wood and we have no evidence as to the cost of labour per ton of paper in mills which use wood pulp. But the cost of labour per ton of pulp in Norwegian mills as given by the Indian Paper Pulp Company is £2 which is equivalent to Rs. 27 with the exchange at 1s. 6d. and Rs. 30 with the exchange at 1s. 4d. The company estimate that their own labour cost at the pulp mill will not be more than Rs. 16 per ton and although this figure may be over-sanguine we believe that it should be possible to bring down the cost of labour to about Rs. 20 per ton of pulp. The inference is that, in a mill using nothing but wood, the labour costs would not be much less than in a mill using Esparto. If that be so, India is at no disadvantage as regards cost of labour but has already some advantage, though not a large one. The explanation is that the lower wages paid in Indian mills more than counterbalance the smaller effectiveness of the individual workman."

Thus we find that, though this industry is neither very technical nor very simple and imported skilled labour is still employed, the labour cost of an Indian paper mill is lower than that of a European mill.

There are numerous other industries *e.g.*, heavy chemical industry, printer's ink industry, match industry, etc. in which the machinery used is generally very simple and of an automatic character and can be successfully operated by the ordinary labourers of an industrially backward country. The cost of unskilled labour forms the major part of the total labour cost of such industries and skilled labour is only required for a few supervising posts. The ordinary workman needs to be only assiduous to keep the machine in perfect running order and the ordinary Indian workman has been found quite competent to attend to such machines. The utilization of the low paid Indian labour is a distinct advantage which helps to promote the growth of these industries. Thus, with regard to the heavy chemical industry the Board found that:

"Indian labour has been found quite satisfactory and as the scale of wages in this country is much lower than in Europe there will in this respect be some advantage in favour of the Indian manufacturer."

In the printer's ink industry we find the following observations of the Tariff Board on page 4 of their report:

"Mr. Richardson informed us that in a British factory of the same size the wages bill is higher than in India and even allowing for the higher cost of supervision the labour charges per pound of ink would be only 2 annas in India against 3½ annas in England."

Thus, the relative cheapness of labour was found to be a great advantage. We then come to the following observations at page 57 of the report of the Tariff Board on match industry :

"The main advantage which India possesses for the manufacture of matches are the possession of a large home market and the existence of a supply of cheap labour....

... In all the important processes no manual labour possessing any considerable degree of skill is essential. The machinery, much of which has been invented in Sweden is of a very simple character which works automatically and very largely performs repetition work. We may take as illustrative of the position the box-making machines. These machines are so constructed that each one of them will require one workman to operate and look after it but neither in Sweden nor in India, if labour is properly trained and selected, is more than one man necessary at one machine. A factory of the size of Ambarnath uses in all 100 or more of these machines for inner and outer boxes. The wages of labour in Sweden are at least three times as high as those in India and, therefore, in this part of process the labour cost in Sweden will show a corresponding increase. Further a machine is capable of a certain number of revolutions per minute whether here or in Sweden and can therefore produce the same output in a given time in both countries. It has been claimed by the representative of the Swedish Match Co. that the output per head in Sweden is very much higher than the output per head in India because the machines can be worked faster. This may be true when Indian wood is used since the speed of the machine is to some extent limited by the strength of the material. But if the same material *viz.*, *aspin* is used in both countries, the output should be approximately the same. The quantity of output may also be affected by the intelligence of workmen but for

operating such simple machines a very high standard of intelligence does not appear to be required, and the average Indian of the artisan class can with little practice operate the machines efficiently. Indian labour may perhaps be found less efficient than Swedish where heavy work has to be done by hand instead of by machinery. But having regard to the difference in wages between India and Sweden we think that the labour in India even for such class of work would cost per unit less than in Sweden."

Other examples may be cited, but we think enough has been said from which we can safely conclude that in highly-technical industries in which complicated machinery is used and a large amount of skilled labour is employed, the labour cost is high in comparison with the labour cost of rival manufacturers in other countries. In the industries which are not very technical, the lower wages of unskilled labour more than counterbalance the higher wages of skilled labour, and the total labour cost is not high. In numerous other industries, however, in which the machinery used is of automatic character the lower wages of Indian labourers is a distinct advantage and the labour cost is low. We, therefore, find that the Indian Industrial Commission's observation that "in many cases Indian labour does not produce as cheaply as western labour in spite of its lower wages" is not quite correct. On the contrary, in many cases Indian labour produces more cheaply than Western labour and only in a few cases Indian labour is comparatively dear. The present tendency of making the machines automatic and independent of the skill of the operative will greatly benefit India and other industrially backward countries.

THE COMMUNAL AWARD

BY MAHARAJ-KUMAR R. V. M. G. RAMARAU

THE most glaring thing that meets the eye as one peruses the so-called communal "award" is the retention of the separate communal electorates. It may be characterized as a necessary evil,—a view that is fallacious, for no evil can ever be necessary in a good-intentioned scheme. Anyhow this communal representation is to continue. No doubt some of the communalists demanded separate electorates ; but that is no

reason why the British Government should retain them. Why should the Premier listen to the cry of communalists alone? Why should he not care to note the insistent demand of nationalist India for joint electorates? The Government that would not care to listen to the national cry for freedom, the Government that is determined to stamp out at all costs the movement for liberty and independence, the Government that declares that it will do

its duty irrespective of public opinion, ought not to have, in this particular case of communal representation, yielded to the opinion of a small section of communalists. The Premier may say that he retained communal representation, as he thinks that it will help the smooth running of the future Indian constitution. Does he honestly believe it to be so? The Premier and his Cabinet must fully have been aware that these separate communal electorates are detrimental to the progress of a united nationalism. They have already divided India into innumerable factions that are the chief causes for the communal riots that are a puzzle to all true lovers of non-violence and peace. If continued, these separate electorates will work greater havoc in the country by widening the gulf between the rival communities.

The "award" does not rest satisfied with the retention of communal electorates for men alone. It creates communal electorates for women too. In spite of the repeated protests of women against any communal element in their electorates, the Premier forces on them this communalism. It is strange; yet the motives underlying this innovation are easily understandable. Hitherto women have shown great patriotism and unity and have been free from this communal curse. The Imperialist is not quite pleased with this state of affairs. He wants to perpetuate the communal trouble, which alone makes his rule in India possible. The heroic mothers of India, irrespective of caste or creed, are trying to educate the future generations and if the mothers are not interfered with, they will practically eradicate communalism in a short time by making their children free from communal frenzy. But the Imperialists cannot ignore such a glaring fact. Women, too, must be fighting amongst themselves, communalism must devour them and their children; unity must be made a myth. No provision in the "award" will be more harmful to the future constitution of India than this introduction of communal electorates for women.

This electoral arrangement, separate communal electorates, is subject to revision after a period of ten years. Then with the consent of the communities concerned, it is said, separate electorates can be abolished.

But what guarantee is there that the communities after ten years will agree to the abolition of the separate electorates? These separate communal electorates by that time will, surely, have taken root in the soil and widened the gulf between the Hindus and Mussalmans and communal bitterness will certainly be increased to a monstrous size. With the increase of distrust and bitterness, the communities will be zealous, more than ever, to guard their interests behind the shield of separate electorates. The present time offers the best opportunity for the abolition of separate electorates rather than the future. The longer separate electorates are retained the harder will be the work of abolishing them. Consequently the much hoped for Indian unity will be postponed to the Greek calends.

The "award" as regards the depressed classes too, is a failure. With the introduction of special or separate electorates, though there may be some depressed class voters and candidates in the general constituencies, the chasm between the "caste" Hindus and the so-called depressed Hindus will be widened. Social reformers, who are trying to wipe out untouchability, will have a harder time. While the reformer is trying to unite the two sections of the same community, the "caste" Hindu with his brother the depressed class Hindu, the "award" is separating them more than ever. The depressed class stands more in need of social advantages than political. Nothing can do more to segregate the depressed class than these separate electorates. I ask people like brother Dr. Ambedkar, who wanted separate representation for the depressed class, whether these separate electorates are really beneficial.

Another hard hit section is the landholders' group. The "award" keeps them in a hopeless minority, practically in all the provinces, excepting in a province like the U. P. where there may be an upper chamber.

The Zamindar is doomed. Unless he is very democratic, he can never hope to be returned from a general rural constituency. I quite agree with Sir Malcolm Hailey that that no safe-guard can be really effective. The Zamindar has no other alternative but to make common cause with the people. He has

to pay too dear a price for his uncalled for loyalism. He has got his reward.

According to the "award" the Sikhs have separate electorates, and in the Punjab the Moslem-Sikh controversy will become ever increasingly acute. And the apple of discord has been thrown between the Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians too. They also are to have separate electorates. Thus, the communal bitterness is to spread over all the communities and the country, and it may eventually be dragged into a regular civil war. Then will the presence of the British Imperialism in India find a fresh justification and its philanthropy demonstrated anew.

Let us come now to the item, European representation. If there is any community that has been benefited by this "award," it is the European community. They have got the lion's share in the representation when compared with other communities and special interests. Why should the Europeans, who practically mean the Englishmen, have so many seats in the legislature of Bengal? Eleven seats *plus* fourteen seats through commercial and planting representation, give the Europeans an undue advantage. The Britisher can ignore any legitimate claim, but he can never ignore his own interests. A careful study of the European representation reveals to us the selfishness and open partiality of the British Cabinet.

The "award" has practically shoved off Federation or responsibility at the centre, to an indefinite future. This may mean introduction of provincial autonomy only. We are then not going to have responsibility at the centre together with the introduction of provincial autonomy. Probably the Federal scheme is in the melting pot. Are all the pains of the Federal Structure Committee in vain? No self-respecting Indian can possibly accept this "award" even as a working hypothesis. We should clearly understand that the Britisher has no intention to give responsibility at the centre. If the British Government really wanted to introduce responsibility at the centre, they could have easily done so. They could have made Federation possible by "persuading" States to join hands with the rest of India. No doubt the States are to be blamed for their unwar-

ranted hesitation, but the strong British Government need not throw the responsibility on the weakling States to justify their delay in the inauguration of a Federation.

We have seen how utterly useless this "award" is. We know that the "award" with its separate communal electorates is harmful to the country. Barring the Europeans and the Moslems none have benefited by the "award." Even the Mussalmans, if they will carefully consider it, will find that this "award" is not beneficial to them either. They may have a statutory majority in the Punjab, taking into account Muhammadan Zamindari representatives; they may have a working majority in the Bengal Council counting upon the help of the Europeans but really they will lose more than what they gain by this "award." These separate electorates, as already pointed out, will drive the Mussalmans farther and farther away from their Hindu brethren. They will have no real happiness when fighting with their neighbours, the Hindus. Constitutional safe-guards are no effective safe-guards; they can be modified or revoked at any time by an autonomous legislature, provincial or central. Some Nationalist Muhammadan representatives may side with the Hindu Nationalists and may abolish the so-called safe-guards. Then what will happen? Bitterness. Then the communalists having lost their so-called safe-guards, will only retain the contempt of the progressive Indian Nationalists. Real safe-guards will lie in friendship and unity, not in anything else. Therefore children of India, Hindu or Moslem or Sikh or Christian, should settle their differences and unite; for united they stand, divided they fall. The "award" in this respect, we have to be thankful and grateful to the Premier, gives us an opportunity still to settle for ourselves this communal dispute. Better late than never; let us all unite and come to some sort of agreement. Let us prove worthy of our noble land and let us not in this communal chaos, forget that there are higher and more important problems of constitutional advancement to be solved, for the good of us all and ultimately for the betterment of the world.

RAMMOHUN, THE FOUNDER OF A NEW SPIRITUAL ORDER.

By DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

REFERRING to an article, *Rammohun, the Devotee*, in the columns of *The Modern Review* for October, 1928 by the present writer, Romain Rolland remarks :

"The mystic side of his genius has been brought to the fore.....The freedom of his intellect would not have been so valuable if it had not been based upon devotional elements equally profound and varied."

Now that the glory of Radhanagar, not only his birth-place but his *Sadhan-Kshetra* ("field of spiritual endeavour") also, is being restored, we should pay much more attention to the mystic side of Rammohun's genius than has been our wont hitherto,—depicting him only as a great man, a philosopher, a patriot, a statesman, a many-sided reformer, a theologian, a pioneer and prophet, a patriarch and tribune, a padre of padres, a pandit, a *jabardast* Maulvi, a universal man, nay, even a hierophant moralizing from the Eiffel-tower of the world's progress on the far-reaching vistas of human civilization. Not that all these epithets, singly and collectively, are not more applicable to Rammohun than to any other historical person but that we must seek the source from which they spring. They do not indicate that more than anything else the Raja was a *sadhaka*, a *bhakta*, a psalmist. The *Yugacharya*, as he has been very properly called, seems to be so different from others, not because he was less a *sadhaka* but because the fruition of his *sādhana* made him more interested in human affairs.

We find in Dr. Duff's biography, as quoted by Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee, the following : "In a pleasant garden-house in the leafy suburbs of Calcutta the Raja Rammohun Roy, then 56 years of age, was spending his declining days in meditation on divine truth, broken only by works of practical benevolence among his countrymen, and soon by preparations for a visit to England." When I take Rammohun's *sādhana* of *puras-*

charan into consideration, I do not see any historical record in which one has surpassed Rammohun in any austerities (*कृच्छ्रसाधन*) which are real *Brahmasadhan* and not killing the body for killing's sake. Rammohun was proof against any temptation to mistake physiological abnormalities for spiritual progress. He aimed at full spiritual perfection. He knew too well the significance of the poet's dictum, (*शरीरमात्रं खलु धर्मसाधनम्*) "a sound body is the first means of religious achievement," to torture the flesh for nothing. And his physical frame was immune to all attacks which hysteric natures are liable to. He was cast in nature's regal mould both spiritually and physically.

So Rammohun as a *sādhaka* does not impress the popular mind. Yet his austerities were none the less exacting. Rammohun performed *purashcharan* twenty-two times. I have been informed by a reliable authority who tried it once and never thought of it again that such a performance puts the severest possible strain both on body and mind. Rammohun passed through the ordeal with his body and mind intact, because there was nothing unhealthy in his endeavours. He attempted spiritual union with God, union of the soul with the Oversoul and not any psycho-physiological displays of diseased body or disordered brain. Rationally strong, an intellect as he possessed, he was subject to no hallucination either. *Purashcharan*, as practised by Rammohun, was wholly a spiritual exercise—a concern between God and man that brings the *sadhaka* face to face with Reality. It is attuning the soul to the Cosmic Soul and not an intraphysical gymnastic.

Constitutionally a soul spiritually inclined, Rammohun in his early life was on the point of succumbing to the popular proclivity to *sannyasism*, from which course he

was restrained by the entreaties of his mother. Had he become a *Sannyasin*, it would not have been surprising if he had drawn the whole of India behind him. The world was spared that calamity by a mother's tenderness. If Devendranath had taken orders, Rabindranath would have been lost to the world. Failing *sannyas*, young Rammohun began austerities culminating in *purascharan* performed not once or twice but twenty-two times. In the *purascharans* practised by Rammohun, met at least four distinct cultural *sadhanas* aiming at spiritual union with God. Paraphernalia apart, *paurnik* and *tantrik purascharans* come to this that a name is to be mentally repeated several thousand times, culminating in 32 thousand times of repeating the *Mahanirvan-tantra* which sets the *sadhaka* free from all outward restrictions of time and place, of eating and drinking, so that at the end even thinking ceases, leaving the devotee face to face with the *thing* connoted by the name.

The devotee begins the *sadhan* with the rise of the sun and goes on till the sun crosses the meridian, observing twelve austerities of which the vow of silence, sleeping on the ground without a bed, and *Brahmacharya*, popularly so called, are prominent. Rammohun, who was a serious student of Islamic culture and religion as a boy, found strange corroboration from Sufistic *sadhan*, '*dhakr*,' which is substantially, if not exactly, the same. But he got support for this spiritual *sadhan* nearer at hand coming from the hoary past. Upanishadic *nididhyasana* as accepted by Rammohun is an attempt to reach the *thing* that upholds the manifold and when (अभ्यासवशतः) after repeated attempts the object is gained, that is (अपरोक्षानुभूति) direct apprehension, (आत्मसाक्षात्कार) standing face to face with *Atman*. It is not at all an experience like that of sound sleep or stupor, but a conscious spiritual union with God which is liberation properly so called, though not absorption in the supreme self. "अभ्यासवशतः प्रवृत्तमयं विश्वे प्रतीतिरं नाश इदं ब्रह्मसत्ता मात्रे स्फूर्तिं याके ताहाकेइ आत्मसाक्षात्कार कहि ।" It is not discrediting the manifold altogether but only discrediting its existence apart

from God. Now the consciousness comes in that the universe, both as macrocosm and microcosm, has its existence only in God and God appears in every particle of it.

By deep and constant meditation Rammohun had won the glimpse of the Truth, a glimpse that has only been vouchsafed unto a few others in the whole range of human history. This prepared Rammohun for *Brahmasamadhi* even in the midst of the multifarious distraction of his titanic activities. There are those deluded followers of medieval *sadhan* who cannot appreciate the grandeur of *samadhi* as practised and preached by Rammohun. They are not satisfied without abnormal psychological changes of the body or unconsciousness generated in sound sleep. They appear to be quite ignorant that against such a state to be taken as the highest flight of the self, an early and emphatic protest was raised in the *Ohhandogyopanishad* by Indra addressing Prajapati: "Surely, Sir, in this state one does not know oneself thus—'This is I' nor does one know these things; one rather reaches a state of annihilation. I do not see any good in this doctrine." (viii. 11. 2). Now Prajapati admits the force of Indra's contention and teaches him of a state of supreme enlightenment, the highest state attainable by the self even before death, when it is not necessary to separate itself from the mundane existence nor even to deny itself the enjoyment of mundane pleasures. Prajapati says: "The pure self rising from this body and endowed with the supreme light, appears in its true form. (Then) it becomes the highest person. In that state it moves about, eating (or laughing), playing and enjoying itself, forgetting the body in which it was, as it were, born. As a horse is attached to a cart, so is life attached to the body."

Here we find a description of the self's earthly life as lived in the light of supreme knowledge. There is a false philosophy that teaches retirement from the world to enable one to engage in devotions for liberation and when liberation is attained it teaches absorption in the supreme self. Nothing of the kind is taught here. The highest state of the self is interpreted as a state that overspreads here and hereafter.

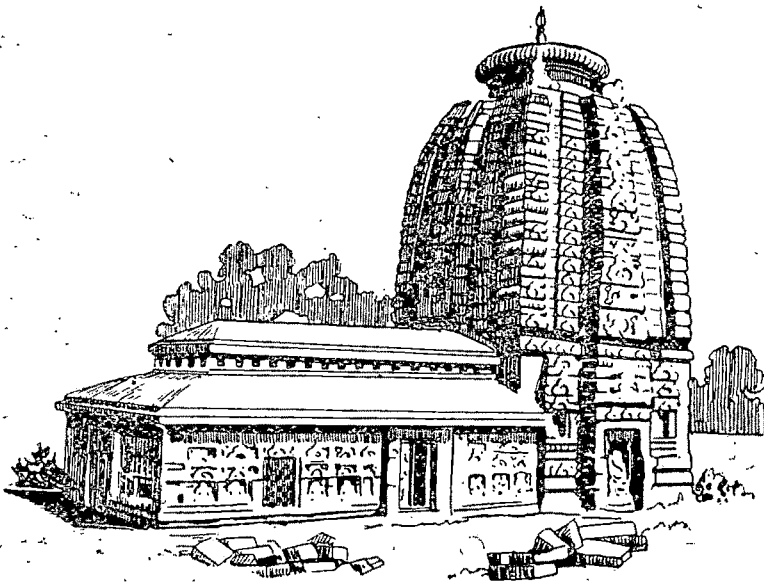
Prajapati calls it *Brahmaloka*, meaning, life in God, and not any regional life, as he says : "The *devas* (meaning liberated souls) in the *Brahmaloka* worship the self (the Supreme Self). Therefore, all worlds and all objects of desire are obtained by them. He who thus knows the Self by inquiring into it obtains all worlds and all objects of desire." So, in liberation there is no forsaking the world, nor its manifold duties, not to speak of the extinction of the self. Nor is a mere contemplative life enjoined. Worlds cannot be obtained for the mere asking, nor are desires fulfilled without strenuous activity on the part of the self. Man is not a mere intellectual being that his perfection would lie in a life of contemplation.

Rammohun also conceived his religious system too profoundly to confine it to only one aspect of human life. "He ridiculed the notion that man, being governed by those powers,—reason, imagination and the passions,—could be directed by those who addressed themselves only or chiefly to the first of these powers, overlooking the importance of the two other elements of human nature, which must continue to exert an everlasting influence," as the Raja's private

secretary, Sandford Arnot, reports. This explains Rammohun's humanistic activities even after he had attained his *siddhi*. The friend referred to in connection with his performance of *purasccharans* once informed his audience that Rammohun entered the world after having attained *siddhi*. By whatever name you call this final stage of beatitude the *Yugacharya* attained—call it not *samadhi* if you do not like—what's in a name, the rose in another name smells as sweet—it is not a state of stupor or inanition which people know by the name of *samadhi* and mistakenly hail a physical phenomenon as spiritual achievement. Rammohun takes, *atmasakshatkar* or *aparokshanubhuti* as *samadhi*, and enjoins,—

"समाधिविषय क्षमतापन्न हृदले सकल ब्रह्ममय ब्रह्म एव रूपे साधनीयं ह्येन," "When a man attains the

state of *samadhi*, he will worship God as all in all." This explains Rammohun's activities in all spheres of life and in all relations of life. It is *Brahma-sadhana* to love and work. This we find in a nut-shell in the Prajapati's *Brahmaloka*. Here was a Prajapati over again in the *Yugacharya*, an *Imam* of a new Tradition, a prophet of a newer dispensation, as Acharya Brojendra Nath Seal beautifully puts it.



THE MILITARY BACKGROUND OF THE THIRD AFGHAN WAR, 1919

By NIRAD C. CHAUDHURI

I

It is unnecessary to carry the military antecedents of the Third Afghan War further back than 1903 though it is quite possible that the memory of the wars of the last century still rankled in Afghan memory or, at any rate, fostered the nationalism of those Sirdars whose fathers had suffered and died in the Second Afghan War.* But the chain of cause and effect is almost unbroken from the beginning of this century to the commencement of hostilities in 1919.

From 1903 onwards Afghanistan lay continuously under the shadow of the Army in India. A war in Afghanistan was the avowed purpose of that army, and a far-reaching programme of reorganization with a view to that war was being carried through in India by one of the most distinguished soldiers of the British Empire. It is of course true that these preparations were not always meant for Afghanistan. Roughly speaking, till the signing of the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, they were directed almost exclusively against Russia, and after that date the consolidation of the German influence in Turkey made the Indian authorities increasingly nervous about a possible extension of German activities in Afghanistan. But in neither circumstance was there any comfort for the Afghan people. The tragedy of their position between two great European Powers, whose secular rivalry is still one of the most conspicuous phenomena of modern history, made their independence literally a pawn in the larger game of world politics. It could never be foretold when the grant of a railway concession to Germany in Asiatic Turkey or the thwarting of a Russian design in the Balkans might not

let loose forces which would wipe the name of Afghanistan off the map of the world.

That this was no mere hypothetical anticipation, but a practical contingency, pondered over in all its bearings by the Government of India, is proved by documentary evidence. In a note on the defence of India, prepared in 1905 at the request of the Viceroy, Lord Kitchener wrote:

"Moreover, if Russia, by absorbing Northern Afghanistan, advanced her frontier to the line of the Hindu Kush, we should in self-defence advance our frontiers to the same alignment. Afghanistan would lose her independence, like the Central Asian Khanates and Baluchistan."

But this was not all. There is clear evidence to show that, throughout this period, Afghanistan was regarded as a potential enemy in itself also. British statesmen and soldiers often called the Amir their ally. But it can hardly be said that their policy towards his kingdom breathed an excess of friendly feeling and confidence. Deep distrust of the ruler and people of Afghanistan formed the keynote of British policy towards that country. It had taken root in the minds of the politicians and soldiers so firmly that, whether the major enemy was Russia or Germany, any relaxation of the watchfulness as regards Afghanistan was considered absolutely unthinkable. Accordingly, Afghanistan was reckoned as one of the most important, if for the moment secondary, objectives of the Indian Army, and the possibility of having to fight the combined forces of Russia and Afghanistan formed the basis for calculating the strength of the Field Army in India.

This attitude towards Afghanistan came out very clearly after the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian Convention of August 31, 1907, which removed all fears of a Russian invasion of that country. Immediately after its signature, Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India, asked for the views of the Government of India as to the actual effect of the Anglo-Russian Convention on Indian military policy. He tentatively suggested,—now that the Russian cloud hanging over the North-west of India had cleared—there might be a case for economizing in army expenditure. To this opinion Lord Kitchener most emphatically demurred. He replied to the Secretary of State in a lengthy

* The present King of Afghanistan who as General Nadir Khan was one of the most prominent members of the anti-British War Party was himself born in exile at Dehra Dun. His grandfather, Yahiya Khan, and three other Afghan notables were arrested by the order of Lord Roberts during the Second Afghan War "on the ground that they were the most influential men in the country and that all their influence had been exerted against us, as had been proved by the resistance offered to the advance on Kabul." (Lady Betty Balfour—*Lord Lytton's Indian Administration*, p. 367). They all accompanied Yakub Khan in his deportation to India with their families. In 1905, when Nadir Khan was twenty-five years old, he and his parents were allowed to go back to Afghanistan.

* Sir George Arthur—*Life of Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 154.

memorandum dated October 21, 1907. In this dispatch he contended that the strength of the Indian Army was not "based on the consideration of any critical situation with regard to Russia." Therefore, the conclusion of the Anglo-Russian convention—assuming it would be efficacious, about which Lord Kitchener was not so sure—did not affect the Army in India at all. The tasks which it had to perform were varied and onerous enough without reckoning the Russian menace. It had to preserve order amongst the border tribes, secure the British Power against internal revolutions, provide contingents for service overseas for the general requirements of Imperial defence, and, above all, provide for troubles in Afghanistan. On the last danger Lord Kitchener dwelt most impressively. He wrote:

"Behind the border tribes again, and closely connected with them by religious bonds and by fanaticism, there always lurked the possibility of trouble with Afghanistan. The Afghan regular troops numbered about 100,000 men with over 500 modern guns, besides an armed irregular force of about 35,000. The Amir, during his visit to India in 1907, had stated that he was sparing no effort to improve and increase his army, and with our subsidy he could organize a much larger force, equipped with up-to-date rifles and guns. Apart from Russia, a fight with Afghanistan—complicated as it must be by the hostility of the tribesmen, would demand every man and gun of the new nine divisions."

This dispatch was endorsed whole-heartedly by the Viceroy, Lord Minto, and his Council, and was accepted as embodying the considered views of the Government of India. It gives a clear indication of the military attitude towards Afghanistan, an attitude, as I have already said, of deep distrust of her motives and good faith. This scepticism found expression in almost every diplomatic utterance about Afghanistan. In 1905 King Edward VII jokingly told Count von Bernstorff, the 1st Secretary to the German Embassy in London, that the "Amir seemed to adopt a British or Russian complexion just as he liked, and he could not be trusted."† And two years later, while the Anglo-Russian negotiations were in progress, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, wrote to Sir Arthur Nicolson that "although we should be most unwilling to annex, to occupy Afghan territory, the fear that we may do so is the chief incentive to the Amir to observe his treaty obligations towards us."§

* Arthur—*Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 242.

† Count von Bernstorff, in London, to the Chancellor, Count von Bülow, Feb. 27, 1905. (Dugdale—*German Diplomatic Documents, 1871-1914*, Vol. III, p. 186. Also, *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914*, Vol. XIX, No. 657).

§ Sir Edward Grey to Sir Arthur Nicolson, July 8, 1907. (*British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. IV, p. 550, No. 488).

It would be a mistake to take these observations as mere casual *obiter dicta*. They toe the line remarkably well with the systematized theory of Afghan character formulated by the General Staff in India from their study of Afghan history and observation of the country and its inhabitants. This theory was communicated to all officers who might have to serve in Afghanistan as a practical guide to their conduct and dealings with the Afghans, and served, so to say, as the psychological background of British policy towards that country. It furnishes, too, an invaluable key to the military calculations in respect of Afghanistan.

The Afghans, so ran the official estimate, were a treacherous people, generally inclined towards double-dealing. Their honour, if such a word could be used at all, in connection with them, seldom extended beyond the vindication of their personality, and had little in it of a national and altruistic character. Plausible and specious in their arguments, they often succeeded in imposing upon Europeans with their protestations of good faith and honourable intentions, but experience of a very positive nature showed that no military commander should ever rely upon their good faith alone for the performance of any promises they might make. In no circumstances were terms to be made with the Afghans, unless the observance by them of such terms could be enforced. The treachery and guile of the Afghans in their dealings with foreigners and enemies were but a phase of Afghan patriotism, of an unscrupulous character doubtless according to British standards, but nevertheless practical in its methods and not wholly unsuccessful in its results. Therefore, when dealing with them, firmness combined with bold and vigorous action and refusal to argue a question was the proper and the only safe course for the Europeans to follow, who could not compete in any other manner with the guile and chicanery which constituted the moral atmosphere of nearly every Afghan.

The military preparations against Afghanistan were the only possible deduction from these doctrines.*

* Though he was an advocate of military preparedness against Afghanistan, Lord Kitchener, personally, was not in favour of a policy of excessive distrust of the Afghans. There were also other officers who deprecated this. One of them wrote to a friend in England on 13. 8. 1906:

"Much that has been said of our policy of distrusting the Afghans is absolutely true, and is what Lord Kitchener has urged over and over again, both as regards the Amir, and all the Mullahs and tribal leaders as well. A policy of making use of them but showing marked distrust, is not only undiplomatic but is absolutely opposed to the simple rules of etiquette as observed by the Pathans and Afghans, whether from a worldly or religious point of view. Make friends of them or else make them afraid of you, but don't make use of them when it suits you.

II

There still remains one very important point to discuss before it is possible to appraise at anything like its correct value the menace of the Army in India to Afghanistan. It may very plausibly be argued that the military preparations undertaken in India were envisaged solely as defensive measures. They were to be had recourse to only in the last resort, only in the face of intolerable provocation on the part of the Amir or Russia. There can be no doubt that, dialectically, this line of reasoning is perfectly sound. But it ignores the realities of the situation altogether. Leaving aside for the moment the objections that an armed peace is a very precarious peace and the state of nervous tension which it produces precipitates the very crisis which it seeks to avert, or that the ownership of a fine fighting machine only leads men unto the temptation of making use of it—all of which are legitimate and relevant objections—the argument about the defensive character of the British military preparations overlooks one all important fact. It forgets that in the existing political arrangements between India and Afghanistan, the determination of the necessities of defence was left entirely to the British authorities, a set people, of all others, the least fitted to draw the demarcating line between defence and aggression.

This is always a dangerously shadowy distinction, and it is rendered more shadowy still by the empiricism and lack of imagination of the British mind. During the Anglo-Russian negotiations of 1907, Great Britain wanted Seistan (in Persia) to be included within the British "sphere of influence," and Sir Arthur Nicolson, the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg assured the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Isvolsky, that this was desired "for purely defensive reasons." M. Isvolsky, at once interposed with the remark that there was "défense active" as well as a "défense passive."* This distinction was very truly drawn, and it was particularly apposite in the case of British policy. British aggressiveness is, as a rule, of an insidiously defensive kind, and it may with no injustice perhaps be said that if the path to hell is paved with good intentions, the path to the British

and then try to assume a bullying tone which they know is not going to be supported by a *fortiter in re* attitude. Our policy for years has tended to stir up resentment and contempt among the more virile tribesmen, and a doubt of our sincerity and fair dealing among the remainder, which leads them to believe that, however much we may promise protection it will not be afforded if it does not appear expedient at the moment." (Arthur—Lord Kitchener, Vol. II, p. 155.) But these opinions had no visible effect on the traditional policy of the Government of India.

* *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. IV, p. 429, No. 388.

Empire has in no less a degree been smoothed by motives of self-defence. To give only a few modern examples. The Boer Republics lost their independence because British statesmen considered the step necessary in the legitimate defence of British stakes within their territory; Egypt became a British dependency for the sake of British financial and strategic interests; for the same reason, Persia had her territories divided up into spheres of influence; Germany lost her colonies and navy to make the British Empire safe; China submitted to a firm application of the gun-boat policy to safe-guard British commercial interests; Afghanistan went through two bloody wars for the sake of the security of British possessions in India—it is superfluous to multiply instances. Here, indeed, we have a proposition which no impartial student of history ever dreams of disputing: it is admitted on all hands that hardly an inch of ground has been added to the British Empire, hardly a farthing has been added to the wealth of Great Britain which has not been done with the best of motives, or for which the responsibility can be laid at the door of abstract love of war.

There was further ground for disquiet for Afghanistan in the fact that the determination of the policy to be pursued in respect of her was entrusted to a local authority in whose moderation even the British Government at Home had no deep faith. During the Anglo-Russian negotiations, the demands of the Government of India with regard to Afghanistan were so extreme that Sir Charles Hardinge (later, the Viceroy of India) wrote to Sir Arthur Nicolson on August 7, 1906: "We have had the views of the Gov(ernmen)t of India which were quite impossible and to which we have replied. They will probably be over-ridden by Mr. Morley."* And, three days later, alluding to the delay in drafting the Afghan instructions, Sir Edward Grey wrote:

"As to negotiations I *hope* I have now got the instructions ready as to Afghanistan; there is no difficulty at the India Office, but the India Gov(ernmen)t has to be consulted and it takes a little time to lead them to the waters of conciliation and get them to agree that they are wholesome."†

This attitude persisted even after the formal conclusion of the Anglo-Russian agreement, and was well known to the authorities at Home. We find Lord Morley expressing his misgivings about the working of the agreement in a private letter to Sir Arthur Nicolson, in which he wrote:

As you say, the results will depend on the spirit in which the thing is taken by officers and agents on the ground. We can hardly count on very loyal acquiescence on the part of the "majority," who gave trouble on the night of your

* *British Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 241, No. 226.

† *Ibid.*, p. 241, No. 227.

serious hitch. And on the other hand, I shall have to keep a very vigilant eye in my diocese.*

The intransigence of the Government of India was wholly due to the influence exercised over it by the military authorities. It is, of course, a patent fact that, of all people, the soldiers are the least fitted to exercise a salutary influence on foreign policy. Long ago, Lord Salisbury had given the following wise advice to Lord Lytton, whose Viceregal panic over the Russian bogey had given him considerable amusement:

"You listen, he wrote, too much to the soldiers. No lesson is more deeply inculcated by experience of life as that you should never trust experts. If you believe the doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the soldiers, nothing is safe. They all require their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of common sense."†

Apparently, this counsel had not been taken to heart by Simla.

But it is not enough to say that the military authorities in India were actuated only by over-much solicitude for the safety of their possessions. They could certainly not be absolved from all suspicion of jingoism. It was plain that the possession of an efficient army had made them more keen to force a decision by arms than to seek it by peaceful means. The offensive spirit was very strong in them, so strong, in fact, that it actually prompted them to obstruct the diplomatic negotiations which were on foot to remove the very danger about which they were so clamorous. The attitude of the Army authorities in India towards the Anglo-Russian Convention was one of consistent hostility and scepticism. This fact must have been as well known to the Russian as to the British authorities, for, in April 1907, the British Military Attaché in St. Petersburg frankly admitted to the Chief of the Staff of the Russian Army: "Of course, our Indian Army will look with regret on an agreement with Russia, that will deprive them of their one chance of active service against an enemy worthy of their attention. But that was not a point to be considered."‡ To entrust the defence of India to these authorities was, to say the least, not to invite the tamest of defensive programmes.

As a matter of fact, the defensive requirements of the Indian army authorities gravitated very often towards an encroachment on the sovereign rights of Afghanistan. One single instance will be sufficient to bring this home. On May 11, 1905, in an elaborate speech on the Committee of Imperial Defence, Mr. Balfour had outlined before Parliament the policy to be pursued in respect of the defence of the north-west frontier of India. He had declared in this speech that on no account would Great Britain tolerate the building of any railways in Afghanistan by

Russia, and if any were undertaken it would mean war. Lord Kitchener welcomed this clear statement of policy but wanted it to go further. He declared:

"Above all, not a single step should be permitted on the part of the Amir which might facilitate the enemy's transport; and any attempt to construct a railway within Afghan territory to connect with the Russian strategic railways should be regarded by us as a directly aggressive act."*

It is instructive to compare this demand with the reply that the British authorities gave when Russia made a similar request. M. Isvolsky argued that the building of railway lines in Afghanistan, with or without the help of British engineers, would alter the strategic situation to the prejudice of Russia, and therefore Great Britain, as the Power controlling the foreign relations of Afghanistan, might be expected to give some assurance on the point. To this request Sir Arthur Nicolson gave the following reply: "...if the Amir were inspired with the desire to develop and open up his country, we could not prevent him from realizing such a wish."†

III

Equally conclusive evidence of the military precariousness of Afghanistan is to be found in the strategic plans of the Army in India, which must now be described in some detail. The fundamental conception on which the military authorities proceeded was that the frontiers of Afghanistan were the true military frontiers of India, and Afghanistan was only the glacis of the Indian fortress. It was in accordance with this seminal idea that the military authorities fixed the Kabul-Kandahar line as the strategic objective of the Field Army in India. This objective remained constant whether the enemy was Russia or Afghanistan or both. The only difference that the uncertain circumstances of a war in Afghanistan made was that while the Army in India was expected to deal single-handed with the Afghans and the border tribes, its task, in the event of a major war, involving hostilities with Russia or any other Great Power, was defined both by Lord Kitchener and the Committee of Imperial Defence as that of occupying and holding the Kabul-Kandahar line for at least twelve months, till reinforcements could arrive from England, the colonies and Japan.

The next step in planning was to choose the lines of advance to the objective. This was not a very difficult matter, as, in the existing frontier between Afghanistan and India, the British possessed an initial strategical advantage which was in no way fortuitous. For decades the British authorities had been trying to secure a frontier which would strengthen their grip on

* *Ibid.*, p. 587, No. 526.

† Sir Algernon Cecil—*British Foreign Secretaries.*

‡ *British Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 530, No. 476 (enclosure).

* Arthur—*Lord Kitchener*, Vol. II, p. 146.

† *British Documents*, Vol. IV, p. 429, No. 388.

Afghanistan, and they had succeeded in getting it by the time the Durand Convention was signed (1895). The popular belief that the present frontier between India and Afghanistan represents the gates of India which must be held at all costs if India is not to be over-run by hordes of barbarians surging through the passes, is an amusing and superannuated myth and nothing more. Even a casual glance at the map is enough to show that this frontier, enclosing as it does within its curve the whole of the Kabul-Kandahar line, and holding the cities of Kandahar and Kabul within striking distance of its two ends, is meant for a sweeping out-flanking as well as frontal operation against cis-Hindu-Kush Afghanistan. The same anxiety for securing convenient points for an advance into Afghanistan governed the delimitation of administered and non-administered territories on this side of the Indian frontier. In fixing these limits, the British authorities always kept in mind the imperative necessity of keeping the most vulnerable points on the Afghan frontier well within the territory directly administered or garrisoned by them. Thus, the three principal lines of approach to Afghanistan, the Khaibar, the Kurram Valley, and Baluchistan, were garrisoned by the Regular Army or directly administered by the Government of India. The rest were left either to tribal militias officered by the British, or to the tribes themselves.*

This policy brought all the routes from India to Afghanistan within British control and, as I have already said, made the choice of a line of advance into the heart of Afghanistan a comparatively easy matter. The more important among these routes were :

(1) the Khaibar-Kabul valley route ; (2) the Kurram route ; (3) the Tochi route ; (4) the Gomal route ; and (5) the Quetta-Chaman route. Of these, the first led from Peshawar to Kabul either *via* Shilman Pass, Jalalabad and Kabul River, or *via* Khaibar Pass, Jalalabad, Safed Sang, Jagdalak Pass, Haft Pass and Khurd Kabul defile ; the second led from Kohat to Kabul *via* Thal, Kurram, Parachinar, Paiwar Kotal, Shutargardan Pass and the Logar valley ; the third led from Bannu to Ghazni over the

Kotanni Pass ; the fourth from Tank to Ghazni over the Staghai and Sarwandi Passes ; while the fifth led from Quetta to Kandahar *via* either Chaman and Mel Karez, or Chaman, Saiyidan and Barghana Pass, or Chaman and Dori River. After going over the relative merits of these and all the other alternative routes, the military authorities decided upon the first, the second and the fifth routes as their main lines of advance into Afghanistan and called them, respectively, the northern line of advance, the central line of advance and the southern line of advance.

The strategical advantages possessed by the India Government in the line of the frontier were improved still further by means of strategic railways. The backbone of this system, which covered the whole of India from one end to the other with a network of railways, was the great lateral broad-gauge line running from Dargai in the extreme north to (in 1913) Nushki in western Baluchistan. This line was connected on the one hand with the most distant corners of India, and, on the other, with the furthest practicable points on the routes to the Kabul-Kandahar line within the British border. These railheads were five in number. The first broad-gauge line ran through Peshawar to Jamrud at the head of the Khaibar Pass ; the second broad-gauge line ran to Kohat from which a narrow-gauge line carried the railway connection to Thal, 61 miles away ; the third broad-gauge line ran through Quetta right up to the frontier to Chaman, which was only seventy-one miles from Kandahar ; while another narrow-gauge line (completed during the war years) ran from Kalabagh Ghat and Mari Indus into the heart of Derajat, forking off at its end to Tank on the one hand and Bannu on the other.

Even these railways did not satisfy the military authorities. In order to make the position of the Indian Army still more sure Lord Kitchener asked for two additional broad-gauge railways. One of these, an extension of the Kurram valley line from Kohat with its existing 2'-6" gauge railhead at Thal—he wished to carry to the foot of the Paiwar Kotal, the nearest point on the frontier to Kabul, 95 miles distant. The British Indian forces, it was stated, "railed at this point, could within ten days be inside the Afghan capital ; the new line would be invaluable for supplies, and would enable us to close our hand on Ghazni, a dozen marches off."*

The other broad-gauge line was to run through Khaibar Pass to a terminus near Loi Dakka, at the eastern end of the Jalalabad valley, where a stock of 100 miles of broad-gauge material would be kept ready for a rapid extension of the railway line into Afghan territory. Financial and other reasons, however, prevented the execution of this scheme, and for

* Only one instance among many such that can be cited, will prove the correctness of the above argument. With regard to Waziristan, the official history compiled by the General Staff, India, says :

"With the object of relieving regular units of the Indian Army of the task of garrisoning outlying posts, and of purely police duties on the frontier, and in view of the fact that neither the Tochi nor the Gomal routes were regarded as being suitable as main lines of advance into Afghanistan it was decided in 1899 to call on the inhabitants of the various localities to take part in their own defence." (Italics mine.)

(*Operations in Waziristan, 1919-20*, second edition ; compiled by the General Staff Branch, A. H. Q. India, 1923, p. 10.)

* Arthur—Lord Kitchener, Vol. II, p. 148.

the moment the British railheads remained where they were.*

The strategic objective once defined and the lines of approach to it laid down and served by strategic railways and roads, the task of military preparations for a war in Afghanistan was a relatively easy matter. It had its own problems and difficulties no doubt, but they were questions, so to say, of executive detail. They were systematically approached and solved during the tenure of office of Lord Kitchener and his successors, and as a result of their efforts, the military preparations for a war in or against Afghanistan had reached a satisfactory stage. These preparations naturally fall under two heads: those within India and those in Afghanistan, each of which should be considered separately.

As to the first, which was the most important half of the preparations, the essential task was (1) to provide a force adequate for the purpose, (2) to organize and train it in peace as it was expected to be employed and led in war, and (3) to place it in such a manner along the main lines of railways that it could be rapidly concentrated and transported to the frontier. The force actually assigned to the task was nine fully equipped infantry divisions, with army troops, and eight cavalry brigades. These formations were grouped in two armies, the Northern and the Southern, the objectives of which were, respectively, the Kabul and the Kandahar end of the Kabul-Kandahar line. In the event of hostilities these two armies were to advance to the objective by two main routes: (1) from Peshawar to Kabul, and (2) from Quetta to Kandahar. For the convenience of training as well as for the sake of the health and comfort of the troops, the divisions were stationed all over India instead of being concentrated on the frontier. But they were so échelonné one behind the other, along the feeder railways, that their transport to the frontier was only a question of days. The names and the areas of the divisions and their allotment to the armies were as follows: the 1st (Peshawar) Division, 2nd (Rawalpindi) Division, 3rd (Lahore) Division, 7th (Meerut) Division, 8th (Lucknow) Division belonged to the Northern Army; and the 4th (Quetta) Division, 5th (Mhow) Division, 6th (Poona) Division, 9th (Secunderabad) Division belonged to the Southern Army. As a result of these arrangements, as the biographer of Lord Kitchener says,

"India was for the first time able, while maintaining an ample garrison, to await without alarm

any difficulties arising beyond the frontier, to despatch at short notice two great armies to the vital points of contact with the enemy—the line of Helmund and heights above Kabul—and to stand steady for at least a twelve month, until Imperial reinforcements from overseas should arrive."*

The preparations in Afghanistan, obviously, would not be so comprehensive. They were confined almost wholly to the collection of intelligence of a military nature regarding Afghanistan and the Afghan military and tribal forces. But so far as that went, it was made as thorough as possible. While, on the one hand, the Survey of India, mapped the whole area on the 1 inch scale, made panoramas of the principal Afghan towns and cities for the use of artillery, and collected minute topographical information which was systematized and kept in readiness for use by the General Staff, the intelligence officers belonging to the Indian Army ascertained all available particulars regarding the routes into Afghanistan, the obstacles and supplies on them, the equipment, armaments and the strength of the Afghan forces, the disposition, armaments and methods of fighting of the tribes, the strength and armament of all Afghan fortified places, and the transport facilities and supplies procurable in the country. These particulars, brought together with great care, permitted the General Staff to prepare beforehand even their tactical plans, and placed the Indian Army in a position of overwhelming superiority to the Afghans.

IV

The story of the military background of the Third Afghan War would not be complete without some account of the methods of warfare to be adopted in Afghanistan. The general public never realizes with sufficient force that a campaign is never fought on improvised instructions, nor on purely abstract doctrines of war unless it is wholly unexpected. There are, of course, about half a dozen of these principles whose soundness has been tested through the ages and which are of almost universal validity. But the most fruitful application of even these have been by leaders and men who have had some previous experience of the peculiar circumstances of the campaign and have given some thought to them. This simple truth is recognized by all modern Governments, and all of them, nowadays, as a rule, formulate their strategical and tactical instructions for a particular eventuality long before the hostilities actually commence. By doing so and by conducting peace-time training and practice on these instructions, they impress these so thoroughly on the minds of all subordinate and superior officers that whenever these latter have to come to a decision in the field they automatically give them their full weight, and

* When the Third Afghan War broke out, a General regretted that the line to Loi Dakka asked for by Lord Kitchener had not been built. He wrote: "There can be no doubt that the Loi Shilman line, had it been completed as Lord Kitchener wished, and connected with Landi Kotal by a good military road, or by a light line up to Karu Shilman, would have been of great use in the present trouble with the Afghans." (Arthur—Lord Kitchener, p. 148n).

* Arthur—Lord Kitchener, Vol. II, p. 143.

are enabled to deal with situations as they arise themselves, without the personal intervention of the commander at every juncture, and yet fully maintain the continuity and unity of military action.

The British doctrines of war for a major campaign are laid down in the Field Service Regulations. But these regulations require considerable modification before they can be applied to uncivilized and unorganized enemies, such as the Afghans and Pathans were undoubtedly considered to be. To take a familiar example, which, however, is later than the Third Afghan War,—the campaign of 1919-20 in Waziristan showed that the degree and kind of training which sufficed for the requirements of mass warfare in France and Mesopotamia, was utterly inadequate against the far less heavily armed Mahsuds and Wazirs. Operations on the North-West Frontier of India require a higher standard of individual training and greater initiative and skill in handling small bodies of troops down to the sections, than is the case in a war of the first magnitude. They also require a thorough adaptation of the general principles of war to the nature of the ground and the fighting habits of this particular kind of enemy. For the frontier Pathans, this has been done in the special "Manual of Operations on the North-West Frontier of India" issued by the Government of India. It has also been prescribed that troops in India should be trained in frontier warfare by employing the Pathan soldiers in the Indian Army to represent the enemy. The army authorities vividly realize that the superiority given to the tribesman by his long familiarity with the country and ground must be neutralized by an intense previous training of their own men. To put it in their own words, "in the hills the hill-bred man possesses a natural ascendancy over the plains-man. It is only by the most thorough training that we can hope to correct this inequality, and to imbue our leaders and troops with such a measure of courage, energy, determination, and bold offensive spirit as to outdo the enemy in his own hills, and so ensure success in battle."*

The need for an equally thorough previous training of the troops and adaptation of the general principles of strategy and tactics to suit the special circumstances of operations in Afghanistan, was recognized no less vividly long before the outbreak of the Third Afghan War. Though Afghanistan possessed a regular army which the British authorities did not think it wise to despise, they knew that the real military strength of the country lay in the armed tribesmen rather than in the regular troops. Even these tribes were of varied origin, fighting value

and loyalty to the ruler of Afghanistan. The non-Afghan Tajiks, Uzbaks, Hazaras and Kizilbashs, for example, were more or less disaffected towards Durrani rule and were expected by the British military authorities, if not in every case to join them, at least to observe a benevolent neutrality. It should be remembered that, during the Second Afghan War, the Hazaras held Ghazni for the British against the Afghans and also assisted the former with labour, guides, supplies and transport. The tribes which an invading army will have seriously to reckon with were estimated by the military authorities, therefore, to be the Pushtu-speaking or true Afghans and Pathans of eastern Afghanistan, who in a religious war would have the sympathies, as also perhaps the active support, of the practically independent Pathan tribes on the Indian side of the Durand Line. It was on the strength and the fighting habits of these tribes that the tactical methods of the army authorities in India were based. Each of these aspects of the military problem requires a word or two.

The fighting strength of the Pushtu-speaking Afghan and Pathan tribes on both sides of the Durand Line, all of whom were intensely patriotic, courageous and warlike, was estimated by the military authorities to be rather more than half-a-million men with about 190,000 rifles. But the strength in which they would turn up, and the extent to which they would combine—or, what was more important from the British point of view, could be played off against one another—depended on a variety of circumstances. In the first place, the tribal soldiers could rarely be persuaded to fight at a great distance from their homes, and the difficulties of supply restricted the numbers which could be assembled and kept in the field. The tribesmen came up man by man, each carrying his rifle, ammunition, knife and a supply of flour in a bag of undressed sheep-skin. The flour was frequently spoiled by rain or perspiration. As it turned rancid, the man went off to his own home to get a fresh supply. In these circumstances, the number of men who could be brought together was naturally limited. The greatest number of men who ever came together was in December 1879, when as many as 60,000 assembled for the siege of Sherpur. But it was generally considered that the largest body of tribesmen who should be likely to meet in the field would not be more than 20,000, and usually the number would be considerably less.

Secondly, even the Pushtu-speaking Afghans and Pathans were disunited by private and tribal feuds, faction feeling, religious animosities and lack of recognized leaders. It was the policy of the British authorities to prevent the combination of the tribes by taking as much advantage as they could of these causes of disunity. The bitter feeling of the Shiah tribes against the Sunni Afghans was a

* *Manual of Operations on the North-West Frontier of India*, Sect. 51, para 1, p. 51.

most valuable lever in their hands, and they made full use of it during the Second Afghan War, as was seen in the help they got from the Turis and the Hazaras.

But, at the same time, the British military authorities knew fully well that the Afghan tribes could suddenly sink their feuds under the influence of religious excitement. The extent to which they would combine depended upon the popularity of the war and whether a *jihad* or holy war had been proclaimed. In the case of a *jihad* tribal feuds and jealousies were almost wholly forgotten and buried, and the tribes united against the common foe of Islam. If, however, any extraordinary wave of religious feeling were absent, the attitude of the tribes depended largely upon the initial success of the invaders and the ability of the *Maliks* to restrain the younger and more hot-headed members of the tribes, who might see chances of raiding posts, convoys, etc. with the object of securing rifles and loot.

Thus, the strength of the resistance to be overcome in a campaign in Afghanistan was a factor of some uncertainty; the fighting methods of the tribesmen and the nature of the country presented other problems no less peculiar to themselves. The tribesmen were, above all, adepts in guerilla warfare. They had no tactics in the usual sense of the term. Each man fought according to his judgment and advanced or retired when prompted to do so by circumstances or his own will. The chief features of Afghan methods of fighting were: obstinate defence of positions; gallant charges downhill against troops working upwards; bold and skilful followings up of retirements; ambushes; attacks on convoys; and the cutting off of small parties. The tribesmen have been aptly described as the best umpires in the world, for they seldom allowed a tactical error to go unpunished, and they were peculiarly susceptible to moral influences. Hesitation, vacillation, inaction, or purely defensive tactics always encouraged them in a remarkable manner, and they were just as easily disconcerted and discouraged by resolute, prompt and decisive action. They never stood their ground once their line of retreat was threatened, and they could abandon a position with extraordinary rapidity. But their disappearance was never to be taken to mean that they had abandoned the fight. It was only apparent, and at the slightest sign of retirement they would come to the front again. This was the time when Afghans and Pathans revelled in a fight. They would attack the withdrawing force or a detachment isolated beyond the reach of support with reckless gallantry.

All these factors taken together necessitated the observance of some elementary precautions,

of which the adequacy of the supply arrangements—on the administrative side—was not the least important. In his speech of 11th May (1905), Mr. Balfour described a war in Afghanistan as a question principally of supply and transport. This was perfectly true. The barrenness of Afghanistan limited her supply resources severely. In the first advance, particularly, neither supplies nor transport animals were likely to be available. The lack of fodder and fuel was also a serious matter. This meant that the troops would have to depend on base supplies, which in their turn required careful organization and protection of the lines of communication, combined with railway extensions and prompt work on the roads to make them fit to take and stand heavy and continuous traffic. But the supply resources of Afghanistan were capable of development. In the event of prolonged occupation or operations the British military authorities expected that they would be able to persuade the Afghans to furnish the supplies, and even to grow special crops for them by means of liberal cash payments. The fact that the majority of Afghan agriculturists were non-Afghans (Tajiks, Dehghans, Hazaras and Kizilbash) was a factor in favour of this anticipation.

It is unnecessary to go into the technical details of tactics in Afghanistan. Briefly, their essential principle was a vigorous offensive, strategical as well as tactical, and unrelaxing vigilance in protective measures. The freedom of the tribal contingents from the complicated organization of a regular army, their individual independence and ability to disperse at will necessitated a crushing blow if the result of an action was to be decisive. Punishment, therefore, was to be of a stern and drastic kind. Ephemeral measures were worse than useless. The Afghans understood, respected, and could take knockout blows. But measures which irritated without causing serious damage only exasperated the people and encouraged reprisals. Action, planned to inflict upon them the heaviest losses in men, followed up by pursuit of the most relentless description, accompanied by the destruction of villages and by the confiscation of livestock, grain, fodder, and fuel was, therefore, the most effective means of inducing a submissive mood in the Afghans. It was by such measures and the boldness and energy of his movements that Lord Roberts had obtained his victories in the Second Afghan War. He had never hesitated to act decisively when he thought decisive action necessary; he had dealt with uncompromising firmness with the Sirdars and tribes who had opposed his advance into the country; he had earned, in fact, almost as great a reputation for vigour as fell later to the lot of Amir Abdur Rahman to obtain; and it was thus his spirit which most meetly and properly found permanent embodiment in the military doctrine applicable to Afghanistan.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

DISCUSSION ON THE BENGAL CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT (SUPPLEMENTARY) BILL

[Continued from the previous issue]

[Reproduced from the LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES, Saturday, 12th March, 1922, Vol. II. No. 15]

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan: Sir, I rise to support the Bill as it is...

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Who thought otherwise?

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan: You will come to know very soon. Our eminent lawyer, gallant Knight, eloquent speaker, great patriot and Leader of the Opposition, Sir Hari Singh Gour, has supported the Bill and written in quite clear words:

"We do not propose that any amendment should be made in the Bill and we recommend that it be passed as introduced."

I say we should accept the Bill as it is because such an eminent lawyer has not found any defect in that in any way, except that today he very diplomatically and cleverly wanted to clear up clause 4, to which the Honourable the Law Member has given a proper and clear reply, satisfying all objections, criticisms and doubts that could arise legally in the minds of his party people, though I believe that a man of his experience knew very well that there was nothing legally wrong in clause 4. But the reply he received convinced all of us. In this question there are two aspects; one is the political and the other is the legal. So far as I can understand in the legal aspect there remains nothing more to be cleared up. As far as I know, the Law Member is himself a Bengali; he has full sympathy for his own province, not less sympathy than any young or old man who is now criticizing the Bill with a patriotic view. He does not like that his countrymen should be treated severely or harshly; the Bill is not intended to loot or shoot the people there—the Bill to which the Law Member has subscribed. We all have come here not for a tug of war—one party on one side and the other party on the other—but we have gathered here for the good of the country and every Member will agree to that...

Sardar Sant Singh: Then are you prepared ever to vote for the popular party?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan: I will vote with you very soon if I see that the popular party is on the side of justice. We have all come here to do good to the country, and the good of the country depends upon law and order. (*An Honourable Member*: "No, no.") Well, whether some Members smile or laugh, the fact remains that no country can make any progress without law and order. (*An Honourable Member*: "There is plenty of evidence of it in his own province today.") For the sake of law and order we should all try and sympathize with our fellow men.

But law and order depend upon good laws of the country and their proper administration. Sometimes there may be mistakes committed in the proper administration of the laws, but for that the laws are not to be blamed, but it is the persons making such mistakes in administering the laws who should be held responsible. If some people find that a particular law has been wrongly administered by a particular officer, then the law is not to be blamed, but it is the officer who should be blamed, and you can certainly try and change the man; but you cannot blame the law. My Honourable friend, Sardar Sant Singh, in the course of his speech, referred yesterday to suppressive laws and progressive laws, but I must point out that suppressive laws are the real life of the progressive laws.

An Honourable Member: No, no.

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan: Yes, I am telling you so quite frankly.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member should address the Chair.

Major Nawab Ahmad Nawaz Khan: Without suppressive laws, which are really the life of society, no Government can exist. It is only suppressive laws which can control crimes. If you give full liberty to people, and if you impose no control on crimes, then today in Delhi the people will deprive you of your motor cars, ladies will have no honour, there will be no safety for anybody, and society will not be worth living at all. It is not the progressive laws alone that have maintained society, but it is the suppressive laws. Even in religion you will find that it is the suppressive laws that make you control yourself. The first thing which you are ordered to do is to control vices and bad passions: that is the genesis of the suppressive laws. A doctor may give stimulating medicines when a man is weak, but when he has fever, he will give him only a sedative and not a stimulant. It is not always that you want something like a stimulant for a man. I am not in favour of such laws which may give any person complete licence to shoot anybody he wants to. Therefore, we all have come here to give support to the Government to suppress the terrorist movement, anarchy and chaos in the country, and this fact cannot be disputed by any Member of the House.

The only objection now to the acceptance of this Bill is that some Bengali friends of mine have raised an objection that detenus should not be subjected to unnecessary hardships by their transfer to other provinces where they will not get the same kind of food and other things, but the Honourable the Law Member has clearly and very sympathetically explained this morning and he has also given an assurance that this object can be achieved by framing suitable rules

and regulations, or by approaching the executive officers of the Government.

Now, Sir, there are two points in this, one is a question of principle and the other is the legal and political aspect. We all agree, so far as my knowledge goes, and what I have concluded from the numerous speeches we have heard on the subject, to the principle of the Bill, but the only objection of some of my Bengali friends is that they are afraid that perhaps under this Bill the detenus might be deprived of their ordinary comforts to which they are accustomed in Bengal if they are transferred from Bengal. But we must understand one thing. These jails are not His Majesty's charitable hostels where the detenus can have such comforts as we have in the Western Hostel. (*An Honourable Member* : "Then why do you invite them ?") If these people are afraid of so-called torture, discomfort or other troubles in jails, then they should not resort to such things as would bring them under the purview of the criminal law, but the Honourable the Law Member has very sympathetically explained the whole position and has also given an assurance in the matter. So on the question of principle I do not see any difference of opinion among the Honourable Members here, except that there seems to be a lingering doubt in the minds of some that the detenus will not be treated properly and their comforts, while under detention, will not receive sufficient attention. But since we have heard from these two eminent Indian gentlemen of repute, learning and vast experience I mean the Honourable the Law Member and Sir Hari Singh Gour, that they will try their best to safeguard the interests of the detenus and to remove all the suspicions to which expression has been given by some Members on the other side, I think we ought to accept their opinions, and accept the Bill as it is.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, I was not very much surprised to find the Honourable gentleman coming from the North-West Frontier Province getting up and blessing this measure, because, if any thing, this measure smacks of the extraordinary jurisprudence that prevails in his province, and it should be a matter of extreme gratification to him that the principles of law observed in the Frontier Province are going, after all, to be recognized as the sound principles of jurisprudence fit for acceptance and extension all over India.

Sir, when on the last occasion my Honourable friend, Mr. Biswas, — I am sorry he is not in his seat just now, — spoke, he altogether ignored the aspect with which he has dealt at such great length and with such great lucidity ; it was he who stated that there is only one principle underlying this Bill, and that is with regard to the question of the transference of detenus from Bengal to Ajmer, and he said that, so far as the question of detention without trial was concerned, we need not trouble ourselves about it ; it was the lookout of the Bengal Council, and since they have taken the responsibility in that matter we might allow that to pass. He of all men has therefore no justification for criticizing the Select Committee for not going into the matter in such detail as he himself has given with regard to the question of *habeas corpus* ; for he, among other learned lawyers in this House, was certainly in a position to throw out suggestions, he has done today, rather too late, which could have been considered by the Select Committee. Now, Sir, my friend Mr. Biswas proceeded to state that certain facts have to be faced, and the principal fact, in his opinion, was that the principle

of detention without trial has already been accepted by the Bengal Legislative Council. He further pointed out that in 1925 and 1930, the Bengal Legislative Council had passed a measure in which this particular principle was involved. Now, here is an inaccuracy which I should like in the first instance to point out, which my friend must have been inadvertently led into, and that is, that in the year 1925 the Bill was actually rejected by the Bengal Legislative Council ; the Bengal Legislative Council refused permission to the Government to introduce that measure. The Bill was thereafter as a matter of fact certified and passed into law under the extraordinary provisions of the Government of India Act.

Now, I come to another point. My Honourable friend said, this principle having been accepted by the Bengal Legislative Council, we as practical men ought to see in what respects we could improve the present Bill, because we have no means of touching the local enactment at all. The real trouble is that the Legislatures of the present day contain too many practical men, and that is the very reason why they do not command the confidence of the country. The Bengal Legislature of 1925 did contain some practical men. I find that my Honourable friend Mr. Biswas has come back to his seat, and I would place before the House the opinion of a very practical man who was the only speaker in opposition to Government and after whose speech the House divided and rejected the Bill. I am referring to no less a person than Sir Provash Chunder Mitter, the prince of co-operators who was at that moment waiting for his turn to get into the Government. Having been a Minister in the first Council, he was out of office for a short while, and then again he got into the Government, and it was during that interval — (*An Honourable Member* : "Interregnum.") — that the Honourable gentleman spoke as follows. And here, I should like to pause and remind the House that Sir Provash Chunder Mitter was a member of the Rowlatt Committee, and a party to the recommendations of that historic committee. This is what he says with reference to a measure involving the principle of detention without trial :

"As the only non-official Indian who was privileged to examine the inner workings of the revolutionary movement, I claim to have some right to speak on this subject. I may begin by saying that I believe that there is at the present moment a revolutionary movement. I believe also and I have always held the opinion, and I am still of the same mind — that, apart from other considerations, in the interest of the very important question of our national aspirations — this revolutionary movement must be checked ; but I am sorry to say, Sir, that the Bill proposes not a physician's treatment of the malady but a quack's remedy. I think that if the Bill be certified or passed by the Legislative Council, it will not only fail in its object but will perhaps be, although it is farthest from the intentions of the members of the Government, a helpful measure towards the propagation of the revolutionary movement."

No greater condemnation of the measure has been made by any Member in this House. And, Sir, Sir Provash Chunder Mitter is a practical man !

My attitude is perfectly simple. I am not going to be any party to any measure of this kind. I am not interested in shifting the commas and semi-colons from here to there. I am not interested in the question as to whether the rules should be framed by the Local Government, or whether they should be

approved by the Government of India, or whether an advisory committee should be constituted from a particular quarter, and things of that sort. My attitude is one of unadulterated opposition to this measure, because of the principle of detention of citizens without trial.

It has been stated by more Members than one, and particularly by the Honourable the Law Member, that this is merely a supplementary measure, and we have nothing to do with that particular principle. I have a somewhat different conception of the position—at least I had that at one time—of the position and functions of this House. It is not the function of this House merely to provide corollaries to the *ipse dixit* of the provincial Council. It is not in consonance with the dignity of this House to pass supplementary measures to buttress up wrongs, to buttress up a policy under which executive wrongs have long been perpetrated. If, therefore, I am going to be asked to take the responsibility for enacting a supplementary measure to buttress up a legislative enactment passed by any local Legislature, I must be in a position to go into the principles underlying that local legislation, and if I do not find myself in agreement with those principles, I am not going to vote on such a Bill with Government.

Several Honourable Members, including some non-official Members to my regret, have treated the question as if the whole matter in issue was what kind of curries are to be provided for these detenus. We have been discussing and discussing that very question and the Honourable the Law Member has thrown out a very valuable suggestion. He says, we must provide a Bengali cook. Well Sir, I do not think all these discussions need have taken place in a Legislature. They may very well have taken place at a meeting of experts in cookery. We are not here to prescribe the quantity of spices or of chillies that should be put into the curries of these young men. We have got a more exalted duty—at least, that is my conception of the functions and duties of the Legislature.

Mr. K. Ahmed : These questions were raised by your side.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : I have not spared my side either.

There is one little question that has been troubling me. The Honourable the Home Member, in placing before us the motion for reference of this measure to the Select Committee, among other things, stated that Government were dealing with very dangerous characters, and the more desperate among them must be removed from Bengal. There is another class of dangerous characters—those who have not been detained merely on suspicion, merely on the report of spies, but who have been convicted by courts of law, after proper trial, of terrorist crimes, people who have, for instance, been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment on account of their participation in what are called political dacoities or attempts at murder even. Does my Honourable friend the Home Member mean to suggest that, though these people under existing circumstances serve out their long terms of imprisonment in Bengal, there is no danger to be apprehended on account of their presence in the various Bengal jails, but people against whom there has been no specific charge, alone should be chosen for the purpose of being deported from Bengal? That is a point to which I should like to have an answer from the Honourable the Home Member. What is really behind this move—that is what I want to know. These men have had no opportunity

of meeting the charge that is brought up against them. The so-called enquiry by two judges is no more and no less than a mere farce, as my Honourable friend Mr. S. C. Mitra has explained from his own personal experience. Now, these people are detained on the strength of reports of spies and informers. The Honourable Member knows as well as anybody in this House that the public at large never believe in the guilt of these persons, mainly because of the type of people who serve the Government as spies and informers. The general belief is that most of the so-called evidence, which nobody has ever any opportunity of looking at, is mostly concocted. My Honourable friend Mr. Biswas stated that he does not question the *bona fides* of the Government. But he says "What about the agents you employ, are they reliable?" Now, take the Government of Bengal itself. In connection with the Hijli incidents, is it not a fact that the report of the Inquiry Committee disproved in certain points the correctness of the official communique that was issued by the Government of Bengal in connection with the incidents that happened at Hijli; and is it not further a fact that the Commandant in charge of the detention camp plainly stated before the Inquiry Committee that the communique was based on nothing that had been supplied either by him or anybody else who had anything to do with the detention camp? Here is an instance of the concoction of an official communique by some fiction writers in the Bengal Secretariat.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar : I must point out to the Honourable Member that the actual facts of the case do not bear the construction he puts upon it. I understand his allegation to be that the Inquiry Committee found that certain statements published in the first communique which merely purported to give the information received up to that time, were inconsistent with the conclusions arrived at after a long and careful examination. This affords no ground for the suggestion that it was concocted.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : I would have been surprised if my Honourable friend had not interrupted me on that point, but the fact remains that the only people, who could possibly have supplied information to the Government of Bengal before that communique was issued, definitely stated that the communique was not based upon facts as they were represented to the Government of Bengal. The Honourable Member cannot get away from this fact. This is the kind of Local Government under which we have to live. Can my Honourable friend Mr. Biswas expect any improvement in the quality of the information supplied by the spies and informers against these young men on the strength of which their liberty is taken away for an indefinite period?

There is one other point. We have heard a good deal about assurances, undertakings and things like that. Now this Bill, it must be remembered, would have a life for 5 years. On all accounts we are going to have a change in the constitution before the life of this particular Bill expires, and if we are going to have provincial autonomy of the type desired, at least in the secrecy of their hearts, by the official Members opposite, if we get a constitution of that type, I do not know whether there will be any room for any Legislature at the centre at all. I do not know whether my Honourable friend Mr. Heathcote is not already casting longing eyes upon this building, because its architecture, I am told, with very slight alteration would adapt it for being used as an oil

tank. (Laughter.) Now, Sir supposing there is a place for a Legislature at the centre in the scheme of provincial autonomy, as contemplated by the Government in the secrecy of their hearts and supposing a question were put by my Honourable friend, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, if he does not become the Prime Minister of Bombay by that time, saying, "This is the undertaking given by the Government in the year 1933," whoever would take up the position now occupied by my Honourable friend the Home Member would get up and say, "You have provincial autonomy. How are you going to enforce these undertakings upon an autonomous provincial administration?" Similar has been the answer to many questions in the past, even though the provinces do not enjoy autonomy, and that I am sure is going to be the answer which the Honourable Sir James Crerar's successor will give in future when any questions are put on the subject from this side of the House. Therefore I say to the House, "Do not delude yourself into thinking that whatever assurances may be given from that side of the House are going to be carried out in practice."

Mr. C. C. Biswas : My friend need not worry about that—the new Indian De Valera might sweep aside all such laws altogether.

Mr. K. C. Neogy : I am thinking of a constitution in which there may or may not be room for a central Legislature. My Honourable friend's imagination has been running riot. I do not know what is going to happen to him if he expresses views like this. He might himself be detained under these Ordinances and sent away to Ajmer! It is a friendly warning that I give him not to give free vent to ideas like this. Times are rather dangerous. I say that the only honest policy, the only honourable course, for this House, is to reject this measure and not to be satisfied with tinkering here and there. That is my attitude and I am going to vote against the measure at every stage.

Mr. H. P. Mody : Along with a great many other Members of this House, I was greatly impressed with the performance of my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Sing Gour, when he drew up before us a pathetic picture of a very pugnacious Member being transformed into a regular dummy by the process of being translated to the Chair of a Select Committee. Now, Sir, I admire the statesmanlike restraint of my Honourable friend, and if he had merely stated that he was lost in contemplation or was slumbering peacefully while the supporters of the Bill were busy approving both the principle and the details, and appending their signatures, we would have listened to him with respect. But my Honourable friend chose to shy at us May's *Parliamentary Practice*, and I am constrained to observe that what he said was wholly irrelevant and misleading, and if future Chairmen of Select Committees were to be guided by May's *Parliamentary Practice*, as interpreted by my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Sing Gour, then we shall have to be very circumspect in our selection of Chairmen, and we might have to issue directions to them to put May's *Parliamentary Practice* into the waste paper basket.

Now, Sir, a great deal has been said with regard to the attitude which the House should adopt towards this motion for the consideration of the Bill. On the question whether this House is or is not justified in rejecting the motion for consideration, if I was asked merely for my opinion on the general proposition, I would say both yes and no. The House would be justified in rejecting the motion for consideration if,

when the motion for reference to a Select Committee was passed, the House had been taken unawares, or if the full circumstances of the case were not known to the House, or if the principles underlying the particular measure were not thoroughly understood, or if fresh materials had since been forthcoming. In such circumstances, in spite of the assent of the House to the principle of a measure, the House would be justified in rejecting, at a later stage, the motion for consideration. But after the very deliberate way in which the motion for reference to a Select Committee of this particular Bill was passed by the House, I do not think it can lie in the mouth of any Member who was present and took part in the proceedings, to say that he does not approve of the measure, and to try to reopen the whole discussion and to examine the principles of the Bill. I am afraid I have not been able to follow my friend, Mr. Neogy. I do not think this House by its vote is doing anything of the sort that he suggests, namely, giving its endorsement or approval to the principle of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, namely, that a person can be arrested without trial. That issue, was never before the House; that issue, I do not think, can be before this House at any stage. All that we are asked to do is to follow up what the Bengal Legislative Council has deliberately done by a very large majority, and that is to enable the Local Government to transplant to other provinces those people whom in its executive pleasure it wants to consign to detention without trial. (Mr. K. C. Neogy : "What about clause 4?") I am coming to that. Therefore, I do not think that any question of the principle of arrest without trial can arise at any stage, and I cannot see how any Honourable Member can now take up the position that he is not going to support the principle of the Bill. But it may conceivably be that when this side of the House accorded its approval to the reference to a Select Committee, it did so on certain understandings, and it now finds that they have not been carried out. I can imagine Honourable Members saying, "Yes, we gave our assent to the reference to Select Committee; we accepted the principle underlying the Bill; but there are certain very objectionable features in the Bill which the Select Committee has not remedied; and therefore we are going to vote against the Bill. That position, I admit, can certainly be taken up at any stage, and that brings me to the two points which are really relevant to the present discussion, and they are the points on which Members of the Independent Party have appended their minutes of dissent to the Select Committee's Report.

One important point is with regard to the question of the powers of the High Court to issue writs of *habeas corpus*. I am not going to follow those Honourable Members who have expounded that clause with a wealth of learning. All I shall say is that I was not satisfied with the explanation tendered by my Honourable friend, the Law Member. I had a suspicion that he was feeling just as uncomfortable when dealing with this question as my Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, was when he was explaining away his position in the Select Committee. (Laughter.) The simple issue I want to place before the Honourable the Law Member is, supposing the Local Government had not carried out all the formalities incumbent upon them before they arrested or detained a man in custody, would the High Court or any other authority have jurisdiction to interfere in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Yes.

Mr. H. P. Mody : And if they had no jurisdiction to interfere in the matter, then I ask whether it is the Government's position that it is deliberately intended that a person who is detained without trial should have absolutely no remedy against the high-handedness or autocracy of the Local Government. These points, I submit, have not been satisfactorily explained by my Honourable friend, the Law Member and I hope the Honourable the Home Member will take the opportunity to make the position clearer. My submission is, where certain formalities have not been complied with, and a man is detained in custody without trial under the provisions of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, would the High Courts have jurisdiction to issue a writ of *habeas corpus* and to examine whether the Local Government had carried out all the formalities contemplated in the Act? For instance, if an officer has arrested a man and kept him in custody, and that officer has not been charged by the Local Government to effect the arrest either specifically or generally, would the High Court have power to interfere?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : That would not be an arrest under the Act at all; if an unauthorized person were to make such an arrest, that would not be "an arrest under the Act."

Mr. H. P. Mody : Then under what Act?

The Honourable Sir Brojendra Mitter : Under no Act.

Mr. H. P. Mody : With great deference to the Honourable the Law Member, Sir, may say we have known a great many arrests effected by unauthorized people, and no redress has been forthcoming. Again, suppose a particular case is not brought under review as contemplated by the Bengal Act within one month—supposing it is done after two months, what is the jurisdiction of the High Court? I am afraid my Honourable friend has not given answers such as can satisfy this side of the House.

There is one other point, and that is with regard to the treatment of these detenues when they are transferred to another province than the one in which they have passed their lives. The Honourable the Home Member, when the Bill was before this House for reference to a Select Committee, gave certain assurances about sympathetic treatment. Those who know the Honourable the Home Member are very willing to accept his assurances, and to concede that they were honestly meant, but the Honourable the Home Member is not master of the situation. He would be dealing with a Local Government which probably would not carry out in the letter and in the spirit any instructions that he might issue. The Local Government, to whose jurisdiction a detenu might be transferred, might also make light of the instructions of the Government of India. Therefore my suggestion to my Honourable friend would be, if he wishes this side of the House to accept his assurances in their entirety, to make them more definite than he has been able to make them yet. It is obvious that, in view of the lateness of the hour, this Bill cannot get through today, and my Honourable friend will have sufficient time to apply his mind to the problem. It will probably be another week before the Bill comes up again. In the meantime if my Honourable friend has drawn up a set of rules, and if he is prepared to show them to a few people who he thinks are interested in the question and are capable of taking a detached

view of things, if he is able to place before them definite rules and regulations, then it may be that we may place a great deal more confidence in his assurance of sympathetic treatment than we are yet able to do. Therefore it comes to this. Sir, that unless my friends on the Government benches are prepared to give definite assurances on two very vital points, namely, the right of the High Court to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, and also as to the exact treatment which would be accorded to such detenues as are sent outside their own province, I am afraid, in spite of the fact that we have accorded our assent to the principle of the Bill, we may be obliged to vote against it.

Several Honourable Members : The question may now be put.

Mr. President : I accept the closure.

The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar : Mr. President, I confess that I share to a large extent the feelings of surprise which have been expressed by more than one Honourable Member as to the course which the debate at this stage of the Bill has taken during the course of the last two days. If the Bill had been introduced for the first time in a House hitherto unapprised of the circumstances, ignorant of the facts or prepared to blind itself to the facts, if it had been introduced in circumstances of apparent complete normality, if we had not behind it a long, I regret to say, and a very tragic and melancholy history, then I should not have been surprised at some of the arguments which were advanced yesterday by Honourable Members opposite. I owe it to my Honourable friend from Bombay, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, that at the stage when he spoke, something in the nature of a more lucid atmosphere and a wiser and wider perspective was restored to the debate. With regard to what fell from the Honourable gentleman or certain points relating to the treatment of detenues under this Bill if it becomes law, I propose to deal more specifically at a later stage of my speech with this and with the observations of a similar character which fell from the leader of the Independent Party. But in spite of the very timely intervention of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, much of what has been said today has caused me additional surprise. I was surprised by what fell from the Honourable the Leader of the Nationalist Party. In fact, I think, on reflection and on reperusal, he will probably be astonished at his speech himself. With that I do not propose at this stage to deal in detail. What I do wish to recall to the House is that this Bill has behind it not only the immediate circumstances which led to the necessity of its introduction here, but those which in the past have led to the earlier enactment of this and of the connected measure. The present Bill has been debated in the course of the last year more extensively, more minutely and in greater detail than, I think, any measure of a similar scope has ever been debated in this House at any time in its history. Very deliberately, after the most minute consideration, examination and comment, this House decided without a single dissentient voice to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Sir Abdur Rahim.)

It had been pointed out repeatedly by more than one Honourable Member opposite that there were two substantial points of principle involved. The first

was that power should be obtained in certain circumstances to remove persons from Bengal under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act to some other province. The second was that the *habeas corpus* provisions in section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code should apply to detentions under the present Bill and the local Act. Well, Sir, I can myself come to no other possible conclusion than this, that the plain intention of this House in sending the Bill to the Select Committee was—and I say this most emphatically because there was not a single dissentient voice—that those two provisions were approved by the House, and I am surprised that they should at this stage be challenged. I admit that Honourable Members both before the Bill was committed to the Select Committee and after it had emerged were perfectly entitled to argue the subsidiary matters which might either mitigate or alleviate or qualify the effect of these two principles. I have not the slightest objection to any Honourable Member advancing arguments of that kind and making suggestions of that nature. But it does seem to me a very astonishing thing that any Honourable Member in this House should now say that it is open to this House to eat its own words and to resile from its own decision which was arrived at, such a short time ago, without some serious imputation upon its wisdom on that occasion or its wisdom on the present occasion. It is not however my concern to say that any Honourable Member when he challenges the principle of detention without trial, is not within his constitutional rights in doing so. But the point which was raised with some emphasis and at some considerable length by my Honourable friend from Bengal, Mr. Biswas, as to our relation as the Central Legislature with the Legislature of the province, which is most intimately concerned with the extremely dangerous subject-matter and with all those circumstances which have created the necessity both for the local measure and for the measure which I now lay before the House, is a matter which this House ought to take very seriously into consideration. It has not received adequate consideration, and I was somewhat painfully impressed, I must confess, by some of the observations which fell from the Honourable Member from Burma. We were given to understand that somewhat late in the evening of the firmament of this Assembly a new constellation had arisen, a light hitherto concealed in a bushel in Burma, which was going to illumine all the dark corners of this lamentably neglected House, which was to bring back to it or, to provide it with a degree of enlightenment of wisdom and of legal and constitutional learning which in the deplorable absence of the Honourable Member had hitherto been conspicuously absent. After such a portentous announcement, Mr. Chairman, I confess I waited with some anxiety and a great deal of expectancy for what should follow, and what did follow? What followed was precisely what I wish very strongly to contest now in this House. It was a very serious charge brought against not only the Local Government but the local Legislature of Bengal. Now, Sir, it appears to me that whether or not we like or dislike the principle involved in this Bill, we ought to treat the deliberate opinion and the decision affirmed and reaffirmed on several occasions by overwhelming majorities of the Local Legislative Council at least with due consideration and respect. We ought to reflect, Sir, that that Legislature is more fully cognizant with the facts than we, however well-

informed, can possibly be. We ought to remember that that Legislature is more primarily concerned, more deeply affected and more directly responsible than we, great as is our responsibility in the matter, can possibly claim to be. I regard it as a very deplorable feature in the debate,—I frankly admit that doctrines and arguments of this kind were confined to very few Honourable Members,—but I can only record my very deep regret that there should have been found even a single Member of this House to advocate doctrines of that nature.

Sardar Sant Singh: May I enquire from the Honourable Member whether the Central Government always follow this rule of depending entirely on the judgment of the local administration and never overrule their decisions?

Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): They overrule local administration's recommendations for mercy, but support local administration's demands for punishment.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: I am not asking the House to be bound irrevocably by the decisions or deliberations of any other authority whatever. What I do contend is that reasonable respect and reasonable consideration should be paid to a body of men who constitute no less than we ourselves a Legislature, and so far as these arguments are concerned, I maintain that the Legislature of Bengal has not been treated with consideration, that its conclusions, in so far as the arguments to which I am particularly referring are concerned have been—I say the words deliberately—contemptuously dismissed. I am the more surprised that arguments of this kind should have fallen from Honourable Members who are I believe strong advocates of constitutional advance, and particularly of provincial autonomy. If doctrines of that kind should prevail in this House,—though I have not the slightest doubt that the considered decision of this House will not endorse them—but if they were to prevail and if they were to be so endorsed, I confess I should tremble for the fate of provincial autonomy and the possible consequences of responsibility at the centre.

(At this stage Mr. President resumed the Chair.)

I think it is a most unreasonable point of view, conditions being what they are, the local Legislature and the local Government being confronted by the extremely dangerous situation by which they are confronted, that they should be offered by this House or even by any section of this House a mere academic and theoretical reply. Honourable Members who hold those views have said that never in any circumstances would they be parties to a measure which involves detention without trial, never in any circumstances whatever. May I remind Honourable Members as I have had occasion to remind them on many previous occasions, that this measure has a long history behind it? No one who is prepared fairly and candidly to consider the issues that arise will be prepared to deny that it has in practice been found impossible to deal effectively with the terrorist movement by the ordinary provisions of the law. That has been the verdict during the course of more than twenty years of a long succession not merely of executive officers but of judicial officers. It has been the view recently, solemnly and repeatedly affirmed, as I have said before, by the local Legislature most immediately responsible. Are we doing our duty as the Central Legislature, are we doing our plain duty to the local Legislature in this matter if we present

them with that frigid and blank reply and say, "No, whatever your difficulties may be, however dangerous the situation which you are confronted with may be, though your powers in the matter are not adequate, are not sufficient to enable you to effect what you consider it necessary to effect, no, there are certain important theoretical principles which prohibit us from coming to your assistance." It is very much as if a man saw another struggling in the water, attempting by the vigour of his limbs to save himself by swimming and I would say to that man: "My poor fellow, you are miserably mistaken; you ought to reflect and rely on the immutable laws of the specific gravity of solid and fluid bodies; you ought not to attempt to extricate yourself by these puerile methods. I myself do not intend to move a finger to help you. You will probably be drowned, and if you are, I, at any rate, shall be able to console myself with the reflection that I gave you good advice and have myself been entirely consistent."

I come now very briefly to the question of *habeas corpus*, since this has been raised very pointedly by the Honourable Member who immediately preceded me. Like himself, I do not propose to follow or attempt to comment upon, still less to criticize or correct, the purely legal aspect of the question. I think I am concerned, at this stage at any rate, merely with the general executive aspect of the question. Now, the executive attitude towards this admittedly difficult matter was admirably expressed in that passage of my late lamented predecessor, Sir Alexander Muddiman, which was quoted almost *in extenso* by my Honourable friend from Bengal. I cannot add to and I cannot improve upon that statement. But the plain fact is this that if you are prepared to admit that all ordinary legal expedients have not succeeded and are not adequate to deal with the terrorist movement, if you admit that the vast preponderance of opinion in Bengal, certainly all sober, moderate and sensible opinion, is prepared to admit that, then when you make that admission you must accept the consequences that necessarily follow from it. It is idle for you to admit one proposition and to follow that up by saying, we must simultaneously admit another proposition, the two propositions being mutually incompatible. Unless you are prepared to say that the whole of the proceedings of the executive Government and the Legislature of Bengal are wrong *ab initio* that they ought immediately be put out of action, and that every possible technicality of law must be invoked to obstruct or to impede the operation of the measures passed in Bengal unless you are prepared to say that, you must honestly face up to what follows from your admission of the main proposition that is to say we must go to the assistance of the Government of Bengal and of the Legislative Council of Bengal in matters which the law and the constitution puts beyond their power themselves to effect. Therefore this point emerges, and this was very clearly put by my predecessor. He admitted, as I myself admit, the very unpleasant necessity by which we were faced, but he pointed out very clearly that you cannot have it both ways. If you accept the major proposition, and by the major proposition I mean the proposition which has been accepted, affirmed and re-affirmed by the Government and the Legislature primarily and most immediately reponsible, if you accept that proposition, then you must be prepared to accept the consequences that necessarily flow from it.

Sir Abdur Rahim: May I put one question?

There is a certain procedure laid down, apart from any question of technicality. Does the Honourable Member say that even if the process laid down in the Bengal Act is not observed even then the High Court is not to interfere at all.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: I think my Honourable colleague, the Law Member has already more than once answered that question and I am not myself prepared to follow the purely legal technicalities of the question. I put the executive point of view on this difficult question, and any further observations that I may have to make on that I shall prefer to reserve to the stage at which the clause in question comes immediately under the consideration of the House.

I then pass on to what I agree is a very important matter, a matter which Honourable Members opposite are perfectly entitled to raise. It was a question put to me in the first instance by my Honourable friend Sir Cowasji Jehangir. He asked me if we are prepared to give an assurance to the House that if this Bill is passed and detenus are transferred from Bengal to other provinces every endeavour will be made to reproduce as far as may be practicable the conditions obtaining in Bengal in respect of diet and in respect of other conditions of detention. Well, I am perfectly prepared to give that assurance in the most express terms. So far as detention in places which are centrally administered areas is concerned, I give my Honourable friend a perfectly clear assurance that rules will be drawn up,—as a matter of fact, they are now in process of being drawn up,—which will give effect to those conditions. Those rules will be notified by the local authority and they will be reproduced in the *Gazette of India*: and I may say that so far as the proposed camp at Deoli in the Ajmer province is concerned, every step is being taken to see that those conditions will be secured. An officer accustomed to deal with Bengalis will be in charge, assisted by another officer from the province of Bengal. Bengali cooks will be supplied,—that point was specifically brought forward,—and as far as possible the diet to which Bengalis are accustomed will be provided. Adequate medical arrangements are being made as well as arrangements for proper exercise and recreation, indoor and outdoor games, a library, reading facilities, and so on. If there is anything in addition to these, anything which has arisen in the course of the present discussion, or any suggestion that may hereafter be communicated to me by any Honourable Member, I shall be very glad to consider it in the framing of the rules.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Honourable Member read the condition about interviews?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar: I will deal with it separately.

So far as other local Governments are concerned, our policy in the matter is perfectly clear. They are well aware of it. But I shall see that, if a case should arise under these provisions of persons being transferred from Bengal to other provinces instructions in that sense will issue.

As regards interviews, I will be equally explicit, and I hope the Honourable Member who puts me the question will be satisfied. It was suggested that part of the object in proposing these transfers was entirely to deprive the detenus of any opportunities of interview. That, Sir, is a total misapprehension. I do not deny, and indeed it has always been part of my case that one of the reasons which have necessitated this proposal for the removal of the detenus from Bengal is to see that the utmost vigilance is exercised

over communications for improper and unlawful purposes with the outer world and this must be carefully provided for. There is no intention whatsoever that the detenues at Deoli or in any other place outside Bengal should have undue and unwarranted restrictions placed upon rights to interviews which are now preserved for them in Bengal. That, Sir, I hope is perfectly explicit.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Non-Muhammadan Rural) : In this connection may I ask the Honourable the Home Member whether in cases of interviews travelling allowance will be allowed to the relations of the detenues ?

The Honourable Sir James Crerar : I cannot give an undertaking to the Honourable Member that on all occasions whenever an interview is applied for it will be granted. Those conditions do not apply in Bengal at the present time.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer : I am asking whether travelling allowance will be granted to the relations of the detenues.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar : I have said, Sir, that as regards interviews the intention is that every reasonable opportunity shall be granted for interviews. But Honourable Members opposite have asked whether the Bengal Government should be required to defray the travelling expenses for such interviews. Now, Sir, that seems to me to raise another and a more difficult issue, and I cannot consent.—I shall be perfectly frank and explicit in the matter—I cannot consent to imposing any statutory obligation upon the Government of Bengal to undertake what might involve very heavy expenditure. No such privilege has ever been asked for, and so far as I am aware, certainly it has never been granted to any other class of prisoners whatsoever.

Some Honourable Members : They are not prisoners.

The Honourable Sir James Crerar : I do think that, though we must necessarily call upon the taxpayer to defray what is necessary in the interests of the public security and peace, which are incidentally to his own interests, it is a somewhat different matter to call upon the tax-payer of Bengal to defray from his own pocket the cost of something which cannot be called a public interest ; which is entirely a private interest and a private interest which in certain conceivable circumstances may well be opposed to the public interest and the interest of the tax-payer.

That, Sir, I think concludes what I have to say upon these points, and I shall now very briefly endeavour to recall the House to what, after all, is the main issue before it. Hardly anything has been said in the course of the whole debate upon the great gravity of the position with which the Government of Bengal are confronted. I do not wish to go over that ground again : but before I conclude, I do desire to emphasize to the House that that really is the greatest and most important issue which is now before us. No one throughout the whole course of the debate has denied that the emergency is a very grave one and that the danger is a very serious one. It is on the question of taking some practical step in pursuance of that abstract proposition that I find myself confronted with difficulties. But I do implore the House to recall to their minds what the gravity of that issue is. I will not repeat any of the long tragic catalogue of crimes with which the annals of Bengal in recent times have been darkened. Honourable Members are aware of those facts, and if they are not prepared to face them, no reiteration of mine would affect them. But I do think they are prepared to face them and that it is only by the course of the debate and the emphasis which has been laid on certain questions of abstract law and questions of a relatively minor administrative character, that their minds have been diverted from that great issue. It is an issue, as I say, with which the executive Government of Bengal and the Legislative Council of Bengal are immediately and primarily concerned. They have applied to us for assistance. I think, Sir, that we ought to have sufficient imagination and sufficient sense of our own responsibilities, because powers are vested in us which are not vested either in that Government or in that Legislature. To recognize that we on our part have it in our power to do something to assist them in dealing with their dangerous situation. This is the measure of our responsibility and I contend that the House will greatly fail in its duty if it is not prepared to discharge that responsibility.

Mr. President : The question is :

"That the Bill to supplement the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1930, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 14th March, 1932.

THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MAHATMA GANDHI, MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD AND SIR SAMUEL HOARE

I

MAHATMA GANDHI'S FIRST LETTER

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi to Sir Samuel Hoare, dated Yeravada. Central Prison, March 11, 1932.

Dear Sir Samuel.—You will perhaps recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference when the minorities' claim was presented I had said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorate to the depressed classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement.

In pursuance of that statement I had hoped on my return to India to mobilize public opinion against

separate electorates, at any rate for the depressed classes. But it was not to be.

From the newspapers I am permitted to read I observe that any moment His Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the depressed classes I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel that it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally they would not attach the significance I give to my statement.

I need hardly reiterate all the objections I have to the creation of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I feel as if I was one of them. Their case stands on a wholly different footing from that

of others. I am not against their representation in the legislatures, I should favour every one of their adults—male and female—being registered as a voter irrespective of education or property qualifications even though the franchise test may be stricter for others. But I hold that separate electorate is harmful for them and for Hinduism whatever it may be from a purely political standpoint. To appreciate the harm that separate electorates would do them, one has to know how they are distributed amongst the so-called caste Hindus, and how dependent they are on the latter. So far as Hinduism is concerned separate electorate would simply vivisection and disrupt it. For me the question of these classes is predominantly moral and religious. The political aspect, important though it is, dwindles into insignificance compared to the moral and religious issue. You will have to appreciate my feelings in this matter by remembering that I have been interested in the condition of these classes from my boyhood and have more than once staked my all for their sake. I say this not to pride myself in any way. For I feel that no penance caste Hindus may do can in any way compensate for the calculated degradation to which they have consigned the depressed classes for centuries. But I know that separate electorate is neither a penance nor any remedy for the crushing degradation they have groaned under.

I, therefore, respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorate for the depressed classes I must fast unto death.

I am painfully conscious of the fact that such a step whilst I am a prisoner must cause grave embarrassment to His Majesty's Government and that it will be regarded by many as highly improper on the part of one holding my position to introduce into the political field methods which they would describe as hysterical, if not much worse. All I can urge in defence is that for me the contemplated step is not a method, it is a part of my being. It is a call of the conscience which I dare not disobey even though it may cost whatever reputation for sanity I may possess.

So far as I can see now my discharge from imprisonment would not make the duty of fasting any the less imperative.

I am hoping, however, that all my fears are wholly unjustified and the British Government have no intention whatever of creating separate electorate for the depressed classes.

It is perhaps as well for me to refer to another matter that is agitating me and may also enforce a similar fast. It is the way the repression is going. I have no notion when I may receive a shock that would compel the sacrifice. Repression appears to me to be crossing what might be called legitimate. A Governmental terrorism is spreading through the land. Both English and Indian officials are being brutalized. The latter, high and low, are becoming demoralized by reason of the Government rewarding as meritorious disloyalty to the people and in human conduct towards their own kith and kin. The latter are being cowed down. Free speech has been stifled. Goondaism is being practised in the name of law and order. Women who have come out for public service stand in fear of their honour being insulted.

And all this, as it seems to me, is being done in order to crush the spirit of freedom which the Congress represents. Repression is not confined to punishing civil breaches of the common law. It goads

people to break the newly made orders of autocracy designed for the most part to humiliate them.

In all these doings as I read them I see no spirit of democracy. Indeed, my recent visit to England has confirmed my opinion that your democracy is a superficial circumscribed thing. In the weightiest matters decisions are taken by individuals or groups without any reference to Parliament and these have been ratified by members having but a vague notion of what they were doing. Such was the case with Egypt, and the war of 1914 and such is the case with India. My whole being rebels against the idea that in a system called democratic one man should have the unfettered power of affecting the destiny of an ancient people numbering over three hundred millions and that his decisions can be enforced by mobilizing the most terrible forces of destruction. To me this is a negation of democracy.

And this repression cannot be prolonged without further embittering the already bitter relations between the two peoples. In so far as I am responsible and can help it how am I to arrest the process? Not by stopping civil disobedience. For me it is an article of faith. I regard myself by nature a democrat. The democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will. Civil resistance, therefore, has been conceived to be a proper substitute for physical force to be used wherever generally the latter is held necessary or justifiable. It is a process of self-suffering and a part of the plan is that in given circumstances a civil resister must sacrifice himself even by fasting to a finish. That moment has not yet arrived for me. I have no undeniable call from within for such a step. But the events happening outside are alarming enough to agitate my fundamental being. Therefore, in writing to you about the possibility of a fast regarding the depressed classes I felt I would be untrue to you if I did not tell you also that there was another possibility, not remote, of such a fast.

Needless to say from my side absolute secrecy has been maintained about all correspondence I have carried on with you. Of course Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Mahadev Desai who have just been sent to join us know all about it. But you will no doubt make whatever use you wish of this letter.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

To
Sir Samuel Hoare,
Whitehall,
London.

II

SIR SAMUEL HOARE'S REPLY

Letter dated April 13, 1932, from Sir Samuel Hoare to Mahatma Gandhi :

Dear Mr. Gandhi,—I write in answer to your letter of the 11th March and I say at once that I realize fully the strength of your feeling upon the question of separate electorates for the depressed classes. I can only say that we intend to give any decision that may be necessary solely upon the merits of the case. As you are aware Lord Lothian's Committee has not yet completed its tour and it must be some weeks before we can receive any conclusions at which it may have arrived. When we can receive the report we shall have to give the most careful consideration to its recommendations and we shall not give any decision until we have taken into account, in addition

to the views expressed by the Committee, the views that you and those who think with you have so forcibly expressed. I feel sure if you were in our position you would be taking exactly the same action we intend to take. You would await the Committee's report, you would then give it your fullest consideration and before arriving at the final decision you would take into account the views that have been expressed on both sides of the controversy. More than this I cannot say. Indeed I do not imagine you would expect me to say more.

As to the ordinances I can only repeat what I have already said publicly and privately. I am convinced that it was essential to impose them in the face of the deliberate attack upon the very foundations of ordered government. I am also convinced that both the Government of India and local Governments are not abusing their extensive powers and are doing everything possible to prevent excessive or vindictive action. We shall not keep the emergency measures in force any longer than we are obliged to for the purpose of maintaining the essentials of law and order and protecting our officials and other classes of community against terrorist outrages.

Yours truly,
SAMUEL HOARE

To
M. K. Gandhi, Esquire

III

MAHATMA'S LETTER TO THE PREMIER

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison, Aug. 18, 1932 to the Prime Minister:

Dear Friend—There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel Hoare has showed you and the Cabinet my letter to him of the 11th March on the question of representation of the 'depressed' classes. That letter should be treated as part of this letter and be read together with this.

I have read the British Government's decision on the representation of minorities and have slept over it. In pursuance of my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare and my declaration at the meeting of the Minorities Committee of the Round Table Conference on the 13th November, 1931, at St. James Palace, I have to resist your decision with my life. The only way I can do so is by declaring perpetual fast unto death from food of any kind save water with or without salt and soda. This fast will cease if during its progress the British Government of its own motion or under the pressure of public opinion revise their decision and withdraw their scheme of communal electorates for the depressed classes whose representatives should be elected by the general electorate under common franchise no matter how wide it is.

The proposed fast will come into operation in the ordinary course from the noon of the 20th September next unless the said decision is in the meanwhile revised in the manner suggested above.

I am asking the authorities here to cable the text of this letter to you so as to give you ample notice. But in my case I am leaving sufficient time for this letter to reach you in time by the slowest route.

I also ask that this letter and my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare already referred to be published at the earliest possible moment. On my part, I have scrupulously observed the rule of jail and have communicated my desire or the contents of the two letters to no one save the two companions, Sardar Vallabhai Patel and Sjt. Mahadev Desai. But I want, if you

make it possible, the public opinion to be affected by my letters. Hence my request for their early publication.

I regret the decision I have taken. But, as a man of religion that I hold myself to be, I have no other course left open to me. As I have said in my letter to Sir Samuel Hoare, even if His Majesty's Government decided to release me in order to save themselves from embarrassment my fast will have to continue. For, I cannot now hope to resist the decision by any other means. And I have no desire whatsoever to compass my release by any means other than honourable.

It may be that my judgment is warped and that I am wholly in error in regarding separate electorates for 'depressed' classes as harmful to them or to Hinduism. If so, I am not likely to be in the right with reference to other parts of my philosophy of life. In that case my death by fasting will be at once a penance for my error and a lifting of a weight from off those numberless men and women who have childlike faith in my wisdom. Whereas, if my judgment is right, as I have little doubt it is, the contemplated step is but a due fulfilment of the scheme of life which I have tried for more than a quarter of a century, apparently not without considerable success.

I remain,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI

To the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald,
Prime Minister, London

IV

THE PREMIER'S REPLY

Letter from Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, 10, Downing Street, Sept. 8, 1932:

Dear Mr. Gandhi, I have received your letter with much surprise and, let me add, with very sincere regret. Moreover, I cannot help thinking you have written it under a misunderstanding as to what the decision of His Majesty's Government as regards the depressed classes really implies. We have always understood you were irrevocably opposed to permanent segregation of depressed classes from the Hindu community. You made your position very clear on the Minority Committee of the Round Table Conference and you expressed it again in the letter you wrote to Sir Samuel Hoare on March, 11. We also knew your view was shared by a great body of Hindu opinion and we, therefore, took it into most careful account when we were considering the question of representation of depressed classes. Whilst in view of the numerous appeals we have received from depressed class organizations and the generally admitted social disabilities under which they labour and which you have often recognized we felt it our duty to safeguard what we believed to be the right of the depressed classes to a fair proportion of representation in the legislatures, we were equally careful to do nothing that would split off their community from the Hindu world. You yourself stated in your letter of March 11 that you were not against their representation in the legislatures. Under the Government's scheme the depressed classes will remain a part of the Hindu community and will vote with the Hindu electorate on an equal footing, but for the first 20 years, while still remaining electorally part of the Hindu community, will receive through a limited number of special constituencies means of safeguarding their rights and interests that we are convinced is necessary under the present conditions. Where

these constituencies are created members of the depressed classes will not be deprived of their votes in the general Hindu constituencies but will have two votes in order that their membership of the Hindu community should remain unimpaired. We deliberately decided against the creation of what you describe as a communal electorate for the depressed classes and included all depressed class voters in the general or Hindu constituencies so that the higher caste candidates should have to solicit their votes or the depressed class candidates should have to solicit the votes of higher castes at elections. Thus in every way was unity of the Hindu society preserved. We felt, however, that during the early period of responsible government when power in the provinces would pass to whoever possessed a majority in the legislatures it was essential that the depressed classes, whom you have yourself described in your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare as having been consigned by caste Hindus to calculated degradation for centuries, should return a certain number of members of their own choosing to the legislatures of seven of the nine provinces to voice their grievances and their ideals and prevent decisions going against them without the legislature and the Government listening to their case—in a word to place them in a position to speak for themselves which every fair-minded person must agree to be necessary. We did not consider that the method of electing special representatives by reservation of seats in the joint electorates would secure to the depressed classes in the existing conditions under any system of franchise which is practicable, members who could genuinely represent them and be responsible to them because in practically all cases such members would be elected by a majority consisting of the higher caste Hindus.

The special advantage initially given under our scheme to the depressed classes by means of a limited number of special constituencies in addition to their normal electoral rights in general Hindu constituencies is wholly different in conception and effect from the method of representation adopted for a minority such as the Muslims by means of separate communal electorates. For example, a Muslim cannot vote or be a candidate in a general constituency whereas any electorally qualified member of the depressed classes can vote in and stand for a general constituency. The number of territorial seats allotted to the Muslims is naturally conditioned by the fact that it is impossible for them to gain any further territorial seats and in most provinces they enjoy a weightage in excess of their population ratio; the number of special seats to be filled from special depressed class constituencies will be seen to be small and has been fixed not to provide a quota numerically appropriate for the total representation of the depressed class population, but solely to secure a minimum number of spokesmen for the depressed classes in the legislature who are chosen exclusively by the depressed classes. The proportion of their special seats is everywhere much below the population percentage of the depressed classes.

As I understand your attitude you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death not in order to secure that the depressed classes should have joint electorates with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of Hindus which is also provided, but solely to prevent the depressed classes who admittedly suffer

from terrible disabilities today from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in the legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future. In the light of these very fair and cautious proposals I am quite unable to understand the reason of the decision you have taken and can only think you have made it under a misapprehension of the actual facts.

In response to the very general request from Indians after they had failed to produce a settlement themselves the Government much against its will undertook to give a decision on the minorities' question. They have now given it and they cannot be expected to alter it except on the conditions they have stated. I am afraid, therefore, that my answer to you must be that the Government's decision stands and that only an agreement of the communities themselves can substitute other electoral arrangements for those that Government have devised in a sincere endeavour to weigh the conflicting claims on their just merits.

You ask this correspondence including your letter to Sir Samuel Hoare of March 11 should be published. As it would seem to me unfair if your present internment were to deprive you of the opportunity of explaining to the public the reason why you intend to fast, I (will?) readily (agree?) to the request if on a reconsideration you repeat it. Let me however, once again urge you to consider the actual details of the Government's decision and ask yourself seriously the question whether it really justifies you in taking the action you contemplate.

I am,
Yours very truly,
J. Ramsay MacDonald

V

MAHATMA GANDHI'S FINAL LETTER

Letter from Mahatma Gandhi dated Yeravada Central Prison, Sept. 9, 1932, to Mr. Ramsay MacDonald:

Dear Friend,

I have to thank you for your frank and full letter telegraphed and received this day. I am sorry, however, that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on behalf of the very class to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without urging I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of the 'depressed' classes having double votes does not protect them or the Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorates at all for the 'depressed' classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to the 'depressed classes'. You will please permit me to say no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be against even over-representation of the 'depressed' classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold so long as they choose to belong to it. Do you realize that if your decision stands and the constitution comes into being you arrest

the marvellous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life.

I have, therefore, been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

As your letter may give rise to a misunderstanding I wish to state that the fact of my having isolated for special treatment the 'depressed' classes question from other parts of your decision does not in any way mean that I approve of or am reconciled to

other parts of the decision. In my opinion many other parts are open to very grave objection. I do not consider them to be my warrant for calling from me such self-immolation as my conscience has prompted me to in the matter of the 'depressed' classes.

I remain,
Your faithful friend,
M. K. GANDHI

TECHNICAL EDUCATION

By V. R. KOKATNUR, M.Sc., Ph. D.

IN these days, the cry of technical education is heard from every quarter in India. The increasing poverty due to sole dependence on foreign goods in spite of India's ample resources for home manufacture, coupled with the fact that opportunities for educated Indians are getting less and less in proportion to the increase of education, seem to have at least awakened India from her lethargy. Nearly twenty years have elapsed since the greatest and never-to-be forgotten industrial pioneer of India announced his princely gift to found an institute for industrial research in India. It is a credit to the genius of the late Sir Jamshedji Tata that he conceived the idea and founded such an institution before it was born in any other civilized country. The now famous Mellon Institute for industrial research in Pittsburgh, U. S. A., perhaps the only institution of its kind in the world at present, had not then been in existence. Neither England, nor Germany, nor France had or now have any institute of this kind.

Unfortunately for India, Sir Jamshedji Tata was too much ahead of his time to have his idea rightly understood by his compatriots. People of India had at that time and still have a very vague idea of technical education. Such an atmosphere made the practical realization of Sir J. N. Tata's dream impossible.

Now that there is the keenest desire in India for the kind of education that will make her self-sufficient for her requirements, it may be worth while to investigate what technical education is and what type would be most suitable for India's needs.

Technical education is of at least three varieties : (i) To supply efficient man-power to the pre-existing industries, (ii) to supply technicians or technologists that would handle or maintain the varied machinery, processes and management of of the pre-existing industries, and (iii) to supply industrialists in various lines with men to initiate and start new industrial ventures.

Technical education concerns itself with the application of the various sciences to productive arts and industries. Although it is often confused with practical scientific education it has not the slightest relation to it. Just as the teaching of pure science can be either theoretical, bookish or practical or experimental, the applied science can as well be either purely bookish or practical. No amount of scientific education, however practical, can be synonymous with technical education. Technology is produced when more than one science has to be conjointly applied to a productive art or industry. Thus, to produce an article of commerce various sciences *e.g.*, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, mechanical, civil and other forms of engineering, economics, sociology, psychology, mathematics, etc., often take part conjointly. Technology, therefore, is a joint product of the application of more than one science to a productive art. Thus, the knowledge of a process, an art, or machinery or the fundamental knowledge involved in one or all of these, may be included in technology. Though a technologist of necessity must know more than one science, its converse is not true—that every man knowing more than one science is necessarily a technologist.

Confusion about this fundamental point creates a terrible havoc in economic and educational endeavours of a country. When capitalists turn to a science graduate for technical or industrial advice, the result is obvious. This confusion is an oft-noticeable phenomenon in backward countries where we find the queer phenomenon of capitalists advised by science graduates or mere engineers and new industrial ventures initiated and run by men who, whatever be their technical or scientific education, are no more than laymen so far as the particular industry is concerned. This is not so much the inherent peculiarity of a backward country as the inevitable result of confusing the issues. In backward countries industrial mortality is unusually high. In fact,

there are no industrial births but still-births. Every industry started, is, as a rule, foredoomed to failure. Due to excessive failures, capital becomes more and more shy. Thus, capitalists, educational institutions, and government all come in for a share of the blame.

The confusion of issues creates even a greater havoc in the technical education of a country. Lack of distinction between scientific education and technical education on the one hand and between three types of technical education on the other, creates innumerable scientific or technical misfits in society, who in turn create no end of trouble. Dependence on and the failure of a technologist is not enough to fix the blame on him. It is absurd to blame a shoe-salesman because the shoe pinches. For no shoe-salesman is expected to fit a shoe to a customer according to his own judgement but according to the judgement of the customer. Thus, the judgment of those that want education is of greater importance than the judgment of those that give or sell it.

In speaking of technical education in India, we are wont to speak of it in a rather loose sense. Here we do not distinguish between three different phases of technical education. The confusion here is somewhat natural since the first two forms only are current in advanced countries. The industrial development of Western countries followed, at its inception, what might be called its natural lines. Just as maternity in primitive times was more natural than in modern times, so the initiation of new industrial ventures was more natural about a century ago. Therefore, industrial midwives were not necessary then as now. This state of affairs has facilitated the development of only the first two types of technical education in the West. The high industrial advancement of the West and the existence, side by side, of only the first two types of technical education naturally mislead many to the conclusion that the existing system of technical education is intimately associated with the establishment and growth of industries. The growth of these two types was primarily due to the law of demand and supply, i.e. because of the fact that many industries existed and demanded this type of education to maintain their health and efficiency. They are, therefore, of no value to a country which is in need of initiating and starting industries. This is clearly proved by the fact that, although hundreds of students have returned to India after studying the various phases of technology from the best institutions in Europe, no substantial betterment of industrialization has resulted. No technological institute in India can even equal the efficiency of an institute in Europe. If the establishment of technological institutes can at all solve India's problem of economic up-building, a few hundred students trained in the best technological schools in Europe, ought at least to

show the first signs of solving the problem. If they have been unsuccessful, to multiply such training locally at an enormous expense, is no guarantee of solving the problem. This would mean that something is wrong with either our students or their training. Both being all right in fact, the only inference left is that the training, however good, is not suited to our conditions.

The third type of education, which alone can prepare people to initiate and start industries, is really what concerns us most in India. But, unfortunately, this type, so far as I know, does not exist in any of the industrially advanced countries of the world since there is no demand for such. Therefore, it will not do to take any technical school from any country as a model to adopt. This will clearly show why the existing technical schools, however good they may be and whatever amount of money may be spent on them, have yielded such poor results even after twenty years. Institutions of the type of 'Indian Institute of Science,' Bangalore, and Cawnpore Technological Institute, existing already or proposed to be started anew, cannot be expected to satisfy the real needs of the country. Their service to the country appears to be too small for the efforts put forth and the money spent. Nothing may be wrong with the institutions in themselves, but they fit in like square pegs in a round hole under the existing conditions of India.

A study of these institutions will clearly show that they are not fulfilling the needs of India. Some of them teach merely engineering or technology of industries that offer but little scope to students. India has no large works, where thousands of engineers can be employed. Instruction in the technology of existing industries e.g., textiles, match, paper, cement, jute, etc. may be justifiable, but unless such instruction is efficient it serves no purpose. For example, it may be questioned whether instruction in textile technology during the last quarter of a century has been of much service to the textile industry. Some institutions are devoted to pure research or only remotely connected with the urgent needs of India. Research in wireless telegraphy, design of pumps and windmills, biochemistry, alloy steels, sewage disposal, etc., only gives a modern and up-to-date appearance to the institutions. A bird in hand is worth two in the bush. India must first devote her attention to those industries which, if started, will stop the drain of wealth partially at least and not in the too distant future. Radio, pumps, windmills, etc., are only development possibilities. It would not reflect credit on India to try to develop industries that are neither vital nor of immediate interest to her, while neglecting those that are vital.

It is absurd and childish to run after and imitate every new development of technical education in the west. What may be natural

to and properly fit Western conditions, may be entirely out of place in India. Attempts to teach what is often designated as industrial chemistry in certain institutions or to introduce what is now known as chemical engineering in the west, are nothing more than thoughtless imitations of western institutions. Trying to appear modern by introducing indiscriminately institutions that are really foreign to Indian conditions, is not to be really modern. It appears that very few, if any, in India realize the full implications of introducing industrial chemistry or chemical engineering in Indian institutions. Not to talk of its suitability, the introduction of chemical engineering would be enormously expensive in some institutions and well nigh impossible in others. When the very purpose is confused and is at fault, the best Indian brains educated here or abroad cannot be of any material assistance in the scheme. India has never before nor now lacked brains and scholarship to maintain an institution in the most efficient manner. Men like Sir J. C. Bose, Acharya P. C. Roy, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. N. L. Dhar and a host of others would be a credit to any institution in the world.

I will attempt to show in this paper what sort of institution should be started and what principles are to be followed if India desires to produce men who would be able to construct India industrially. Before an institution begins to function it must know all the raw materials it is going to deal with, i. e., the standard and background of the students, the environment the resources and the opportunities, etc. The education must fit the conditions, the social background, the cost, availability and quality of resources, the possible opportunities, the financial position and, lastly, the quality of students of a country. In order to understand and appreciate all these factors, it is very desirable that a thorough survey be made and results placed at the disposal of the would be institution and the public. Lacking this, a bureau to study and collect information should be the first department to be started in the institution. Without this foundation, any superstructure of education would be very shaky and produce no substantial results. The best instruction in tanning and leather finishing would avail India very little if the social factor of caste is entirely neglected. It would be very difficult to find workmen from higher castes that could be trained for this work. Similarly the best instruction in sulphuric acid industry would be of little value to India if she is not blessed with sulphur or pyrites. Again, mere instruction in the technology of subjects like metallurgy, alloy-steels, electrochemistry, ceramics, bio-chemistry, pharmacology, plant physiology, nutrition, soil physics, sewage disposal, electrical engineering, electrical traction, radio communication, microbiology, enzyme chemistry, etc., without reference to

immediate opportunities for or application of such instruction, will be of little material benefit to India's needs. India in economic pains is not likely to be interested either in pure research or applied research that may not assuage or alleviate her pains immediately. While the analysis of soils, sanitation, sewage disposal and its possible use as a fertilizer, irrigation engineering and even the study of famines on Mars if they exist, etc., cannot be denied their usefulness at some remote time, the immediate usefulness is of more significance. India is not expected to start such industries as wireless, refrigeration, glow lamp, prime movers, pumps, windmills, motor cars, electrical traction, organic drugs, aeroplanes before even building a foundation for them. With few exceptions, no country has started to build the dome industries first before attempting to build basic or foundation industries.

The point is that a curriculum worked out without regard to such factors and the main aim, is sure to prove of no material benefit to the country. Working out a curriculum is a science in itself and to do it justice the aim as well as many other factors have got to be considered. What to think of that education which teaches a Saharan how to electrolyse water and an Indian how to make bath-tubs? To accomplish the purpose it is intended for, the institute must have facilities to teach a number of sciences. To bring about economy it might well be situated within the compound of a teaching university, which has facilities for many faculties. If the institute has some voice in the university curriculum, it will not be called upon to duplicate the teaching of certain subjects that can well be taught from the university. Including the university, work of four years, the subject can be taught very efficiently in seven years. Lacking this, and assuming that the institute starts with graduates in science from other colleges, four years would be required to turn out men who would be capable to plan and start various industries.

An independent institute would cost no less than about two crores of rupees but the initial amount required at the start may not be more than one crore. Naturally the cost depends greatly upon the number of students admitted and turned out by the institute. But definitely hopeful results can be shown in five years and the institution can well demonstrate its worthwhileness in ten years time, and it may be possible to keep the total expenses within two crores. If the institute is started under the auspices of a university, about 40 to 50 lacs of rupees will probably suffice to start with.

The most important consideration, however, should be the policy of the institute. No worthwhile educational system can be evolved from a democratic control. Centralization of power, as regards educational policy - at least, is absolutely necessary to evolve an efficient system. The most experienced director will be

able to do nothing if he has no power to translate his experiences into well-crystallized policies. Even the best men in the control committee, if they are all of the same line, will not always agree on every point. If they happen to come from various vocations, even though they may be the top-men in their line or even Nobel laureates, the resistance encountered in making all of them understand a view-point from another vocation and agree on it will be so tremendous as to nullify all the experiences of the director by killing his initiative. It is my experience that the best institutions of learning are products of unitary control. In educational matters and the selection of professors, the director's judgment should be supreme if any results are to be achieved.

The institution should not be burdened with too many hard and fast rules and regulations otherwise it may be deemed necessary by the director to pass an examination in these. Councils, advisory boards, courts, examiners' review committees, selection committee, etc., instead of being helpful, hinder the free and natural growth of an institution as well as the free guidance from an experienced director. The institution should reflect the personality and experience of the director. If it does not, there would be no propriety in choosing an eminent experienced director. If he is to act as no more than an executive secretary to the councils, committees and courts, why burden the institution with a high-salaried and full-time director? If sufficient trial has not been given to such councils and committees their retention in the existing as well as in the coming institutions may well be urged on grounds of insufficient trial. While these have had some trial, even though insufficient, central responsibility had not even been set on trial. A trial should at least be given to this idea of centralized responsibility in education just as the same is thought of in politics or government. To work out a detailed curriculum will neither be expected in a paper like this nor will it serve any useful purpose. However, the minimum departments the institution should have and some of the courses it must work out and teach, may be briefly indicated. The Institute should consist of the following major departments—(a) Department of Arts; (b) Department of Applied Sciences; (c) Department of Engineering; (d) Department of Industry; (e) Department of Industrial Research and Development. The courses may be worked out and offered from any of the departments individually or jointly.

INSTITUTE COURSES

Industrial chemistry; industrial physics; industrial biology; industrial geology; industrial botany; fuel technology; mechanical, civil, electrical, mining, and agricultural engineering, etc., with special reference to industries; industrial economics; cost accounting; corporation

finance and corporation law; industrial management; handling workmen for efficiency; personnel selection; one or more courses in industrial insurance (to include reserve provision for emergencies; provision for growth and advancement, provision for fire, spoilage and depreciation, provision for unforeseen competition, provision to prevent the decline of industrial morale, etc.); one or more courses in industrial diagnostics (to include survival chances of a new venture, causes of trouble in the existing, foreseeing symptoms of future trouble, short kinks to trouble finding, etc.); industrial ethics; one or more courses in industrial psychology (to include advertising, salesmanship, packing, standardizing, finished quality, etc.); industrial history of the west; unit industrial processes; process development; industrial research with special reference to undertaken projects; one or more courses in process testing (to include testing raw materials, process efficiency, apparatus, finished product quality, etc.); industrial stimulants, *i.e.*, temporary expedients for help; one or more courses in industrial protection and its various phases (to include subsidy, tariff, patent legislation, natural protection, psychological or goodwill, etc.; novelty or surprise, least resistance, pooling interests, consumers' agreement, quantity production, intellectual protection, etc.; capital and its responsibilities or educating the capital; maturity of conditions or environmental readiness from the standpoint of industrial birth; industrial pediatrics or post-natal culture; industrial rejuvenation or problem research of sick industries; machine design.

These courses may be offered from the department to which they properly belong. Thus, all sciences belong to the department of applied sciences. Courses like industrial psychology, industrial ethics, industrial history, etc., may properly be included in the department of arts. Unit processes, process development, etc., belong to the department of industrial research and development. The terms "applied" and "industrial" are used in different senses. The term "applied" is used in a general and the term "industrial" is used in a special sense, *i.e.*, as applied to industries only. Engineering chemistry, medicinal chemistry, pharmaceutical-chemistry, biochemistry, etc., all come in applied chemistry but none of them have the remotest connection with industrial chemistry. That branch of chemistry which is applied to a productive art or industry can be properly designated as industrial chemistry.

Most of the courses to be taught should be worked out from the standpoint of Indian conditions, raw materials, social structure, student background, etc. The courses should be so designed that the nationally lacking qualities could be strengthened in students. Indian students lack manual training and a sense of the dignity of labour. Courses should be worked out so as to inculcate these qualities among the students.

Similarly the Indian mind is given to speculative and abstruse thinking from times immemorial. It is used to free and undisciplined thinking although at times it has reached heights hitherto unattained by any other people. Courses should be so designed that discipline and practical direction would be stimulated among the students. In teaching sulphuric acid industry, for example, it is useless to teach it as it is taught in countries where sulphur is easily and cheaply available. In India the instruction and research in this line should be based not on sulphur at all but on cheaper raw materials available in India. In life as well as industries, one man's meat may be another man's poison or *vice versa*. Thus, a process of manufacture that may be utterly unpaying in one country may happen to be most paying in another due to change of circumstances and situations. In sugar research the manufacture of certain by-products may be more profitable in India than sugar itself. Development of a lamp to burn vegetable oils to give the same light as the illuminating oil, would make India independent of foreign kerosine supplies and lay the foundation of a large and flourishing industry. Lacking suitable and cheap wood for match manufacture, research should develop methods of finding wood substitutes or of making any wood suitable rather than search for suitable wood in the length and breadth of India. If a cheaper composition can be discovered for the match-head, it would place India at an advantage over Sweden or Japan. In paper research, more consideration should be given to availability and cheapness of raw material than some other factors. Bamboo may be suitable but it is neither available nor relatively cheap. The habitat of bamboos is far removed from centres of population and consumption. To cut bamboos and transport it to the factory near the centre of consumption would be expensive. In such a case one's industrial sense should tell us in what direction we should spend our energy. Investigation of the suitability of *juivac* and *bajra* stalks for paper might offer an immense advantage to the infant paper industry. Research in industries such as glass, match, soap, paints, artificial leather, etc., which depend upon foreign countries for some of the most expensive raw materials, unless pursued on original lines, is bound to prove wasteful. The institute should prove as a beacon light to all vexed questions in industry. It should be in a position to settle questions like, (i) what industries should be started first? (ii) what research would be more payable? (iii) in what direction should research effort be made to be payable? (iv) what industries are the most suitable and profitable?

(v) how to evolve an economic advantage in industry where there is none and a host of others. This is merely suggestive and not intended to suggest how each and every problem can be dealt with.

There appears to be some vagueness regarding the nature of industrial research. It is often assumed that no special experience is necessary for this, and anyone who has a recognized research ability, can be equally effective in industrial research as well. Nothing can be further from fact. It is coming to be more and more believed that one who has not practised research within the four walls of the industry, can be efficient in industrial research. While the technique in both types of research may be the same, the motive and directive force to execute industrial research are different. The directive force is the special training and in this case it is acquired only after a considerable practice in the industries. Just as the acquired training may be the same for any M.D. and yet the special training of a specialist is different and is acquired from practice, so the training in industrial research is acquired only from practice. For these reasons, the institute, if it has to do industrial research, must be headed by a man who has considerable experience in industries and industrial research. This is very important since the success of the institute depends mostly on the kind of experience and training of the director who is to guide the institute.

If India is to succeed in the industrialization of the country, she must follow either an evolutionary process through right education or an incubation or revolutionary process like that of Russia. Revolutionary processes are, as a rule, more wasteful than evolutionary processes. If India chooses the evolutionary process through education she must take all and not a few of the factors into consideration. She should not neglect the right man, the student material, the environment, the geographical location, the resources, the working atmosphere, the equipment, the public relationship and, above all, the choice of the right director who is to guide the institute. Initially the institute should specialize in certain specific industries only. To indicate the exact scope of every one of the courses mentioned herein and to point out exactly what each one is supposed to include would be beyond the scope of an article. That properly belongs to an institute. If, however, the line of argument followed in this paper and the various points made herein appeal to anyone interested in the question, the author will be glad to lay before him a more detailed and concrete scheme.

WORTHY AND SUCCESSFUL INDIANS ABROAD

By TARAKNATH DAS, PH.D.

THE people of India, especially the youth of Bengal, will be happy to know that there are many indications of Indian scholars asserting their intellectual ability in international competition. The political servitude of India is humiliating and her intellectual servility is degrading. Indians are in no way inferior intellectually to any people in the world, and it is only adverse circumstances and lack of opportunity that has stunted the intellectual progress of the country. The first step towards the removal of many unnatural obstacles on the way of progress is to give opportunity to the ablest of young Indian scholars to specialize in their respective fields, so that they will be able to create a new national consciousness of intellectual revolution among the younger generation and those who are engaged in the profession of teaching. In this article I wish to state a few facts about three successful Indian scholars.

I

A DISTINGUISHED INDIAN INDUSTRIAL EXPERT IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Mr. Prafulla C. Mukherji, son of the late Ambica Charan Mukherji, pioneer in girls' education and Bramho Samaj movements in Assam, has recently been appointed as the Chief Metallurgist and Assistant to the Technical Director of Magnitostroy (the name of the steel works) in Magnitogorsk, on the Ural River, on the southern slopes of the Ural mountains, by the Soviet Government. The importance of Mr. Mukherji's position can be understood from the fact that, when completed, this plant will be the second largest steel works in the world. The capacity would be 2,700,000 tons of finished steel a year. In Magnitogorsk, besides the steel plants, there is a large electric plant called Energostroy and a coke oven plant built by Koppers Company of America. It may be said that this is the

first time an Indian has been entrusted with such a responsible position as technical expert by a foreign government. *Let this be known that Mr. Mukherji is neither a socialist nor a communist and he has received this appointment, solely due to his merit as an expert in the field of steel industry.* This success has not been achieved easily. It is the result of *sadhana* for more than a quarter of a century.



Prafulla Chandra Mukherji

Born in Dhubri, Assam, in 1888, Mr. Mukherji was educated in Dhubri High School where he took an active part in athletics and student organizations. In 1905, he passed the F.A. examination of the Calcutta University from the Metropolitan Institution (now called Vidyasagar College). During

1905-1907, he took an active part in the national movement—Swaraj, Swadeshi, boycott and national education,—as a co-worker of the late Ramakanta Roy and under the direction of the late Surendranath Banerjee and Sriyut Krishna Kumar Mitra. On several occasions he was maltreated by the police for picketting. He helped in organizing Swadeshi stores and raised several thousand rupees for the National Fund and was one of the organizers of the Hindu-Moslem dinner held in City College, Calcutta. In May 1907, Mr. Mukherji, with three other friends—one of whom, Mr. Dharendra Gupta, is now Director of Industries of Behar—left India for America. As an entirely self-supporting student, he worked in various capacities to earn money to get his education. He graduated in Metallurgy from Pittsburgh University in 1914 and secured a position in the Carnegie Steel Corporation, a subsidiary of the United States Steel Company. Since 1914, he worked in Chemical and Metallurgical laboratories and in other technical capacities, and for the last eight years had been Assistant Chief Chemist, in charge of metallurgical investigation work.

It should be recorded that, besides his technical work, Mr. Mukherji took an active part in promoting India's cause in America, especially by helping Indian students and supporting the cause of Hindustan Association of America, of which he was one of the founders. In 1920, he became an American citizen. He is still an American citizen and enjoys friendship and confidence of many responsible Americans—professors, senators, bishops, editors, leaders in commerce and industry, and philanthropists. Mr. Mukherji is not only a credit to India but he is a representative of America and American institutions. On his arrival at Magnitogorsk (USSR) on the 22nd of June a reception was given to Mr. Mukherji. The following is the text of his speech which conveys the ideal he represents :

"Friends,

I hope you will allow me to call you by that name, for I will consider it a privilege to be one of your friends. I come here as such. I am sorry I will not be able to speak in your language. But I hope I will soon be able to overcome that

difficulty. First of all, if your chairman will permit me, I would like to modify one of his statements, namely, that I have come to teach you how to make iron and steel. This statement only reveals his generous nature. I confess I entertain no such ambition. My ambition is, if you will permit me, to work with you and co-operate with you to the best of my ability to make your far-reaching plan a success. Industrially you have made great progress during the last few years, and undoubtedly if everybody does his share conscientiously, you will overcome all obstacles and become one of the great steel producing countries.

"As I approached this slope of the Ural Mountains, a thought constantly came to me, a thought which to many of you may seem strange. Magnitogorsk stands at the junction of two mighty continents of Asia and Europe. It is therefore only proper that I, a product of the cultures of the East and West (I claim that I have been able to assimilate however poorly, some phases of the cultures of both), should come to help you in making the contact of the East and West a reality, which is bound to have a far-reaching significance. America is not my mother-land; America is my country by adoption. I have lived the best part of my life there. I had the proud privilege of taking part not only in industrial life, but also of the cultural life of America. I owe much to America. I came in contact with many men and women whose friendship I value dearly. They have helped me to understand the real America—America of fruitful productivity and in spite of many selfish and distracting influences, the America of youthful idealism.

"But I must not forget also what I owe to India, the land of my birth, where I spent my boyhood days and early youth in villages and cities in the arms of my parents and in the affection of my brothers and sisters and friends, who taught me the ways of life; and learnt under teachers full of imagination and idealism. India whose soil has been sanctified by the footsteps of hundreds of Rishis and Saints, who sang the immortal hymns of the Vedas on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna; India which gave birth to the great Buddha who held the torch of light before the world; India which has produced great systems of philosophy, a great literature and art; India to whom I owe the foundation of my life, to that India I pay my homage.

"Russia of Tolstoy has given inspiration to the whole world. Russia of Chekhov and Gorky is also reshaping human thought. The Union of Soviet Republics, at her new birth, is holding before the world a new philosophy—a new ideal of service. I wish to learn from you the secret of this ideal. May I not suggest that the whole world is watching with intense expectations the working of this ideal. I hope that you will not call me too presumptuous, if I predict that the contact of three great countries of India, America and Russia is destined to make a new history of the world. In the meantime I plead for tolerance, good-will and love—more love—."

It may not be out of place to record Mr. Mukherji's impressions of Russia of today, which he has written to me only a few days ago :

"Russia today, from one end of the country to the other is vibrating with life. To watch this new-found life is in itself an education. Throughout the country construction work is going on. All kinds of basic industries are springing up. Iron and steel, automobile, electrical, chemical and textile and other industries have been started with great intensity. The young people (both men and women) are absolutely earnest. They are anxious to learn. I have to give one lecture a week to a group of young people (men and women) about 150 to 200 (all employed at our steel work) about industrial organizations in America. My next few lectures will be on art and science of steel-making....It would be a great help to India, if some of our qualified men take part in these budding industries for a few years, and also study the intensive educational and social programmes....Russian Consular agents or trading agencies will gladly supply information about Russia....It would be well if some responsible Indian can stay in Moscow to promote industrial and commercial interests of India, representing the All India Chamber of Commerce...."

Mr. Mukherji's experience in America as well as in Russia will be at the disposal of India, if an opportunity is offered to him to serve Mother India in his special field.

II

A YOUNG INDIAN PHYSICIST OF INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION

About three years ago, I had the pleasure of discussing the possibilities of Indo-German cultural co-operation with Professor Sommerfeld of the University of Munich, who had been in India as a visiting professor of Calcutta University. This distinguished German scholar told me that in the field of pure science India has made a tremendous progress during the last quarter of a century. "From what I have seen of the work of young Indian scientists, I am convinced that India has a very bright future", said Prof. Sommerfeld. He added, "We wish that some of the very best and only the very best Indian scientists should visit German universities as research scholars." Achievements of Indian scientists are removing much of the misconception about the ability of the Indian people. In this connection I wish to say a few words about a young Indian physicist who is not yet thirty years old, but has already received international recognition.

In 1930, India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie offered the Zeiss Fellowship in Physics to Mr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar,

M.Sc., of Calcutta University, to carry on research in Physics in Jena University for a year. Dr. Majumdar's record as a promising physicist is known to the Indian academic world. Before he was awarded the Zeiss Fellowship, at the recommendation of the Deutsche Akademie, he was the recipient of the coveted Prem Chand Rai Chand Scholarship. Dr. Majumdar is a very modest man and at first he was not at all interested in securing a doctorate in any German University, but only in carrying on his special research. This was not due to egotism; he wished to use all his energies to acquire knowledge and not to waste any time for a degree. I was anxious that he should become a candidate for the doctorate; and somewhat reluctantly he agreed to this idea. Within a short time Dr. Majumdar published several important original papers in German scientific journals which not only attracted attention and admiration of German scientists, but the famous British Physicist, Prof. Milne praised Dr. Majumdar's work in an editorial comment in *Nature*.

In German universities, all students are required to fulfil certain requirements, before they can become candidates for the doctorate examinations. In the case of Dr. Majumdar, his professors—especially Prof. Joos and Prof. Vogt—were so impressed with his original work that they recommended to the Faculty that he should be excused from observing all formalities required by an ordinary student. In due course of time Dr. Majumdar has secured his Ph.D. with the highest honour (*summa cum laude*) in Physics, Mathematics and Astronomy.

It is most gratifying to the Deutsche Akademie, as well as the authorities of Jena University that, recently, Dr. Majumdar has been awarded the Rash Behari Ghose Traveling Fellowship (of five thousand rupees). Dr. Majumdar, as far as I know, is going to carry on his higher studies in Cambridge, Copenhagen, Paris, Leipzig, Goettingen and other places before returning to India. Dr. Majumdar has one ambition in life; and that is to serve India through the field of science. He is a great admirer of Prof. Saha, Prof. Raman and others, who have, through their achievements, raised India's status

before the world. I may say that it is something like a passion in Dr. Majumdar that the standard and status of Indian universities should be so raised that Indians will not have to go to foreign countries as ordinary students. It is my conviction that as a teacher of Physics, Dr. Majumdar will be an asset to India.

III

A PROMISING INDIAN PHILOLOGIST

During the last four years the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie has awarded scholarships to some twenty-five graduate students from Indian universities to carry on higher studies in German universities. Of those scholars some of them had degrees of D.Sc. from Indian universities, some had M.Sc., some had M. B., B. S. and others were graduates of engineering colleges, except Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh of Calcutta. Mr. Ghosh did not have any degree when he applied for a scholarship; but to support his claims for a scholarship, he presented some of his original works and testimonials from several professors of Calcutta University. Mr. Ghosh studied Sanskrit in the old traditional method (in a *tol*) and also acquired sufficient knowledge of German to make the authorized English translation of Prof. Dr. Jolly's work on *Hindu Law and Custom* (published by Greater India Society). At the recommendation of Gehejmrat Prof. Dr. Oertel of Munich University, who was twenty years in Yale University, and others of the Committee of Selection of successful candidates, Mr. Ghosh was given a stipend for the academic year of 1929-30, by the India Institute of the Deutsche Akademie. Because of the excellent work done by Mr. Ghosh, this stipend was twice renewed to allow him to complete his work for a *doctorate in philology* which he has secured last July with high honours. (*magna cum laude*).

So far as I know Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh is one of the very few Indians who have specialized in Comparative Philology and mastered the philological methods of the

West. It is needless to mention that Dr. Ghosh had to pass his examinations in Latin and Greek creditably which are required of students of Philology; but he had to prove his efficiency in Gothic, Anglo-Saxon, Old-Slavic, Middle Russian and Lithuanian, and some of the modern languages, before he was awarded the doctorate. Dr. Ghosh was fortunate to have Professor Dr. Sommer, the greatest living authority on Indo-Germanic philology and President of Indo-Germanische Gesellschaft, Professor Berneker, the *doyen* of Slavic Philology, Prof. Oertel of Aryan Philology and Professors von Kraus and Forster of Germanic Philology as his teachers. While in Germany, Dr. Ghosh has contributed several original papers and delivered several lectures on Indian philosophy in the German language. During his student life in Munich, he has acquired the reputation of being the most worthy representative of Indian students and is respected by German as well as foreign students.

Dr. Ghosh is still carrying on further research work in collaboration with Dr. Wust of the University of Munich; and before returning to India hopes to visit various culture centres of Europe. During the last few years I have been advocating that the University of Calcutta should have a school of foreign languages. There are several eminent scholars in Calcutta University (specially Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji) who feel the necessity of having a well-organized department of philology. It is to be hoped that Dr. Ghosh, upon his return to India, will find an opportunity to serve India, by spreading the knowledge he has acquired in Germany. There are Indians who are deeply interested in establishing international cultural co-operation between India and other civilized nations. They should not forget that in the spread of knowledge of foreign languages lies one of the most important keys for the success of their endeavour; and a man of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's attainments will be able to serve their cause as an effective instrument.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and the classical languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices are published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

SIN & SEX : *By Robert Briffault, with an introduction by Bertrand Russell. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net. Pp. 228.*

This is a remarkable book dealing with the conception of sexual morality in Christian countries. The author has considered the problem from the standpoint of the anthropologist. He has no difficulty in proving that the present moral ideas of Europe are traceable through Christianity to Judaism. The ancient Greeks took up a rational attitude with regard to moral problems and their conception of morality was based on the idea of *justice*. But the Christian doctrine on which the present day Western morality takes its stand is based not on a foundation of reason but on the principle of *taboo* which controls the behaviour of savage people. "The fact that a rule is founded on superstitious idea does not exclude the possibility of its having beneficial effects. But it does follow as an inevitable consequence that with those beneficial effects will also be brought about harmful results from the fanatical enforcements of an unreasoning superstition. The objection is all-important and is of universal application to human affairs. The evil of unreasonableness and injustice is never made good by indirect benefits." This is the central theme of the author's discussions. He has drawn a comparison which is of great topical interest: "when a powerful and civilized state seizes upon a less powerful and less civilized country by force of arms and subsequently justifies its action by pointing to the benefits conferred on the country by good administration and civilized developments, the plea does not render the aggression less detestable and unjust. When an English Tory defends England's flagrant breach of her pledge by speaking of 'our moral responsibility,' he is adding nauseating hypocrisy to dishonour." The whole book is written in an aggressive style and the remarks of the author against Christianity are particularly pungent. The method of presentation reminds one of Max Nordau's *Conventional Lies of Our Civilization*. The author's intolerance of moral conception has laid

him to describe those anthropologists and biologists, who see evidences of sexual moral life, as understood in the present day, amongst savages and animals, as Adam-and-Eve anthropologists and Noah's Arc biologists. Unfortunately the author himself is not free from such bias. On page 85 he writes "the virtuous and respectable savage in the Nicobar Islands, if he sees a young woman he desires, goes up to her and demands to have sexual intercourse with her there and then; and if she should demur, is so incensed at her lack of common civility that he takes up his cudgel and kills her and is held by public opinion to be quite justified." On page 178 referring to savage societies he contradicts himself by saying, "the rape is regarded as an intolerable offence. The young woman whose right to give herself is recognized has also the right to refuse herself." One agrees with Bertrand Russell in saying "Mr. Briffault may be right or may be wrong in any particular opinion that he expresses, but in one respect and that the most important, he is profoundly right, namely, that his appeal is to reason and not to prejudice."

YOUTH AND SEX : *By Meyrick Booth. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 5s. net. Pp. 224.*

This book may be described as a sort of mild protest against such ideas as have been put forth in *Sin and Sex*. The presentation suffers from the defect that the different chapters read like isolated lecture notes on so many different topics. The mass of quotations and references detracts, if anything, from the value of the book as a connected thesis. The author believes that "the Churches are very far from being so played out as the often over-confident modern supposes them to be." Freud, James, Bergson and others have been quoted to prove the weakness of the rationalistic bias. According to the author the anti-Victorian attitude towards sex has been carried too far in modern times. He believes with Oskar Schmitz that "women will, through the realization of their nature again desire, of their own

free-will, to be women, although the possibility of following the opposite path is open to them."

G. BOSE

THE CENTRAL AUTHORITY IN BRITISH INDIA (1774-1784) by Dr. A. P. Das-Gupta, M. A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Calcutta University Press, 1931).

In these days when there is so much discussion about the devolution of power from the central government to the provinces, a study of the growth of central authority in British India has not only an historical but also a current interest. The need for a central power in India to direct the foreign policy of the Company's settlements, was keenly felt within a few years of the battle of Plassey. The result was the Regulating Act of 1773, which for the first time gave to Bengal, a controlling power over the other Presidencies, in certain matters.

The present volume is a minute and detailed study of sec. IX of the Act, illustrated from the relations of the Governor-General in Council with the Madras Government. "The only power that was given by this clause to the Governor-General and Council was of saying 'yes' or 'no' when matters of commencing war or negotiating treaties were referred to them." (p. 7). The power thus given to the Bengal Government turned out to be illusory in practice, as they "could be ignored practically at every step on the plea of imminent necessity" by the subordinate Presidencies. To quote Dr. Das-Gupta, "the Governor-General and Council were given responsibilities without corresponding powers. This gave them a constant inducement to intervene without legal authority. There was a corresponding tendency on the part of the subordinate government to resist every interposition as an infringement of their legal rights." (p. 337). It was inevitable under such conditions that there should be constant friction between Bengal and the two subordinate Presidencies. The chief object of the Act of 1773, namely, the united stand of the three Presidencies before the Company's enemies, was not attained.

Students of history are familiar with the conflict between Hastings and the Bombay Government and with the incompetent policy of the latter, leading to the Treaty of Surat in 1775 and the humiliating convention of Wargan in 1779. In the volume under review, there is no mention of these even by way of comparison. We have a detailed account based on the manuscript records in the India Office and the British Museum, of frequent quarrels between Hastings and the Madras Government, resulting in embarrassing situations on several occasions. Ultimately, of course, the Bengal Government could overbear all opposition, largely because the Madras Government were financially dependent on them. Rumbold, the Governor of Madras, who flouted the authority of the Bengal Government, escaped punishment by retirement. Whitehill, the successor and the upholder of Rumbold's policy, was suspended. But "the exceptions to the restriction imposed upon the subordinate Presidency to negotiate were so large that the Governor-General and Council were unable to prevent them from negotiating with Tipu. Again, in spite of their objections to the Treaty of Mangalore, they had no alternative but to ratify it." (p. 344).

Dr. Das-Gupta criticizes the independence of action left to the subordinate Presidencies under the Act of 1773, but this was perhaps inevitable, on account of the difficulty of communication in those

days, when greater reliance had to be placed on the man on the spot. In fact the curtailment of the wide powers of the subordinate Presidencies was due as much to the series of measures beginning with Pitt's India Act of 1784 as to the improvement of communications.

Dr. Das-Gupta has produced a valuable and interesting piece of work which students of political and constitutional history of British India would find useful. The mere fact that he has been able to write a volume containing some 350 pages on the working of a certain section of the Regulating Act, in reference to a particular Presidency, shows the abundance of information for detailed researches into the history of British India, available among the early State Records, whether in England or in India. It is hoped that researchers will make better use of these valuable materials in future than at present.

J. C. SINHA

PANCHARSI: By Sitānath Tattvabhusan

I have read Pandit Tattvabhusan's *Pancharsi* with interest and profit. The five Rishis whom Professor Tattvabhusan regards as founders of "Vedic Idealism" are Aruni, Yajñavalkya, Prajapati, Indra and Chitra—(Prajapati and Indra are, of course, mythical names). The author's exposition of the views and teachings of these teachers is always acute and his criticisms are searching and sometimes trenchant. Of these Rishis, I regard Yajñavalkya as the greatest, the one in whom the idealism of the Upanishads reached its high-water mark. His monistic idealism is absolutely fearless and uncompromising and is, I believe, an anticipation of everything notable that has since been contributed to the subject. Professor Tattvabhusan, I find, takes a somewhat different view and, while I do not endorse his conclusions, I can fully sympathize with and appreciate his view-point.

In the last section, Professor Tattvabhusan has put an attractive gloss on Chitra's "Brahmaloka" which I regard as nothing more than a glorified "Christian Heaven." It seems to have greatly appealed to our author and he asks in truly Christian phrase "Can the Father keep anything back from his son?" To me, Yajñavalkya's "Mokshavada"—in which the Subject and the Object—the "triadicity" of Knower, Knowledge and Known—coalesce into absolute Unity—is a far higher and nobler conception; but, no doubt, Professor Tattvabhusan is entitled to his own views, which, I admit, he has expounded with much erudition and insight.

HIRENDRA NATH DATTA.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN ENGLAND: (From the beginning of the English Reformation to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.) By W. K. Jordan, Ph.D. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Price 21 s. net.

Mr. Jordan who is on the tutorial staff of the Harvard University has written a readable book on one of the most important problems of English history. He has begun his work with an explanation of the real meaning of religious toleration. He shows how mere toleration falls considerably short of religious liberty. "Toleration signifies simply a refraining from persecution. It suggests at least latent disapproval of the belief or practice which is tolerated, and refers to a somewhat limited and conditioned freedom."

Next he considers the factors which underlay religious toleration. "Perhaps the most powerful factor in disposing the Government towards toleration was the perception of the dangers inherent to the State in a policy of religious persecution." The growing secularization of national politics in the sixteenth century had also considerably to do with the development of the spirit of toleration. As again the minority groups in the country acquired more and more of political strength, punishment of heresy became gradually impossible. Among the other factors contributing to the development of toleration must be included the wide extension of travel during the latter half of the sixteenth century. It also drew its sustenance from the growth of scepticism and indifference which came more and more to mark the attitude of the people.

In tracing the development of religious toleration, Mr. Jordan examines the opinions of the members of Parliament, the leaders of the Church and the lay thinkers of the country. He analyses as much the view-points of Sir William Cecil as he explains the opinions of Archbishop Parker as embodied in his book the *Advertisements*. He brings out into relief the main points of the great controversy between Whitgift and Cartwright, and gives a lucid exposition of the opinions of Hooker as expressed in his *Ecclesiastical Polity and Discourse on Justification*. Of the lay thinkers, he gives the place of honour to Jacobus Acontius, an Italian Protestant who made England his permanent home. His works have been subjected to a careful examination and analysis.

The book is written in a lucid style and we commend it to the notice of all serious students of history.

MODERN INDIA THINKS : *Compiled by K. R. Lukmidas. Published by D. B. Taraporevala & Co. Price Rs. 6.*

The book is a collection of sayings and opinions of a number of prominent Indians on different subjects like Civilization, Culture, Religion, Education, and Social Service. Persons whose opinions have been drawn upon in this work include the names of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, Babu Bhagavan Das, Sir Narayan Chandravarkar, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Aurobindo Ghose, and Bepin Chandra Pal. The book has the merit of having brought together the opinions of so many great men on so many important topics. The printing and general get up are quite satisfactory. But the price appears to be rather excessive.

N. C. Roy

THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC CRISIS : *Sir Arthur Salter and others. Allen and Unwin. Price 4s. 6d.*

THE WORLD ECONOMIC DEPRESSION : *Sir J. C. Coyajee. Kt. Andhra University Series, No. IV. Price Re. 1 or 1s. 6d.*

Both of the above books are attempts to explain the cause of the present economic depression, and the way of escape, but both books, despite the titles and degrees possessed by the different writers, are open to the same criticism, namely, that they reiterate facts which are well known and only offer some platitudinous generalities as a cure. A perusal of the above books may convince those who still believe in the orthodox economic theories that there is no

possibility of a permanent solution of the economic problem along the old lines of thought, but otherwise there is nothing much that anyone is likely to gain from reading them. Sir W. H. Beveridge sums up the position very well when he says :

"The world will not really escape this crisis at all. Even if all economists were completely agreed on a remedy, the Governments would not apply it. The world will not escape this crisis, not if escape means getting out of danger by deliberate thought and action. The world is like a patient with a disease for which the doctors have as yet no cure, except time and trust in his vitality, in the toughness of his system." (*The World's Economic Crisis*, p. 186.)

The doctors do, however, agree that stability of prices is desirable, and this necessarily implies a certain amount of regulation or "planning", but a humorous timidity is revealed as soon as the "planning" attempts to clothe itself with an institutional character. This timidity may possibly be understandable, but unless the experts are prepared to think out and to explain more fully and frankly what exactly they mean by "planning" and "co-operation", they must not be surprised if people pay little or no attention to them. The experts do not seem to have realized the fact that their science is still thinking in terms of the old pre-industrialized world and few people seem to realize the importance of the fact that Adam Smith, the founder of modern political economy, published the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 just at the same time that James Watt was perfecting his steam engine.

"Political Economy never rises above the hypothesis of a limited and insufficient supply of the necessities of life : it takes it for granted." (Kropotkin, *Fields, Factories and Workshops*.)

The application of science to industry and agriculture has enabled mankind to win from Nature sufficient to satisfy his necessary requirements. The use of machinery has reduced the total amount of human energy necessary to produce anything, but the present economic system demands that only those who take part in the production of the goods and services needed by humanity, shall be allowed to share in the consumption of what is produced. The result is that machinery, which under an intelligent system should reduce the amount of human energy necessary to maintain life, is rapidly displacing men who are, therefore, forced into conditions of abject poverty. One thus sees poverty in the midst of plenty, and as a character in a certain modern play says, "Soon we shall be starving in the midst of magnificent machines." "Planning" by a government is necessary if the machines are to be controlled, and if people once begin to believe that the Russian scheme offers a practical solution of the present difficulties, they will turn to the Russian dogmas rather than listen longer to the vague generalities, and platitudes of the economic "experts."

CHRISTOPHER ACKROYD

MAHATMA : *A novel by S. Woods Hill. Methuen & Co. Ltd. Crown 8vo. Pp. 247, cloth, stamped back, art jacket. Price 7s-6.*

The author has attempted a pen picture of the financial aspect of one school of Indian patriotism, simultaneously with an exposition of the golden urge

that stimulates British political philanthropy in India. In his intention the author is sincere and fair, but this sporting and moral outlook appears to have cramped his imagination and style.

A. C.

CONTESTED DOCUMENTS AND FORGERIES:

By F. Brewster. *The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta.*
Price Rs. 16-8.

From many points of view the book is a novel production. While practising lawyers will find in it much to help them in their profession, the layman will turn to its pages with delight and interest—his interest being augmented by the fact that they are not burdened with interminable footnotes and, what to him appears to be unintelligible abbreviations and references. The author has taken special pains to interest the average man as evidenced by the conscious attempt to eschew the use of technical expressions so far as the nature of the subject would permit. Serious as the subjects dealt with are there is not wanting a bedrock of humour running through the entire work, for the author has not omitted to notice that white ants have extraordinary power of discrimination and devastation when operating upon "old documents" (including important books of account) belonging to litigants, nor that a paper of recent manufacture can be converted into venerable ancient document of title or a rent receipt under the Tenancy Act by the judicious application to it of "the smoke of a gobar fire" or "by scorching it with a very hot smoothing iron such as is used by any *dhobi*." The book contains much practical information which may serve to safeguard the average man against the machinations of the forger and the perjurer. An instance is recorded of an unfortunate gentleman of position who had, in a municipal capacity, signed a document. The blank space above the signature was utilized for the purpose of manufacturing an instrument forming the subject matter of a criminal charge against the unwary writer. Had the book been published a few years ago it might have saved an equally unfortunate railway passenger of Saharanpur who, some time back, had unsuspectingly given his name and address to a fellow passenger on a sheet of paper—their acquaintance having sprung up during the journey. This paper was converted into a promissory note to which the appropriate stamp was affixed and duly defaced. A well arranged index adds to the usefulness of the treatise. Mr. Brewster and the Book Company both deserve to be congratulated on their respective achievements in the publication of this excellent work.

S. C. CHAUDHURI

BUDDHISTIC STUDIES: Edited by Bimala

Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L., Text 888 pages; index 9 pages; with 4 plates. Thacker Spink and Co., Ltd., 1932.

"An attempt has been made in this volume," to quote from the editor's preface, "to collect and publish some contributions to the study of Buddhist thought from eastern and western scholars." The volume is called a 'treatise,' which it is not. There are thirty-six different articles, unconnected amongst themselves, hanging on independent pegs instead of being on any common plan other than that of a continuous pagination, united together by the art of the book-binder. It is a journal, not a book, and far less a treatise. The subjects, to take the first few so-called chapters' are:

1. The Buddhism of Manimekhalai,
2. Buddhist Councils,
3. Six Heretical Teachers,
4. Gautama Buddha and the Paribrajakas,
5. Mahavira and Buddha,
6. The quest of the historic Sakya Muni,
7. Some Ancient Indian Kings,
8. Buddhist Education in Pali and Sanskrit Schools,
9. Ancient Indian Education from the Jatakas.

Most of the articles have nothing to do with "the study of Buddhist thought" e.g. 'Some Numismatic data in Pali Literature' (Ch. XV), 'Buddhist Festivals in Ceylon' (Ch. XVII), 'The authenticity of Asokan Legends' (Ch. XVIII), 'Origin and development of Pali Language with special reference to Sanskrit Grammar' (Ch. XXIV), 'A short history of Ceylon' (Ch. XXX), 'The Home of Pali' (Ch. XXXI), etc.

The editor has failed in his duty to explain what he was presenting to the public and in classifying and selecting his materials, with the result that the volume is turned into a hotch-potch miscellany of stuff and stuffings.

Out of the stuff section, the most valuable paper is of Professor Bhandarkar 'Asoka and his Mission' (pp. 612-635) who has succeeded in explaining the *dharma* preached by Asoka. It was not the Buddhism intended for the monk, but the code of duty intended for the laity by the Buddha. Dr. Bhandarkar has quoted the original text from *Sigalovada Sutta* (Digha Nikaya) wherein the Buddha preached to Sigala the house-holder's *dharma*. This is called *gihī-vinaya*, i.e., as the Vinaya-Pitaka is to the monk so this text is to the house-holder. Asoka has clearly put that text into his own language in his inscriptions, preaching one's duty to relatives and neighbours and to society in general. Asoka's domestic and social positivism was part and parcel of the Buddhist system and Buddhist scripture.

M. Louis Finot's 'Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China' is an entertaining survey of a religious chapter of Greater India. I may point out that Vichitrāsagara's date given as year 5911 of the *Drapara* reckoning need not be fabulous (p. 750). Adding the years of *Drapara* to the *Kalyuga* era which was current at the time when the inscription (to which M. Finot refers) was composed, the year would work out to be 410 A.D. and that date would be quite historical for the establishment of a Mukhalingam Siva whose worship was probably introduced from Southern India under the Pallavas at the time.

"Numismatic data in Pali" by Mr. Charan Das Chatterji is a good and useful paper, except for some irrelevant and unsuccessful diversions into matters unconnected with the author's subject. Controversial and indecisive papers, e.g. 'The Home of Pali' by Dr. Keith leading the reader to nowhere are not wanting in the volume. The volume is not without some good data but one has to carry on a regular search for them in the big tome of 900 pages. One would wish that the editor curtailed the labour of the reader by his own scissors.

K. P. JAYSWAL

VEGETARIANISM IN THE LIGHT OF THEOSOPHY: Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

The case for vegetarians is based here on the theory of life and matter which Theosophy advocates. It is an appealing lecture.

A SKETCH OF THEOSOPHY: *Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

It is also a lecture in which, as the name itself implies, an attempt is made to give briefly the essentials of Theosophy. It is contended that Theosophy is a comprehensive doctrine which has much to say on Philosophy, Religion, Morality, Art as well as Science. The style is attractive.

MEMORIES OF PAST LIVES: *Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.*

This is a brief dissertation on, as the name suggests, the theory so widely accepted in Indian thought that souls have had other lives before the present and that under suitable conditions, events and incidents of those lives can be remembered. The author seeks support for this theory from Plato and from an interpretation of modern science, coupled with concrete examples of cases of such memory. The question is well argued.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

METHODS OF LIVESTOCK IMPROVEMENT:

By T. Murari, Dip. in Agr., B. Sc; F. L. R. &c. With a foreword by Colonel A. Oliver. C. B.; C. M. G.; F. R. C. V. S.; Animal Husbandry Expert, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, Cr. 8 vo, 327 pp + xxiv. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is an admirable little book on cattle improvement, and is well worth a perusal by those of our public men who are interested in the subject. It describes in interesting chapters what has been done for livestock improvement in European countries. Our only criticism is that the author does not say what has been done in India in this respect, nor suggests practical ways of improvement under Indian conditions, nor gives his opinion about the different ways of encouraging cattle improvement. We hope the author in his next edition would embody some chapters on cattle improvement in India.

GOPAL CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT

NYAYA PRAVESA: *Part I. Sanskrit Text with commentaries, critically edited with notes and introduction by A. B. Dhruva M.A., LL.B., I.E.S. (retired) Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. XXXVIII.*

Prof. Dhruva has done a service to the cause of Sanskrit scholarship by bringing out a critical edition of the *Nyaya Prasasaka-sutra* a work on Buddhist logic of considerable antiquity. Hitherto our knowledge of Buddhist logic was confined to the *Nyaya-bindu* and its commentary and the logical portion of the *Tattvasangraha* only. The *Pramanasamuccaya* of Dignaga is still locked up in the Tibetan version and so remains a sealed book to many. The present publication, therefore, forms a very welcome addition to our knowledge of Buddhist Logic. The learned editor has discussed the question of authorship, about which there has been a good deal of controversy, with conspicuous ability and detachment. The tangled problem of Dignaga's contributions and reforms in the field of Indian logic has been subjected to a critical examination. The editor has tried to make out that Dignaga's theory of the nature of the thesis or probandum is not an original

contribution, but only a development of Vatsyayana's position. The necessity of universal concomitance (*Vyapti*) also is, in his opinion, fully adumbrated in Vatsyayana's *bhasya* and Dignaga's originality in this matter is practically nil. The learned editor is quite justified in laying emphasis on the implicit suggestions in the *bhasya* on all these important points. But we are inclined to believe that the position of prominence that has been given to *Vyapti* and the wholesale acceptance of probandum as a judgment in the subsequent career of Indian logic are due to a large extent, if not entirely, to Dignaga's clear and emphatic formulations of these topics. About the constitution of syllogism, however, the originality of Dignaga's reform is unquestionable. Whatever may be the divergence of views, one thing is untenable, namely, that Dignaga's syllogism is more logical than the five-membered syllogism of the Naiyayikas. The defence of the Nyaya syllogism by Vacaspati and Jayanta is more psychological than logical. The reconstruction of syllogism was carried to a further extent by Dharmakirti and later Buddhist logicians, who dispensed with the proposition (Paksa) altogether as a part of the syllogism. The Jaina logicians expunged the example and thus made it more compact. The critical machinery was certainly set in motion by Dignaga. The syllogism in the Nyayapravasa, however, contain the three members including the proposition and Haribhadrasuri, the commentator has tried to bring it into line with the later development by an ingenious device of grammatical interpretation. This fact and the definition of *Pratyaksa* and the formulation of the triple characteristic of the Probans without the amendments proposed by Dharmakirti proved its priority to Dharmakirti's work. So for all practical purposes the controversy about the authorship of the book is irrelevant if we have reason to believe that the book reproduces the original views of Dignaga. The value of the text is therefore considerable even from the historical point of view and so the labour of the editor has been well spent upon it. The copious notes will help even a tyro to cultivate first hand acquaintance with the text and the credit for all this belongs to the learned editor.

S. N. DAS-GUPTA

HINDI

SAMSKRITA KAVICARCA: *By Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, M.A., Sahityacarya, Professor, Hindu University, Benares. Master-Kheladi Lal and Sons. Sanskrit Book Depot. Kacauri Gali, Kasi. First issue. 1932. Price Rupees two.*

This is a popular account in Hindi of a number of Sanskrit poets and their works. The Hindi reading public will welcome this useful publication which will help them in having some idea of the antiquity and wealth of the poetic literature in Sanskrit. The writer has done well in making elaborate and representative quotations from the works of the poets described by him. This will enable the readers to form their own opinions about the merits or otherwise of them.

It is not known what principle was followed by the author in selecting the poets from among the formidable number of them scattered over a fairly long period of time. He has omitted to mention some of the well-known poets like Rajashekhara, Visakhadatta and Bhartrihari, the famous author of

the 'Century Poems' though he has included the names of some lesser-known poets like Trivikrama Bhatta, Bhallata and Vijjaka (a poetess).

It seems the author has not taken sufficient care, presumably on account of its popular character to make his book as complete and accurate as it should have been. The extreme paucity of references—which could be given with very little trouble to original sources stands in the way of the inquisitive-reader to know fuller details. Some works—though of minor importance—have been left out. Thus the *Damaka Prahasana*, published only recently and attributed to Bhasa, has not even been referred to. No mention is made of the *Vidyasundara* and the *Bhanas* attributed to Vararuci. The author has assigned Kalidas to a very early period prior to Bhasa and Asvaghosha. But the arguments put forward by him are scarcely sufficient. They should have been a bit more exhaustive in view of the importance of the question.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

VARTANAN PUSTAKO NO PARICHAY, PART II: *Published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal Ltd., Baroda. Printed at the Charotar Printing Press, Anand. Paper Cover. Pp. 127: Price Rs. 0-12-0, (1931).*

The first part of this very useful publication dealt with 372 novels and this second part deals with 447 and this concluding part would deal with the rest out of the 1200 selected for treatment. The plan followed is to give the name of the author, the name of the novel, a short summary of its contents, with the year of publication and its price. The reader can thus make his choice. The publication is already being welcomed by librarians as these books selected are of an unobjectionable type. We appreciate the pace at which this work is going forward.

DHUMRA SHIKHA: *By Rammekhal J. Dalal: Printed at this Vasanta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. cloth bound. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 1-4-0 (1931).*

This is a translation of Mrs. Sitadevi's story published in instalments in the *Modern Review*. It has been well translated and fully brings out the good points of the original, depicting the sad state

of Hindu society. We are sure this translation would be read with delight—by Gujarati readers.

The Annual Account (1930) of the Dakshina Murti Vidyarthi Bhavan of Bhavnagar, shows the rapid strides that the institution is making in the department of juvenile education.

SANGHA VYAYAM: *Published by the Kathiawad Vyayam Pracharak Mandal and printed at the Saraswati Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Paper cover, Pp. 33, Price Rs. 0-2-0 (1930).*

Prof. Manikrao of the Jumma Dada Gymnasium of Baroda wrote a booklet in Hindi on physical culture and discipline. This small book is a translation of it and will be found of great use to those who have to deal with masses of children and youngsters for this above purpose.

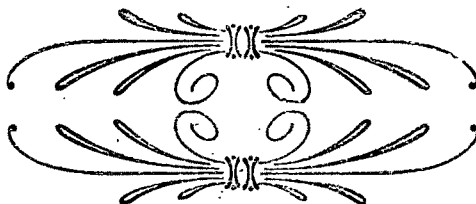
JAWAHAR NEHRU: *By Natwarlal Maniklal Dave. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover, Pp. 143: Price Rs. 0-5-0 (1931)*

This short sketch of the life of the Pandit was a desideratum, as none such existed in Gujarati. In order to bring out the special characteristics of Pandit Jawaharlal in public life, the writer has embellished the sketch with extracts from his public speeches.

VANASPATI SHASTRI JAYAKRISHNABHAI: *by Bahadur Garbaddas Shah of Hansot: Printed at the Arya Sudharak Press, Baroda; With photos. Paper cover: Pp. 192 Price Rs. 1-8-0 (1931).*

Indian botany and forestry, as well as plant life and physiology, are still in an undeveloped stage. If any single individual in this part of India had made the subject his life study it was the subject of this short biography. His was a name to conjure with and many Indians and European scholars have not only paid their meed of praise to the deceased but have acknowledged their debt to him for guiding them right in their studies and identification of Indian plants and drugs. He was a self-made man: from an ordinary cook boy to a distinguished Vanaspati Shastriship is a feat of no mean order and this book tells us how the miracle was accomplished. It is written by one who was his pupil late in life, and himself greatly interested in plants and drugs that is the reason why he has been able to write such an entertaining and instructive book.

K. M. J.



ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

WE arrived at Shiraz in the spring. The pollarded chenars and poplars were putting on new leaves and the gardens were gay with the myriad colours of orange-blossom, narcissus, rose, violet pomegranate, and a host of other flowers. There was a mild and refreshing quality in the cool breeze blowing across the valley, that encouraged the far-famed bulbul of Shiraz to try out the opening notes of his song to his beloved, the rose.

But the Shiraz of today is but a ghost and a shadow of its magnificent mediaeval self. Gone are the glories of its mosques, shrines, caravanserais and bazaars, and dim is the fame of its poets, artists and artisans,—though even now it bears the name of Dar-ul-Ilm (seat of learning) as a heritage of the past. The only way to get a glimpse of its former grandeur is through a distant view from the pass of Tang-i-Allahu Akbar, (Pass of God is Great) so named because the traveller, catching his first view of the wonderful valley and town of Shiraz from the top of this pass, is struck dumb with the beauteous vision and can only exclaim "God is Great." Girdled by the tawny and grey chains of hills, with the distant snow-crowned purple massif of Dushtarjan as the jewelled buckle, and set within the cool, refreshing, green fields of the well-watered valley, the city of Shiraz, with its tall poplars, planes and beeches, waving like plumes above the yellow-brick built town, with its flashing blue-tiled mosque domes and with the shadowy forms of arches and lians, is still a wonderful sight.

Shiraz was built about the end of the 7th century, by Mahomed-Bin-Yusuf Thakefi

as the capital of the province of Fars. Gradually the fame of its art and learning spread all over the land, bringing prosperity in its train. After the fall of the Safavids, towards the end of the 18th century, Karim Khan Zend made Shiraz the capital of all Iran.

Karim Khan Zend was one of those striking personalities that stand out in bold relief from the common types of rulers. Through long years of struggle, during the



Environs of Shiraz. Men now have a different costume

internecine wars following the downfall of the Safavids, Karim Khan rose from a petty tribal (Kurdish?) chieftainship to the satrapy of Persia. But though virtually the Shah, he was content to style himself as 'vakil' (representative) of the people—a strange democratic spirit, considering the times. Construction of the famous Bazaar-i-Vakil of Shiraz, building of the Hafiziyyeh, repair of Saadi's tomb and many other good deeds are to his credit. Long periods of anarchy, revolts, repeated attacks by Arab, Mongol, Turk and Turkoman had ruined Shiraz before Karim Khan Zend restored its glories. But the earthquakes of 1812, 1824 and 1853

completed the destruction. Rebuilt in an inferior style, Shiraz bears an atmosphere of decay. Happily, the new regime, with its programme of reconstruction, seems to have brought back some signs of civic life, and with the establishment of peace a revival has set in in the trade, industry and crafts of the city.



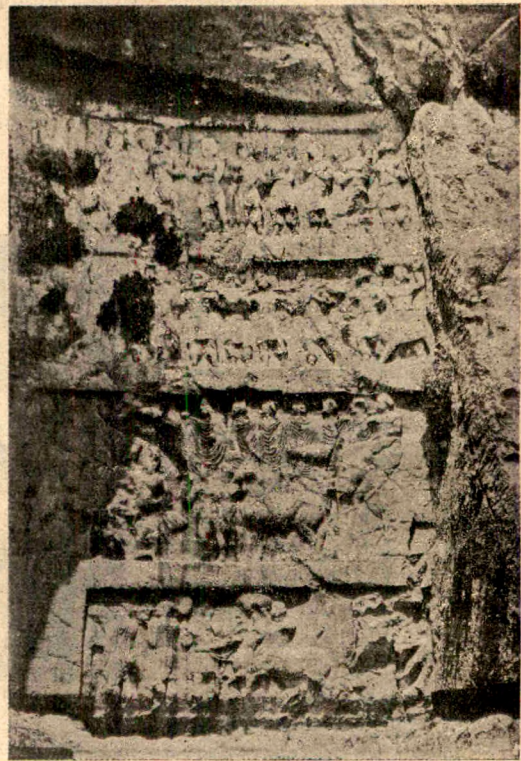
Shiraz—the mosque



Karim Khan Zend

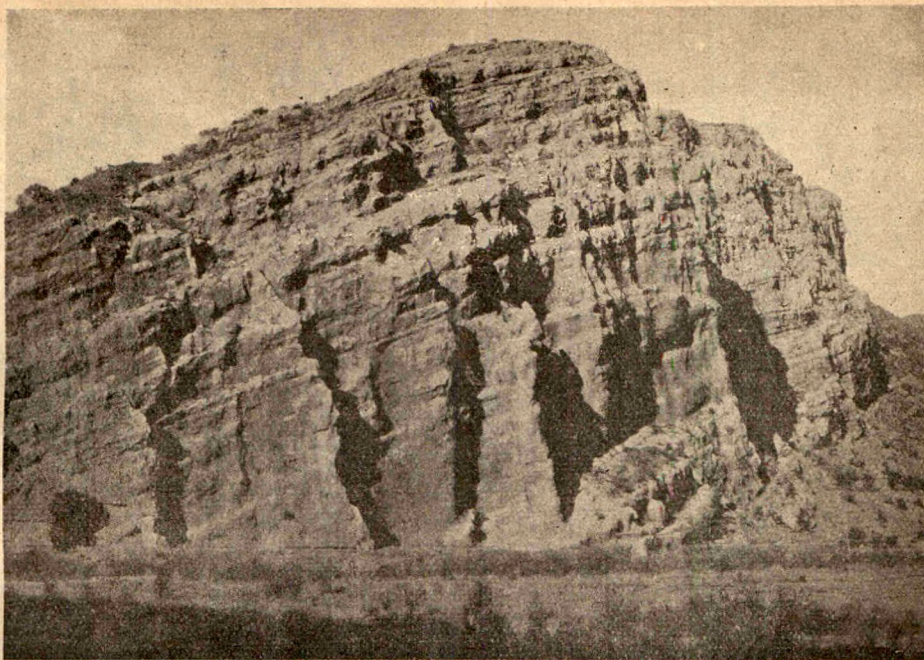
Surrounded by a low mud wall and a dry moat, the city proper has a circumference of about four miles. Its elevation (about

5000 ft. above sea-level) and the sheltering ranges of hills has endowed it with a mild climate and a wealth of orchards and gardens irrigated by the waters of the hill springs. Of the famous gardens of Shiraz the Bagh-Jehan-Nema, Bagh-i-Takht-i-Kajar, Bagh-i-Nao and the Bagh-i-Dilkusha still exist, though not well preserved. Amongst other sights, there are Atabeg Zengi's Masjid-i-Nao (13th century) Karim Khan Zend's Jama-i-

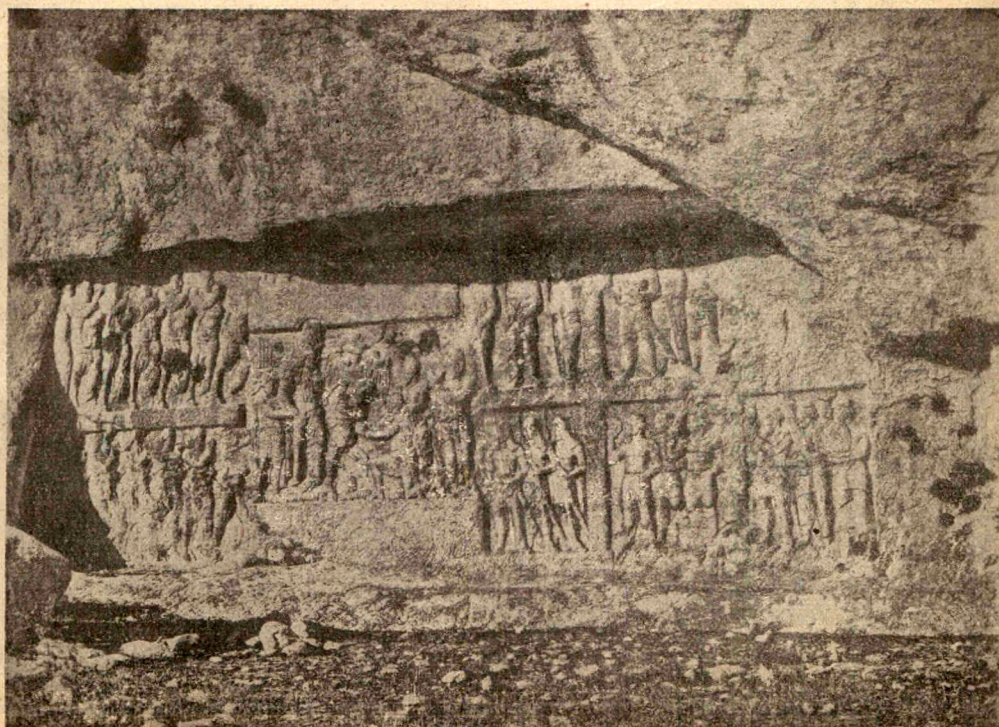


Naksh-i-Shapur. The triumph of Shapur and Roman captives

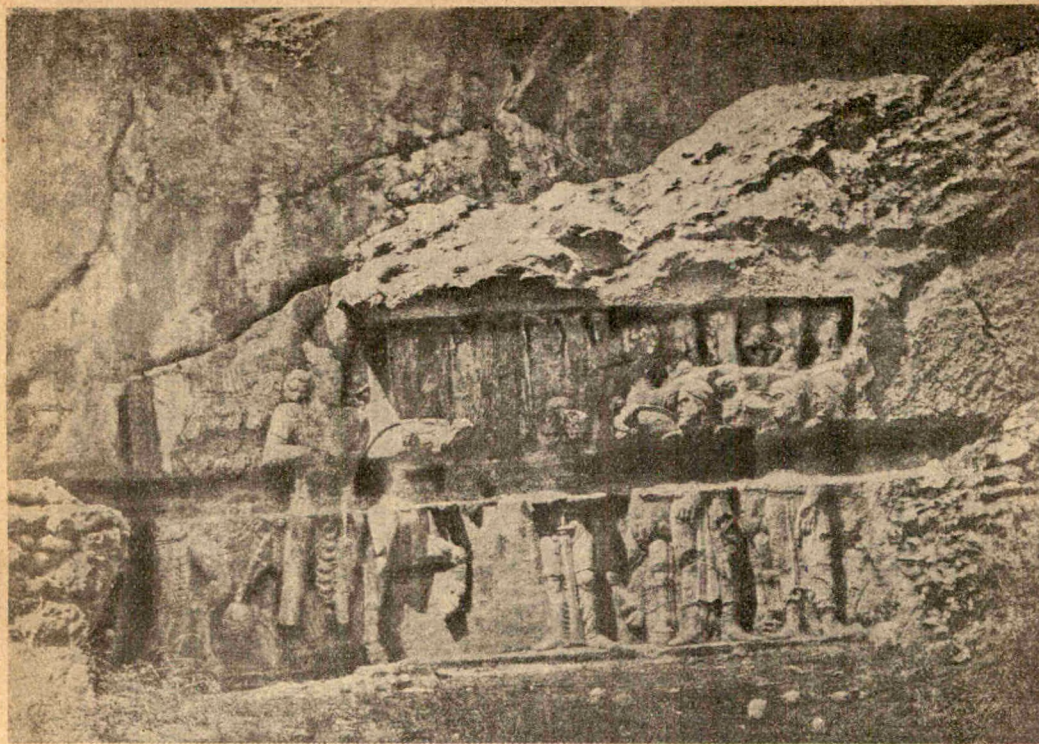
Vakil (1766 A.D.) and the famous thirteenth century shrine of Imam-zadeh Saiyed Amir Ahmed Shah-Cheragh, in a more or less dilapidated condition. Of the world-renowned madrassahs (colleges), Saiyed Sadar-ed-Din Mahomed Dasteki's Mansurieh (1478 A.D.), the 17th century madrassahs of Hashimiyeh and Nizamiyeh and the Madrassah Agha Baba started by Karim Khan Zend and completed by Agha Baba Khan Majendrani, are still in existence.



Naksh-i-Shapur. The site of the bas-reliefs



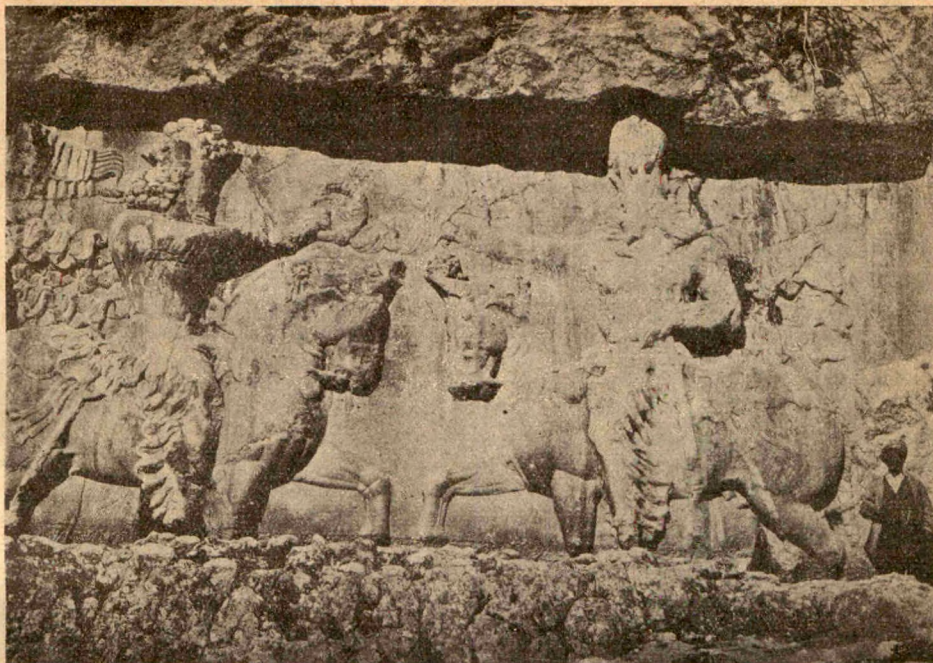
Naksh-i-Shapur. Shapur conferring the command of the Roman Army on Emperor Cyriades



Naksh-i-Shapur. The Scistan expedition of Varahram (Bahram) II



Hafziyeh



Naksh-i-Shapur. Ahur-Mazda felicitating King Narse (293-301 A. D.), the uncle of Shapur

Besides the above there are about a dozen or more caravanserais, the tombs of Sadi and Hafiz (Hafiziye), and the famous Bazar-i-Vakil. This last structure is about 600 yards in length and consists of a whole series of archways, the arches being high and pointed (Moorish type) and decorated with designs in tile mosaic, covering the stalls, markets, alleys and lanes. Each class of merchandize occupies a separate quarter but at present, with the exception of carpets, metal and inlaid wood-work, the stalls are filled with foreign (mostly Russian) goods. Shiraz wine and rose *attar* and water are still produced. The best wine is like tokay in quality but the production is very limited.

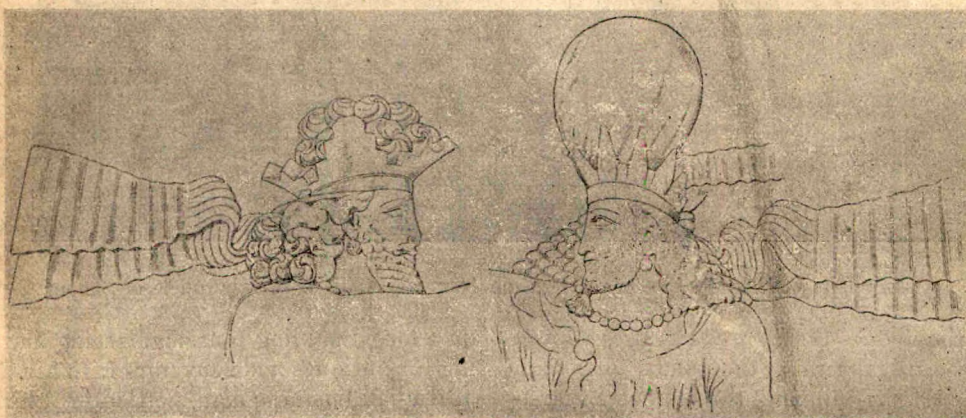
April 18th : After the visit to the Hafiziye in the morning we removed to the Bagh-Khaliliye, a pleasant garden residence on the outskirts of Shiraz. The splendour of the Governor's palace with its Persian baths (*Hammam*), scented toilet water, sumptuous table and other luxuries were somewhat offset by the strain imposed on one due to the continuous formalities and the conversational efforts (mostly in broken French on my side). So this proved a very restful haven. Went

on a long rambling tour, sightseeing and hunting for antiques and souvenirs with Mr. Nayak, an Indian business man settled in Shiraz.

April 19th : Spent the whole day driving to different places. Saw an old house with a salon covered with mural paintings and decorations bearing strong affinities with the European art of the 18th century. Purdah system still existing in Shiraz, though it no longer imposes any restrictions on the free movements of the women. The purdah garment is the *chadour* (a mantle) covering the whole body excepting the face from head to the knees, and tied with a ribbon above the eyebrows. A long stiff rectangular piece of horsehair netting is attached like a visor to the ribbon, so that if the lady is of erect carriage, her full face, from eyebrows to above the chin is open to view. The ladies of Shiraz are reputed to be charming and witty. The new regime by imposing European dress and the "kole Pahlavi" cap on the men have rendered the people's dress drab and monotonous. With the Europeanization of the shops also, the country will lose a great deal of its picturesque character.



Naksh-i-Shapur. The levée after the victory (showing the composition)



Nakshi-i-Shapur. Ahur Mazda and King Narse (showing the technique of the bas-reliefs)

April 20th. After a lot of trouble arranged for a visit to the famous bas-reliefs of Naksh-i-Shapur. Mr. Nayak very kindly provided a car for the entire journey for £4-10s. only.

Started in the mist and darkness of early dawn. Beautiful view of the hills and valley of snow-covered Dushtarjan. Mountains bathed in the gorgeous rose, purple and grey tints of dawn. The car, a tourer, was racing through the bitterly cold wind of the hillsides rendering all poetical fancy difficult. The sun rose by the time Chashme Salmin was reached. A passing scrutiny of the hillsides with their peculiar cliff structure showed further grounds for my previous surmise. Some of the caverns and clefts on the hillside seemed to show signs of human habitation and a few had undoubted traces of pre-existing paths artificially cleared out of the hillside. In any case these caves

undoubtedly need examination by anthropologists of this country.

At the foot of the next hill range, just before the outskirts of Kazerun were reached there is a small village on the ruined site of some ancient town or fortress, an old burial ground in which some graves had crude stone lions on them, showing survival of the fire-worshippers' funeral rites amongst local tribes, who light a fire on the grave of a chief and then erect a lion image on it. The hillside also had a bas-relief depicting some Kazar king's court (probably Fath Ali Shah) and an inscription in Persian.

After purchasing some food at a wayside inn, we left Kazerun and proceeded on our way. The route now diverged from the Bushire-Shiraz road and went towards the distant hill ranges. Soon a fertile valley with a river in the bottom was reached and the hillsides also became steep—an ideal combina-



Shuster. The dam on River Karun built by Shapur with captive Roman labour (Bund-i-Kaiser)

tion for a mountain fort or a fastness of the ancient days. A little further on the river left the valley bottom and entered the mountain chain in a deep gorge, of which the right hand hill-side had a narrow road negotiable by car for about a mile.

Near the entrance of the gorge, on the right hand side, the shoulders and the top of the hill was covered with ruins which were mostly shapeless mounds of hewn stones. Two of these still had remnants of arched roofs, the arches having a high angle and a pointed top. The hillsides were strewn with brick-shaped stones. Evidently, this was all that remained of Dunbula fort and Bishapur of the Sassanians.

Only one bas-relief, showing two mounted figures, has escaped total obliteration on the right side of the gorge. The bas-reliefs on the other side, being high up and more or less inaccessible, have evaded the hand of the iconoclast to some extent, but the waters of a recently constructed aqueduct are now partially washing some of them, making

water erosion a certainty unless steps are taken to prevent the same.

Viewing the bas-reliefs on the left bank proved to be a very difficult and somewhat dangerous undertaking. First of all we had to go back about two miles to the ford, and then the river-bed proved to be so full of big pebbles and pot-holes that steering was an impossibility in the face of the swift current. Had to wade across when the car was swamped out in mid-stream. On the other bank, the only means of approach to the bas-reliefs was by the narrow (and slippery in places) outer wall of the aqueduct above mentioned—the inner wall being the cliff face—which had a sheer drop on the other side.

The most interesting bas-reliefs were those that dealt with the victories of Shapur, the Sassanian king who defeated and captured the Roman Emperor Valerian about 260 A.D. The dam across the river Karun, near Shuster, constructed by the captured Romans, is still called Bund-i-Kaiser, thereby perpetuating

the memory of the unfortunate Kaiser (Caesar) Valerian who died in captivity. Other great Sassanian kings are also represented in the bas-reliefs.

The reliefs are shallow (medallion-like) in structure, showing much less modelling and far less decorative craftsmanship than

those of contemporary India. They are composed after the Assyrian style with marked influence of Greek technique. Comparisons are always odious, but it seemed to me that India of those days could claim much more originality and distinctive technique in the art of rock carvings.

GROUP OR COLLECTIVE LIFE INSURANCE FOR OUR WORKING CLASS POPULATION

BY DR. S. C. ROY

THE primary consideration of an educated man in modern society is how to secure some provision for his own old age and for his dependents. The great development of life insurance business in the modern world is the result of man's natural instinct to place himself and his family, so far as his own efforts are concerned, "beyond the unfavourable vicissitudes of life and death."

"It is obvious, however, that under the present economic conditions existing today only a very small percentage of the population is able by its individual efforts to provide a satisfactory amount of genuine security," and it is also well known that the major portion of this security, is in life insurance policies. It has been proved beyond doubts that life insurance is the only form of investment which could stand the stress of the recent widespread depreciation all over the world. "It has been proved that the principles of insurance based on sound actuarial calculation cannot be changed, controverted or stretched by any sort of substitute" and the realization of this fact has increased the volume of insurance all over the world even during this world wide depression and social and industrial difficulties.

But in spite of all the attraction of life insurance, only a small fraction of the total population of the world is insured, because ordinary life insurance is supposed to be a somewhat costly method of providing

some security, particularly for the poorer sections of the society, for whom insurance is more needed than for the richer section. If we consider the case of working class population in India, we shall find that it is not possible to have any practical provision made for them either by themselves or by their employers or even the State. The material condition of the working class in India is very miserable. They are ill-fed, ill-clad and have no idea of thrift. They live in a state of misery and their helplessness perpetuates it. The benefits of workmen's compensation, provident fund, group insurance or group pension are almost unknown in our country. During my recent tour in Europe I tried to study the question as to how the employers in Europe help the employees and found that all over Europe the interest of the working classes is now being protected by a new system of insurance called "group or collective insurance."

"Necessity is the mother of invention," and the anxiety of the insurance companies and the public to provide a cheaper form of life cover is at the root of the newer development in insurance called group or collective insurance.

It is a "modern inspiration born of the progressive ideas" and needs of present day society. Every intelligent man now appreciates the need of saving something for his old age or for his family. He now fully

realizes that by providing for his own family he is not only doing his duty to his dear ones, but he is really doing a real social service by helping them not to be burdens on society after his death. As in the case of individuals the employers are also appreciating the need for providing insurance for their employees. They now appreciate that such provision indirectly increases the efficiency of the organization and secures stability in the services. But everything being said and done—and in spite of every desire to provide for one's own old age or his family the employees are unable to do it from mere want. In this modern world wants are daily increasing and ordinary people find it difficult to save anything in spite of their sincere attempts. "Group" idea is the result of this natural thought to have a cheaper form of insurance provision.

The basic idea is this. People working in a group under one employer are insured *en bloc* for a given year, the contract being with the employer and the life insurance company, instead of individually with the employees. The premium in this class of insurance is so small that every individual employee can afford to pay it and this very small premium is often paid by the employer wholly or at least partly. This class of insurance can be against death only during that period or may include other benefits also in the shape of permanent or total disablement or pension in addition to death benefit. If the provision of the Workmen's Compensation Act are not compulsory in any particular place, it can be very usefully incorporated to give the benefit of sickness or accident. But in Europe the labourers are always protected by legislation and, ordinarily, the Workmen's Compensation Act is applicable almost everywhere. It is not perhaps appreciated how serious the situation becomes when an Indian worker dies. In the majority of cases he does not provide even a pice to provide for the immediate requirements after his death. There are thousands of instances where workers starve as soon as they are unable to work on account of illness or accident. The solution of all these may be found in the group or collective insurance scheme, modified by the addition of some

provision of the Workmen's Compensation Act to suit the requirements of our country.

The immediate effect of a group insurance policy is that, in the event of death or disablement of an employee, the employer is not to spend anything for gratuity or family provision or for the friends or relatives are not to come forward to "help"; the insurance company pays it immediately and no help is required.

In addition to its being the cheapest form of life insurance, group insurance has further attractions. There is no medical examination and, therefore, those persons who are not in a position to take the benefit of ordinary life insurance may also get that benefit. The average proportion of such cases in a moderate size group is from 15 to 20 per cent and this creates a natural bond between the employer and the employee. It has been now satisfactorily proved that, "group insurance affords protection against loss of output and is contributory to increase in effort, turnover and profit."

It has been stated by a big insurance company that group insurance awakens the sense of responsibility and promotes the practice of thrift. It gives the employee the foundation which is an incentive to save on his own account. It permits the employer to help and encourage him in the saving habit, and to offer him the means of increasing his cover on his own account if he wishes to do so. The result of this is to secure the well-being of the worker and of his family, and to secure for the employer not only the goodwill of his employees (which is at least as important as the goodwill of his customers), but the gratitude of their dependents as well.

The appeal which group insurance makes to the sagacious business man is revealed by its magnitude. Recently one insurance company in the United States effected group policies to a value exceeding £130,000,000 sterling. The railway companies of the United States took out a combined policy covering their employees to the extent of £50,000,000. The steady growth of group insurance is the proof that it pays its way.

Whether the cost of a group policy is borne entirely by the employer (in which case it represents an astonishingly low percentage

of the wages sheet) or is met by a contributory scheme, the expenditure invariably proves to be a profitable investment for the business and a great boon for the employees.

The fundamental basis of an ordinary group policy is that of a one-year temporary cover renewable each year. The minimum age is 16, but ordinarily there is no maximum. The minimum size of a group is 50 and minimum sum assured for each member is £100 or one year's salary. Only one policy is written, covering all the employees of the firm concerned, including the management, if desired. A schedule of benefit is embodied in the policy showing the amount for which each individual member is covered for the year in question. As we have said above this may be a fixed sum or may vary according to wages. Further, it may vary from year to year as regards the individual and in such cases necessary alteration may be made in the schedule concerned and in the premium. Each insured employee gets a certificate setting out the terms of insurance and the benefits payable.

There is no medical examination but the benefit is given to an employee when he is at least three months in the continuous services of a concern. This not only gives an idea of his health, but gives the employer some idea of the suitability of the employee. New employees come automatically into the "group" insurance and an yearly adjustment in premium is made on the basis of the statement given by the employers. When an employee leaves his service and thus ceases to be a member of the group, he enjoys an option exercisable within thirty days, of effecting a personal insurance upon his own life under any ordinary tables for an equal sum without any medical examination.

This is the method adopted in America and England. But on the continent of Europe group insurance is carried on under the name of "collective insurance," and when an employee leaves the services of one concern he is allowed to transfer his policy benefit to the concern which he joins. The basic idea of State protection for all employees and the arrangements by all companies or firms is planned on the basis of such transfer, if and when necessary. This class of

collective insurance is perhaps more applicable to countries where labour population is more or less unsteady and for this reason perhaps this class of policies will be more applicable to Indian conditions.

As already stated, group insurance enables the employer to give his employees the benefit of life insurance at "wholesale rates." The premium rates vary according to the size of a group but ordinarily it is between 1 and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent or, in other words, a firm paying out, say, 100,000 in salary bill in a year could insure every employee for a sum equivalent to a year's salary payable in case of death or permanent or total disablement for an expenditure of only 1,000 to 1,250. It is a bit more if extra benefit of pension is also given. It is this extraordinarily cheap life cover that is making group insurance so popular.

Ordinarily group insurance premium is paid by the employers for securing the life risks of their employees and it is needless to say that the employees always appreciate such gifts. But in cases where a part or even the whole premium is charged from the employees they do not grudge it, as they can get this cheapest form of insurance only through the good offices of their employers. Individually nobody can get himself insured for this premium and they appreciate that as a member of the group only they are getting the benefits which individually they could not secure.

After this I should like to say a few words about the possibility of this class of business in India where no company has even tried to start it. The general idea in Europe about it may be summarized in two sentences. First, there is no mortality experience available of our factory or workshop labour, therefore it is not thought safe to start this class of business here just now. Secondly, the factory and workshop labour in India is almost in a floating condition; therefore, it has been considered inopportune to start this class of business in India at present.

If it is admitted that this class of business is a great boon to the working population we believe both these points can be solved satisfactorily. I have discussed it with

several actuaries in Europe, and they all agree that as a beginning a little extra premium can be charged as is done in ordinary life insurance business. The exact percentage of such extra premium will, of course, depend on various other factors and can only be decided while details are actually worked out. But as I have said already, a beginning may be made by an Indian company on the basis of the difference in ordinary life insurance rates and that mortality experience.

As regards the second point, it is admitted generally that in India factory and workshop labour is very unsteady but we should not forget that the real cause lies in their grievances and poor benefits offered to them by the employers. A group policy, in itself, will surely have a steadying effect on the working population, and we can profitably adopt here the methods adopted on the continent. Moreover, group insurance is not meant only for factory labourers. It can be issued for groups of people working under a common employer, as for example, the whole teaching staff of a University may be insured or the whole clerical staff of a firm may be insured.

In India, of course, there are difficulties in starting such a scheme. As I have already said, no company is carrying on this class of business here. But this problem will be solved very easily. A genuine and effective

demand will immediately force some companies to start this class of business, as it is amply proved to be a profitable business from the company's view-point, in addition to all the social and philanthropic welfare it has in view.

What is needed is perhaps some statutory enactment by which employers may be obliged to provide some insurance protection for the employees. We know State help in our country is not easy to secure, but we believe if labour unions or organizations demand it, the employers will be obliged to concede this necessary benefit. It is perhaps high time that labour members of the legislatures should bring forward some non-official bill for this object. As we have said before, the premium is so small in this class of insurance that employers will be inclined to give support to this demand, particularly when it will also help them considerably.

May we hope our public men will give some attention to this urgent socio-economic problem?

The above scheme constitutes only a rough estimate of the possibilities and real ways of application. Once it is realized that the principle underlying the scheme will solve many serious economic problems of the working classes, further details of the scheme may be drawn up.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

Ways of Agricultural Progress

The Irish peasant owes much to Sir Horace Plunkett, the agricultural co-operation expert, for his economic improvement. Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose makes an estimate of Sir Horace's work in connection with agriculture in Ireland in *The Hindustan Review*. Like Ireland ours is pre-eminently an agricultural country. Let us see what agricultural co-operation meant for Ireland :

To the Irish peasant was demonstrated how a well-organized association of farmers can improve the conditions of the farming industry in five main directions :—(1) it enables them to own and use jointly expensive machinery which individuals cannot generally own. It lowers the cost of production for its members in many ways as it obtains for them seeds, manures, feeding stuffs, implements, and general farm requisites, of the guaranteed quality and at the lowest cost. (2) It can exercise some control in the farmers' interest, over the marketing of live-stock and produce. It can get these commodities carried at a lower rate to the markets, and in much better condition. (3) When the market is reached, the farmers associated together can have their goods sold by their own agents, in their own interest, and thereby save to themselves many of those middlemen's profits which represent the astonishing difference between what the producer gets and the consumer pays. (4) By co-operation the farmer can borrow money at a much lower rate of interest than he has to pay when borrowing individually and also have the loan made for a sufficiently long term to enable him to repay it out of the profits earned by the application of the loan itself. (5) When they work together the farmers soon find that by exchange of ideas among themselves, by friendly discussion and mutual help, they become better farmers, better businessmen and better members of society.

The ideal was to substitute for stagnation in rural areas a civilization suited to a rural community. That was Sir Horace Plunkett's mission in life. And the work to which he devoted his energies is the work which India needs, for agriculture is India's universal industry and to be economically sound, we must make it the basis of the industries we hope to build up in the future.

Cottage Industries for the Unemployed

In these days of economic crisis, the unemployment problem is racking our brains for solution. Cottage industries can provide work for a large section of the unemployed. Mr. K. S. Rao in his paper on "Unemployment in the Middle Class and Industries" in *The Morning Star* commends these industries to our young men and women.

Cottage industries offer enormous scope for the employment of our educated young men as leaders and captains of millions of cottage workers who may now be compared to a flock of sheep without a shepherd. These industries which are at present entirely in the hands of the poor and unenterprising artisans, suffer greatly in the absence of marketing facilities and efficient manufacturing organization. The attempt to work a few handloom factories failed as it ought to ; for, the Western system of factory work is unsuitable for Indian conditions at least in the case of indigenous industries. Again the cost of manufacture in cottages where the artisans can have the help of their relations is lower than that in a factory employing hand-appliances howsoever improved they may be. Hand-weaving is an important cottage industry of India with an annual output worth over 60 crores of rupees and it supports a population, mostly rural, of over 7 millions of persons. For the organization of this ancient industry alone we need several thousands of our young men who by joining it will not only have new openings suited to their talents but will also relieve the increasing pressure of the educated classes in the more favoured fields of employment. The working of power looms, knitting machines, etc., by electric power in places where such power is available from the public supply companies, can be conveniently recommended to those having necessary capital and technical knowledge. The manufacture of furniture and other wood-work, boots and shoes, copper and bell-metal wares, cutlery, jewellery, toys, etc., may be mentioned as some of the many cottage industries which await the helping hand of the educated classes. It is my belief that intelligent co-operation based upon scientific knowledge of markets and the co-ordination of sales and production help towards efficiency and economy in industrial operations. The reorganization of our various cottage industries, which is essential for their very existence, if not for their development, on these rational lines can only be possible if the Intelligentsia of India were to take an active interest in industries.

With the finding of new professions for our boys and youths an equally important problem that confronts us at present is the employment of our ladies in towns and cities and the widows and aged persons in the villages during their leisure hours. In every civilized country, women play an important part in the economic development of the nation. As the cost of living is getting higher every day, we have begun to feel the necessity of our women sharing the economic burden of their husbands. It is however certainly not desirable that they should leave their home and children to work outside like their sisters in other countries. We have many domestic or home industries in which one could find remunerative occupation. Knitting on hand machines, carpet weaving, embroidery and needle work, eri silk rearing and spinning (in places where castor plant grows), toy-making, raffia work, basketry, stencilling, pen-painting, cane-work are some of the home industries

which can keep many a house-wife engaged. The tailor's bill is a fairly heavy item of our family budget and there is no reason why this expenditure should not be saved. To ensure steady work in these domestic industries marketing facilities are essential which can only be provided by some of our enterprising young men. It may be necessary to emphasize that the success of any industrial enterprise in these days of trade competition largely depends on advertisement and the way in which the goods for sale are offered to the buying public.

Gosaba

The co-operative estate of Gosaba has already attracted the attention of the thoughtful section of the people. Rev. H. A. Popley, who had been there recently, contributed an article about his impressions of the place to *The Statesman*. We quote the following from *The Youngman of India, Burma and Ceylon*, which has reproduced it:

Twenty-eight years ago the land was wild jungle tenanted by tigers and crocodiles. By the side of the little Christian Church is a banyan tree under which the present pastor twenty-five years ago saw tigers playing and later discovered a heap of skulls and bones remaining from the animals killed by the tigers. To-day the tree is the centre of a prosperous Christian village, the central village of Gosaba, and there are altogether nineteen villages on the estate with a population of 9,000 people, all of them either tenants or officers of the estate or connected in some way with the estate. Everyone of these villages has its own co-operative society based on the principle of unlimited liability. Twenty years ago Sir Daniel discovered that one of his tenants was in debt to a money-lender for a sum of Rs. 700 on account of an original loan of Rs. 300 taken three years previously. As a result of this discovery Sir Daniel made a thorough enquiry into the debts of his tenants and arranged for their repayment from the estate to a total of about Rs. 15,000. He gathered together the money-lenders concerned and calculating a fair interest in each case offered to settle each debt for a round sum, which was accepted and paid at once. Since then the mahajan has found no clients in this estate. It was not till 1919 that Sir Daniel began to think of the possibilities of the Co-operative Movement for the solution of the economic difficulties of his tenants. Mr. Mozumadar, the Manager, who has worked on the estate since 1905 and is a keen believer in Sir Daniel's methods, managed to persuade the tenants in one of the villages to organize a co-operative society on the unlimited liability basis which took over the debts of the tenants, and arranged to meet their regular economic needs. Gradually these were introduced in all the villages and the estate refused to give any more loans to tenants directly. In 1919 a Central Bank was established in order to supervise and finance the village societies and the estate deposits funds in this bank. At the same time a Co-operative Paddy Sale Society was started on a limited liability basis which was afterwards converted into a Co-operative Rice Mill Society. The tenants bring their paddy to this mill and are at once credited with its value. During the past ten years the mill has proved itself a flourishing concern. There are five hundred shareholders, all of them being tenants of the estate, and

it has paid 12½ per cent in most of the years. Last year for the first time it sustained a slight loss which was easily met from the Reserve Funds accumulated. In addition, it has been able to give a large rebate to the tenants which has averaged Rs. 2 per thirteen maunds of paddy yearly. The mill has a paid-up capital of Rs. 16,000. There is also a Co-operative Stores Society with one central store at Gosaba and two branch stores. All sales are for cash and there are no bad debts. Every year a dividend has been paid on the shares and a rebate on purchases of an average value of three quarters of an anna per rupee. The annual turnover of the stores amounts to Rs. 24,000.

The panchayats of the Co-operative Societies act as arbitration tribunals in all disputes. In the first instance the panchayat of the society of which the aggrieved persons are members considers the case. If one of the parties is not satisfied with the decision the neighbouring panchayat is called in to help. If either of the parties is still unsatisfied the directors of the Central Bank sit with the two panchayats and the final court of appeal consists of the estate officers, but disputes very rarely get as far as this without being settled. During the whole existence of the estate in only one case were the police called in and that was a case of murder last year. One murder case in nearly thirty years from community of nine-thousand people is a record in India.

In addition there is a dharmagola or grain bank in each village which is intended to help deserving cases of need and for any special emergency. Each member of the village gave as much paddy as he could spare in 1930 as a free gift to this bank and Sir Daniel added an equal amount. This paddy is then lent out to the members to be repaid to the bank at the rate of five measures for every four borrowed. Thus the grain capital of the Bank is being continually increased and will be immediately available in any famine or flood.

There are fifteen primary schools and one middle school in the estate. The tenants pay an educational cess of one anna per bigha (1½ acre) as Sir Daniel supplements the amount from estate funds. The middle school has a Boarding Department, Agricultural Farm and Industrial School attached to it, where the boys are trained to be better farmers and to employ their spare time in cottage industries, such as weaving of cotton and wool fabrics, silk rearing and so on. One of the most interesting things in the weaving school is an old Scotch spinning wheel brought by Sir Daniel from his Scottish home, which the boys use to spin woollen thread, the wool having come from both Scotch and Indian sheep and the product being, like all the constructive service in Gosaba, a mingling of the best of the East and the West.

The Forest Folk of India

Forests and forest folk of India always furnish interesting material for study. Mr. K. P. P. Tampy tells us of the forest and forest folk of Travancore in an article in *The Educational Review*. Here is something about the forest folk over there:

It is a noteworthy fact which is to the credit of these uncivilized people, that they have acquired very remarkable and wonderful skill in the use of

the bow and arrows. Their chief weapons are bows and arrows, bill hooks and knives. When out of their homes, they make it a point to carry a cane bag always on their back.

They prefer the aboriginal method of producing fire by rubbing two pieces of wood. The wood used is Isora Corli Folia. Their dress is simple and consists of a loin-cloth and a head-dress. They grow their hair long and adorn their bodies with beads, shells and pendants of brass, iron and lead. Around every hill-man's waist, one would notice a number of strings tied. The age of the Kani is ascertained by counting the number of strings. Every year a string is added on.

Their songs are mostly prayers and are sung by their priests. The priests are held in great respect and awe by the simple people of the forests. They try to cure diseases by songs, prayers and incantations and fully and firmly believe in the power of these. Their musical instruments are a metal tube and an iron rod. They are highly religious though their worship is entirely pagan in character. They believe that the summits of the hills are the home of their gods. Their prayers are in the forms of petitions and entreatings, wishing immunity from disease, sufficient food and happiness. Some of the magicians and medicine-men practise weird sorcery.

The customs prevalent among the hill-men are curious and interesting. The following marriage custom of one of the tribes is only one of the many curious and interesting customs long common among the forest people.

For the purpose of marriage ceremonies, a large circular building is made of leaves. The bride is ensconced inside this hut. All the young men of the village who are eligible for marriage assemble and form a ring around the hut. The bride's father or in his absence the nearest male relative, sits at a short distance from the hut and sounds a tom-tom. Others play on musical instruments. The whole place is very noisy. The young men are armed with a bamboo each. When the music begins, they dance round and round the hut into which each of them thrusts his stick. This dance and uproar continues for one full hour. By the time, the bride in the hut seizes one of the many bamboos eagerly breaking inside. The owner of whichever bamboo she seizes becomes the fortunate husband of the concealed girl. A feast then follows and the ceremony is complete.

Education of the Child

Dr. Maria Montessori is known all over the world as the introducer of a system of child education. So her words on this branch of education deserve our attentive perusal. The following is quoted from *Prabuddha Bharata* :

Here we have the great question of humanity and of education : *the child's work and the reciprocal relations between adult and child*. The child is growing into a man through his own efforts and the power of growth within himself : such intimate aid it is not in our power to give. We are producers of things in the outer world, and it is only these things that we can furnish as aids. But this child who is creating the man to be, is creating independently of us in a world of his own. The important matter is that he should be allowed full opportunity for complete development,

that he may create a man who is strong, well-balanced. Our task is to enable the child to *live*.

The guiding impulse is seen to be different in the work done by the child and that done by the man. The child is active that he may grow ; the adult, that he may produce. When we try to fit the child into our adult world, to force and squeeze him according to ideals we have formed of what his correct behaviour should be in order to give us the least amount of trouble, we are deceiving ourselves into believing we are doing our best for him while actually we are distorting his development.

The work of the child is not guided by the intention to reach some external aim, its end and aim is action, to act, to continue to act as long as the inner self needs to satisfy its need of growth. So the external object is for the child merely a means, never an end. We have here a clear, well-defined, undeniable characteristic of the child's work.

The child must do all his work by himself. Here we have another truth. Who could ever help another to grow ? Supposing growth to be fatiguing, who could lessen and relieve another's fatigue by co-operation ?

Only if the adult sets obstacles does the child fight and defend himself. Almost all the sufferings of the child are due to this strife against the adult who has not understood him. The child works alone towards his own development, he does not stand in need of association or division of labour.

Thus the necessary law of external discipline which reigns in the field of adult production, has no part in the work of the child, for here there reigns another kind of discipline which is revealed to us through spontaneous actions of the loftiest kind when the child has been placed in an environment favourable to his development.

Kannada Literature

Recent Kannada literature is the subject of a paper by A. N. V. in *Trivani*. We make the following extracts from it :

The new era began with the novels of the late Mr. B. Venkatachar. His novels are with the Kannada reading public what the paintings of Ravi Varma are with the lovers of the pictorial art in South India. The writings of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar so much impressed him that he learnt Bengali to study them in the original. With a knowledge of the language thus obtained, he studied the novels of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the charm of which compelled him to render most of them into Kannada. The subject matter mostly pertains to Indian history of the Moghul and later periods, and the novels are reminiscent of the historical novels of Walter Scott. Mr. Venkatachar has a flowery style and his novels abound in lengthy descriptions, often running into three pages. He has a mannerism of addressing the reader at the beginning or after each description, or even in the middle sometimes and at the psychological point. This produces a feeling as if the author is personally narrating the story and draws his chair nearer. The tendency to translate from Bengali is found in another Kannada novelist, Mr. C. Vasudeviah. His themes pertain to the lives of Puranic and historical heroes and the style is simple and chaste. Marathi also has acted as a means for the introduction of the novel into Kannada. The Marathi novels of the late Mr. Apte and a few others have been done

into Kannada by Mr. Galaganath of Dharwar. The only exception is his 'Madhava Karana Vilasa.' The raw material of his novels is taken from Maharatta and Karnataka history. In contrast to the flowery smoothness of Mr. Venkatachar, his diction has a certain vigour. Besides, we meet with certain Marathi and other expressions which are common to the dialect known as 'Dharyar Kannada.' Domestic life with homely expressions is seen in the novels of the late Mr. M. S. Puttanna. He portrays the middle-class life of Mysore; his diction runs smooth and has all the characteristic features of the Mysore dialect. Of late the popularity of the novel has waned, giving place to the short story.

The history of the short story in Kannada is different from that of the novel. It did not begin with translations. It might even be said that Kannada was in advance of the other vernaculars in introducing the short story into its literature. Though Mr. Masthi Venkatesa Iyengar is the pioneer in the field, the short story has come to be what it is through the efforts of 'Prabuddha Karnataka' a high-class literary quarterly edited by Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastry. Under the pseudonym 'Sreenivasa,' Mr. Masthi has published three volumes of short stories. They are very popular, being full of humour and pathos. Unlike many of the beginners who rarely go out of a limited sphere, his raw material is taken from various sources and affords plenty of variety. He is not only the pioneer but the most prolific producer in the field. Short stories dealing with rural life and depicting the inherent unsophisticated culture of village-folk are a speciality with Mr. C. K. Venkataramaiah. He raises a voice of protest on behalf of the 'rustic' who is much depised by his brother of the town. The expressions used are very homely and there is a pristine humour which is in harmony with the subject matter. Mr. A. Seetharam writing under the pen-name 'Ananda' is a master-painter of connubial life with all its 'romance.' Some of his stories show a clear insight into the workings of an artist's mind. To give accurate descriptions of his 'settings' is a noteworthy feature in him. Another type may be seen in the stories of 'Sreepathi,' as Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastry chooses to call himself. A peculiarity of his stories is the abundance of practical humour and worldly wisdom. His subject matter refers to occurrences in middle-class Brahmin life and reveals a great capacity for observation of details. For instance, he can give you the correct number of lozenges available in a country shop and its ratio to the number of children in the village. To preach social reform through short stories seems to be the aim of Mr. A. N. Krishna Rao who has painted the horrors of social evils in Hindu society. Besides these there are many others who write quite well. In fact, Kannada is now experiencing a wave of short stories, and there is a monthly specially devoted to short stories called 'Kathanjali.'

The essay is a form which may be said to be a neglected one in Kannada. There is almost none who has tried it. Mr. V. Seetaramaiah's 'Mysore Turban' shows that he has a talent for it which is promising. Similarly, the 'Rural Sketches' of Mr. Gorur Ramaswami Iyengar, though they do not strictly conform to the definition of the literary essay, show that the author has a capacity for writing on light and varied topics like R. L. Stevenson writing on the 'Lap Dog,' or Hazlitt 'On Hats.' The rural sketches of Mr. Iyengar show that there are many things in life to enjoy by looking at, if only we keep our eyes open.

Both Mr. V. Seetaramaiah and Mr. Iyengar can attempt and give us a series of essays on different subjects with touches of humour and satire. They are sure to form enjoyable reading and give 'mild doses' to some common human frailties.

Functions of the Industrial Council

The Royal Commission on Labour recommended the constitution by statute of an organization called the "Industrial Council." Mr. Krishna Kumar Sharma has explained the functions of the Council in an article in *The Mysore Economic Journal* :

1. *Legislative Proposals* could either be referred to the Conference by the Government or be initiated by the Conference itself. The Council is to work out these proposals both in Committees and in the Conference and except in grave urgency proposals will be considered at two successive sessions to enable the public to study and make constructive criticism in the intervening period. The Commission regarded the present legislative procedure defective in two ways : "Firstly, the system is wasteful of time and energy and does not focus opinion and experience in the best manner possible. So far as time is concerned, the particulars furnished to us of the progress of the labour measures . . . show that the process is a slow one and it seems to have become slower in recent years. The absence of speed in legislation is not, however, the principal defect of the present system. . . Secondly, the main weakness is that the only examination of proposals which most of those consulted are able to make is conducted independently in separate offices . . . much of the criticism, therefore, is destructive and many opinions are prepared without adequate material or a sufficiently wide view of the subject. It is indeed difficult for any one, who is unable to test his ideas in the light of the differing experience of others, to make constructive contributions to a complex proposal." (*Lab. Com. Report*, p. 466). It was to remove these defects that the Commission recommended the establishment of the Council.

2. *Co-operation and Policy.* The Council would provide a mutual exchange of ideas between the different parties affected by labour legislation, for their representatives could meet and discuss things together. Though the value of legislation should not be under-rated, some of the obvious weaknesses in present industrial conditions are not likely to be removed by legislative action alone. The spirit of co-operation and understanding among the parties concerned is required and this can be provided by such a Council. Each group would be in a better position to appreciate the difficulties of the others and it should have a marked effect on industrial peace and development. The pooling of ideas and experience of these representatives would be the best contribution that could be made towards the formation of a sane and constructive policy in labour matters. "The formation of sound policy depends on contact with men rather than with letters or files, on the presentation and criticism of ideas face to face, and on an intimacy with the position of others which the written word seldom conveys." It is this intimacy which the Council is designed to secure.

3. *The Rule Making Power* is another important function which can be performed by the Council.

In India and in all countries generally the legislator has to leave to another authority the working out of details. This power is usually delegated to the Executive Government and in India most Labour Acts confer wide powers on the Central or Provincial Governments or both. Rules made under the Factories Act, the Mines Act, the Trade Union Act and the Trade Disputes Act, etc., regulate matters of great importance to labour and capital. The Workmen's Compensation Act not merely leaves most of the Commissioner's procedure and other matters of moment to rules, but also confers upon the Government of India power to schedule fresh industrial diseases and even to extend the Act to fresh classes of workmen. These rules, though published usually for criticism before final promulgation, lie wholly within the authority of the Executive. A Council as proposed by the Labour Commission would be admirably equipped to advise on the framing of rules and regulations which are indeed to be of general application. In provincial rules there is need of greater uniformity which can be secured under the regime of the Industrial Council.

4. *Economic Research* can also be promoted by the Council. The need for advance in this line in labour and commercial matters specially for the collection of true, scientific and unbiased statistical information is very great and the proposed Council should be able to assist and guide efforts in the various provinces. The need for securing co-ordination in Indian economic statistics will always remain and the Council will provide a body of men able to review the needs of India as a whole and to ensure that resources as are available are utilized to the best possible advantage. If a statistics act were passed as the Commission have recommended, the Council would be in a position to scrutinize proposals for the grant of mandate to investigating officers for the collection of statistics and it could also offer suggestions regarding the form in which statistics might be collected.

The Nair Marriage

Mr. V. E. Chako has contributed a very interesting paper on "Social Customs in Malabar" to *The Indian*. We quote only that portion from it, which relates to the marriage of the Nairs:

Since Nairs form the bulk of the population I think it will not be out of place here to say a word about the marriage system which is customary among them. The Nairs in a way form the gentry of the Malabar Hindu commonwealth and their marriage and family systems offer a social meeting ground for the aristocratic caste and prejudice. This has produced perhaps good and evil and it may not be within my province to pass any remarks upon them here. While the community remains a single class of middle status to all appearance and purpose it has a number of assumed sub-classes or sub-clans of higher and lower status involved in its limits. Each sub-class wishes to marry its girls into a higher one, the highest eventually welcoming admission to a still higher class *viz.* Brahmins, for a sort of unbinding and free sex alliance of convenience terminable at pleasure or short notice. Even among themselves the marriages had this defect and the law did not take any notice of it. Now the community is sufficiently awake to the consequences of

this practice, and the recent Nair marriage and succession Bills are hoped to be adequate attempts towards remedying the same. Perhaps, partly in keeping with the high ideal of Hindu love marriage the choice of a husband was made by the Nair wife who also accommodated and entertained him at her mother's house. When agreeable she also went to his house to share his room and comforts. She had no claims to his property except to occasional gifts of pocket money or jewels or furniture of limited value. And when the husband dies she has to bid good-bye to his family and go back to her own home again, she being still the heiress to her mother's property. Children born of such a marriage will inherit the mother's wealth. While the girls marry and make home with the mother, the male members are let free either to make love relations or marry outside taking not much care of the family affairs. This practice generally led to no small want of responsibility among the young male members of the Nair family. It was, perhaps, realizing the unworkable complications of this once useful system that recent attempts have been made along the lines of individual family system on monogamic and child inheritance basis. Now the Royal families of Travancore and Cochin being nephew succession (Khathria), Hindu subjects are also subject to the above system. The ruling prince can never marry within his clan and have a legal consort to share his estates nor bear him children to succeed him. On the other hand he is succeeded by the senior nephew issue, male or female. In the absence of any such direct heirs girls from distant families are adopted to sister the Ruling prince for nephews and on his decease these Princesses by adoption rule the State till their issues attain majority. And a nephew alone and no son can rightfully perform the funeral and succession ceremonies in effectual expiation for the sins of the deceased. The present history of the Royal family of Travancore is a striking instance of this fact. The late Maharaja of Travancore having no sisters or nephews to survive him had to adopt two princesses as his sisters to bear issues to succeed him on the throne. His Highness passed away before the senior young prince by the Junior princess attained majority, hence the senior princess had to act as Regent till last year when the present ruler was installed in office and assumed authority relieving his aunt Princess.

Indian Coal

Indian Coal trade is passing through a crisis at the present moment. Many private collieries have been closed down, and more will follow if no help is forthcoming. Mr. B. Banerjee suggests a way out in *Mining India*. Let us quote him as follows:

(1) The Government can help the coal industry by temporarily closing down the State Railways' collieries and drawing their whole requirement from the market. This will not entail any extra expense to the Government. Now-a-days Government will be able to purchase coal similar in quality to the coal raised by the State Railways' collieries at a much lower price than the actual cost of raising coal from the State collieries. This procedure would mean some saving to the Government and salvation to the coal trade. Government should do it on the grounds of economy if not for helping an industry to live.

(2) By immediate abolition of 15 p. c. surcharge on coal freight. Practically this 15 p. c. is now borne by the colliery owners as the unwillingness of customers to bear this burden has necessitated proportionate reduction in pit head price. Neither the Government has gained anything inasmuch as coal traffic on the whole has decreased since the imposition of the new 15 p. c. surcharge. If this be abolished coal traffic is sure to increase to the advantage of the Government and coal trade.

(3) By allowing special rates for particular stations to help Indian coal to compete with foreign coal and also with other fuels.

Government ought to think over the questions and take quick action before it is too late. The landlords of coal properties on which collieries are worked can substantially help the trade to survive. In most cases the rate of royalties payable to the landlords are prohibitively high. Nowhere in the world the rate is as high as in India. When there was boom in market the colliery owners did not mind to part with their profit to a certain extent to the landlords. But in the present market it is not always possible to keep up the cost below sale price owing to high rate of royalties and for this many collieries can neither effect good despatches nor can pay the royalty. If the landlords reduce the rate of royalty temporarily they would help themselves. Because in that case many collieries will work fairly well and be in a position to pay the landlords. It is to the interest of the landlords that they should reduce the rate of the royalty.

The colliery proprietors and managing agents and those directly connected with the trade can also by united action help a great deal in improving the present conditions of the trade.

For eagerness to secure orders now-a-days many people quote abnormally low prices—which sometimes are less than cost price. This is a suicidal policy. They do not appreciate that by rate cutting they demoralize the market which in the long run affects them also.

What is now needed is united action and clear thinking. There should be some satisfactory system of restricting the output of individual collieries and also unity and determination to keep up just and fair prices. Many people think this as Utopian. But "where there is a will there is a way." If these problems could be solved satisfactorily and effectively in other parts of the world I do not see any reason why it cannot be tackled with success in this country.

The Santiniketan Ideal

Mr. B. W. Tucker has brought out clearly the ideal of Santiniketan, an institution of Rabindranath Tagore, in *The Visva-Varati News*. He says:

The college in Santiniketan is not a community by itself but an integral part of the larger community. One of the distinctive features of the whole institution is the family spirit which prevails. Education here is not preparation for life but life itself. In the better

type of modern schools and colleges the students are taught to think for themselves in their own little juvenile world which does foster the growth of personality and is a great improvement over the old type of transmitted education. We too attempt to avoid the handing down of ideas and ideals from teacher to student but we have the advantage of a larger inter-play of personalities than elsewhere. Santiniketan is almost the world in miniature. Here adult and youth, male and female, Occident and Orient meet in the intimacy of the family relation. Although we live in an Ashrama we are not isolated from the great currents of life and thought. We are an institution unburdened with institutionalism.

Our situation in the heart of a great agricultural section makes it easy for us to keep in touch with the village life, of necessity for many years to come, the real life of India. While we are not unconscious of our responsibilities to the underprivileged of the villages, as a college we are not so much interested in any actual work of village uplift as we are in the reconstruction of our own appreciations and attitudes towards rural life. It is not so much what we can do for the village that concerns us as what the village can do for us in creating in us a sympathetic understanding of village folk and their problems. Through close co-operation with the department of rural reconstruction we hope to do this in a natural manner.

One of the most striking aspects of modern India is the rapidly increasing share that Indian women are taking in public affairs of the country. In recognition of this fact most of the colleges are opening departments for women. Santiniketan has long been in the vanguard of the movement for female education. Believing as we do in the unity of all life we have not created a separate women's department but have long welcomed women as equal members of our corporate life. Our experiment with co-education has been criticized by our more conservative fellow countrymen but in our years of experience not a single incident has occurred to give us reason to doubt the wisdom of our policy. Living in a progressive community that enjoys the influence of the family who have been pioneers in the movement for the emancipation of women, our girls find a natural atmosphere of freedom for the full development of their personalities unrestricted by outworn conventions. Here they are thrown into living and direct contact with the finest expression in modern Indian art, music, literature and drama. They are also guided into the understanding of the ideals and arts of home making. Because women have not yet felt the pressure of economic competition as men have it is possible with them to develop a non-utilitarian education in a larger way. Without turning back upon our ideal of co-education it is our hope that the guardians of the young women of Bengal may appreciate the unrivalled opportunities that Santiniketan furnishes for the education of women and that large numbers of young women may come to us for their education.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



"The Psychology of Hara-Kiri"

The New Statesman and Nation has a very interesting article under the above heading. It tells the story of some of the theatrical incidents by which jingoism was aroused in Japan :

In the East, as elsewhere, the primary causes of war have only an indirect connection with the group psychology of a nation. The popular clamour that makes conflict inevitable is now seen to be among the secondary causes, which may be carefully worked up in advance by what might be called the exploitation of unemployed emotion. An apparently spontaneous outburst of patriotism may be produced in a given community as neatly as the familiar knee-jerk by a tap on the right spot. The complex and dangerous situation in the Far East today makes it worth while to follow the Japanese emotional engineers in their search for the right spot to get the maximum kick out of the populace. It is unnecessary (probably impossible) for us to 'understand' the 'mentality' revealed ; but what is important is that English people should realize the lines on which a highly suggestible people, capable at present of endless harm, is likely to react in an emergency. The object of these few examples drawn from the Japanese Press in the last five months is to indicate these lines, and to leave the moral to point itself.

One of the essentials of militant patriotism is the hero. A campaign without heroes will not take long to exhaust the public interest. Yet the rounding up and shooting down of bandits by forces superior in equipment, supplies, and organization is not likely to provide a sufficiency of heroes for the stimulation of the masses. Fortunately for the moral effect of the campaign on Japan, a woman leaped into the breach.

On the eve of his departure for Manchuria, a lieutenant attached to the Ambulance Corps of the 4th Division returned home to find a note pasted to the door. It told all callers to find him at his regimental H. Q. 'Hurrying into his wife's sitting room.....he found his spouse dead in an extremely orderly manner,' says the *Osaka Mainichi*. She had put on her best costume, written the usual suicide note, and then cut her throat with a dagger, which her soldier-husband has treasured.' The note explained that her suicide would leave him free to serve the Emperor without worrying about his wife. 'Words fail to describe my joy to leave you before your heroic march to Manchuria tomorrow.'

The affair of the 'Samurai wife' not only gave the shriek-press a splendid opportunity ; this 'female version of General Nogi's hara-kiri,' as the pidgin papers dubbed it, set up an example of martyrdom that bids fair to burn like Latimer's candle. It has been followed by dozens of attempts at patriotic suicide since last December. The latest that of a girl who threw herself under a troop train in Himeji, when some soldiers were leaving to take over garrison

duty. Her note kept the same tone : 'Though I cannot be a soldier, I can encourage them by dying,' (*Japan Chronicle*, April 21).

Maxton on America

The Living Age quotes the opinion of Mr. Maxton on America :

James Maxton, leader of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain and an advocate of 'Socialism in Our Time,' believes that the United States may suddenly exhibit revolutionary tendencies. The wish, of course, is father to the thought, but here is what he says :

"For some time I have held the view that in the United States a speedier advance will be made to socialism than in many European countries where there is a strong socialist movement and widespread acceptance of socialist theory. This belief is founded on the recognition of several factors that distinguish the United States from most European and Asiatic countries. Its population has been gathered from the four corners of the globe in what is, from a historical point of view, a very short period of time. Its allegiance to the United States is of very recent and rapid growth, and its family traditions carry it back to lands other than the one it lives in. The United States has been a nation for only a short time in comparison with others, and its history is brief.

That history is practically synonymous with the rise of modern capitalism, which has taken place with great speed and to limits unequalled in other lands. It has been capitalism naked and unashamed, unhampered by feudal or mediæval tradition. American capitalism has displayed more than any other the great power of production that is made possible by the union of large-scale organization with scientific and technical knowledge. It has also displayed an important characteristic of capitalism in that wealth has tended to concentrate in the hands of the few, and that, even when workers for a period received high wages, according to European standards, these wages represented only a fraction of the wealth their labour produced.

America has followed more closely than any other country the Marxian prophecy of the development of capitalism, except in the one respect that there has not been a steadily increasing class consciousness among the workers generally, although there have in different districts and in particular industries more bitter and more brutal class conflicts than we have experienced here. They have, however, been limited both in locality and in trade. Dating from the Chicago martyrs through Sacco and Vanzetti to Tom Mooney, working-class fighters have been treated with a severity and callousness that in recent times have had no parallel in this country, with the exception of

the execution of James Connolly at the time of the Irish rising. But these instances of class brutality by the ruling class have not evoked any counter strokes from the American working class.

Yet admitting that working-class consciousness has been slow to manifest itself, economic conditions today are of a nature to foster its very rapid development. The cosmopolitan nature of the population and its freedom from a long historical tradition make the psychological conditions also favourable for a speedy upsurge of working-class feeling. In these circumstances one is perhaps not taking a too hopeful view if one considers the possibility that when American big business contemplates the setting up of a financial and business dictatorship it may be taking a decisive step toward social revolution.

Truth about India

Father Verrier Elwin has published a book entitled "Truth about India: Can We Get It?" The following review of it in *The India Review* will give some idea of the contents of the book:

There is probably no important question on which the public in Great Britain is more ill-informed than on that of the present situation in India. This is hardly surprising. The Conservative Press, allying itself with Mr. Winston Churchill and Sir Samuel Hoare, has pursued a campaign of deliberate misrepresentation: and even the organs of Liberal and Labour opinion have done little to destroy the false impression prevalent in this country. For this reason, if for no other, Father Elwin's little book is to be welcomed. The author, an Anglo-Catholic priest and an intimate friend of the Mahatma Gandhi, knows from personal experience what is happening in India under the Ordinances.

To the reader who is genuinely puzzled by the march of events in India, Father Elwin provides an adequate answer. Within the compass of 105 pages he deals with the nature of Civil Disobedience and non-violence, the events leading up to the present crisis, and the consequences of the "firm hand" policy.

His close association with the Mahatma Gandhi enables Father Elwin to speak with particular authority on the position of the Congress, its aims and its methods. He shows Gandhi's claim—that the Congress is the only representative body speaking for the vast masses in India—to be justified. He describes the manner in which the weapon of Civil Disobedience is being used as a substitute for violence and armed rebellion. The Indian people have only followed their present course because they are suffering from a very intense and very widespread sense of wrong. Civil Disobedience is India's reply to a policy of tyranny.

"When the mass of a people find the Government under which they are living intolerable," writes Father Elwin, "the conditions of 'tyranny' do in fact exist, whatever merits an outside observer may think he detects in the system of government. A good government, whether democratic in form or not, must always seek to express the general will of the governed, to rest on the only safe and sure foundation—that of popular consent and approval. When a tyranny arises, and the tyrant refuses to surrender his power, rebellion becomes inevitable.

Hitherto such rebellions have always used the weapons of armed violence. Mahatma Gandhi's greatness consists largely in this, that he has forged a weapon which can be used to overthrow the tyrant without destroying him or his agents. A good government need not fear that it will be challenged by a widespread civil disobedience. The Government of India is not really fighting the battle of the government of the future at all, because that Government will be an Indian Government existing at the will of the people and responsible to the people. There will be no need for Civil Disobedience when India attains her freedom, for the people will have constitutional means of expressing their will and getting redress for their grievances. Civil Disobedience is normally only necessary under an autocratic and irresponsible government."

Father Elwin gives a detailed account of the crisis which took place after the Round Table Conference. He proves beyond all doubt that the breakdown of negotiations was—in spite of official statements to the contrary—the responsibility not of the Congress, but of the Government. This is perhaps the most instructive part of the book. Father Elwin does little more than to describe the trend of events and to quote from official and semi-official sources, but in the light of these the Government stands condemned.

The administration of the Ordinances has given rise to almost universal bitterness among Indians. In the chapter dealing with the repression of political activity, Father Elwin says:—

"During the last three months I have myself travelled some ten thousand miles in India, staying almost entirely in Indian homes. Everywhere I found the same story—not only in Congress circles, but among people of every shade of political opinion and even among Indian officials and the police who watched my movements. There is no faith in Great Britain. There is a complete breakdown of the normal psychological relationships between England and India."

Father Elwin has seen India under British rule and in this book he tells his fellow-countrymen the facts. It is a book which cannot be too widely read. For until the mass of Englishmen have learnt the lesson it contains, there is little hope of the relationship between this country and India being re-established on a basis on peace and co-operation.

The Boer War as a Landmark in British History

Mr. G. K. Chesterton describes the change that came over England at the time of the Boer War in *G. K.'s Weekly*:

I remarked last week that the present collapse of this country began with the typically modern blunder called the South African War; and may be dated from about the time when the St. Edward's crown was placed on King Edward's head. As the example is in many ways illuminating, and as a good many people nowadays seem to be by no means illuminated, I will explain why I think this old incident contains many keys or clues to the whole mystery or tragedy.

First, it marked the modern change, because it was the first time when Education was regarded as a

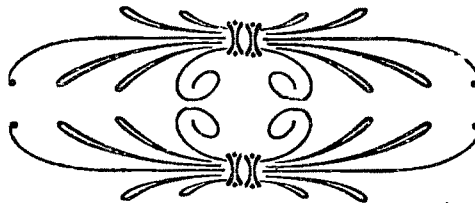
substitute for Culture. Perhaps it might be better expressed by saying that instruction was regarded as a substitute for education; perhaps best of all, by saying that men had begun only to get facts by teaching and not truth by tradition. For the facts were few, were carefully selected, and were almost entirely trivial. They were, in short, the facts now taught by the new power of Compulsory Education; like the maps in which Malta is coloured red and Italy has no colour at all; or the lectures on Citizenship, where the young hear about the extension of the Franchise when they have never heard of the French Revolution. Now, before what may be called the Rhodes and Kipling epoch, it was not so. The populace may have been ignorant, though not with this stuffed up, puffed up, and very perilous kind of ignorance. But as the populace did not rule the country either before or after the modern change, it does not affect the present point. What governed the country before the change was the trained and traditional governing class, it did not have an education or any instruction; it had a culture. A culture is a thing complete of its kind; that is, it covers the field of life and the ways of this wide world somehow; it has some version of everything: it can give some account of itself in dealing with anything. It may be only one way of looking at things; but it is a way of looking at all things. It is not a mere limitation to some things, and ignorance of the very existence of the others. Now, absurd as they may sometimes seem, what were called "the feelings of a gentleman" really were a culture of this kind. They were not a mere negation of knowledge, like the map in which some things are painted red by the patriot and all other things blacked out by the censor. The aristocratic diplomatist might wish to make England the most powerful State; but he knew exactly how far she was from being so, or how far he had to travel to make her so; above all, he knew there were other powerful States, and that those States were very powerful indeed. With the advent of Joseph Chamberlain came the new type of patriot; the man with nothing but Education. With his generation, or the latter generation which he led, there came into play the purely mechanical information of the schoolroom and the newspaper; and they swept away the traditions of the populace and the culture of the gentry.

Now all that a man learnt in the schoolroom or the newspaper was that the sun never set on the British Empire, and that everything else was "natives" who fled before it or worshipped it, and "foreigners" who envied it and gesticulated, all in the same way. Now the aristocrats had often been narrow, as pride is always narrow; and cynical, as mere patriotism can often be cynical; but they knew better than that.

The Chinese Soviets

The New Republic describes the Soviet regime which has been established in the interior of China:

The Communist-suppression campaign also continues in China, and continues to be a disastrous failure. On August 3, two of the government's crack divisions deserted to the Reds, carrying with them all their rifles and machine guns. The Chinese Communists have for five years carried on a war in which all their munitions and half their soldiers were furnished by the enemy. During this time they have conquered about a sixth of China, dividing the land among the peasants, setting up their own schools, clubs, banks, factories, and establishing a stable government which has so far remained comparatively free from graft. Western observers of Chinese life, even those who write from a conservative point of view, are beginning to prophesy that the whole country will go Communist. They are also beginning to emphasize the difference between Chinese and Russian communism, to the benefit of the former. In this change of tune, the trained reader can discern an impending change of policy. Instead of waging open war against Chinese communism, it is likely that the imperialists will try to corrupt the Communist leaders, a cheaper and more effective means of attaining the same ends. If they succeed, China will remain in its present condition for decades to come. If they fail, and the China Reds continue their advance, the crisis in the Far East will take the form of a conflict, possibly world-wide, between communism and imperialism.



INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

Kunwar Maharaj Singh in South Africa.

Mr. Sorabjee Rustomjee while welcoming Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Kunwarani Saheba, said in his speech:

"Our distinguished guests landed in South Africa at a time which is certainly not propitious; for in the Transvaal our people are faced with total extinction with the promulgation of the Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act. The Act has been drafted with all the subtlety that is inherent in European statesmanship. There is more in the Act than what appears on the surface of it. Since the Boer Republic the Europeans of that Province have always desired business and residential segregation for our countrymen. Legislation to that effect was passed but as our countrymen struggled against it it was not enforced. But now the sword that was hanging on their heads has fallen.

"Our people in Natal are going through times which are unprecedented in their history in this country; thousands of our people are out of employment, the Government and the municipalities will not open up such relief works as will afford employment to our unemployed countrymen although such works have been opened up for other communities. That an average of one hundred and fifty of our countrymen and women are fed daily at the soup kitchen opened by the Sir Kurma Reddi Unemployment Relief Committee is an indication of the distress in which our people find themselves. Whilst I realize that the depression that we are now experiencing is world-wide and that unemployment is general and not peculiar to our people, the fact remains that every avenue of employment is closed to the Indian and that the Union Government will not move in any direction to alleviate the distress caused.

"We have met here to welcome the Kunwar Maharaj and his consort and it would be inappropriate to narrate our grievances but I am sure our Agent will forgive us in view of the circumstances that force us to do so. Owing to the many repressive legislations that have been enacted in this country our progress is of necessity impeded. We can make no headway. Our attempts to ameliorate the conditions of our people are always misunderstood. This misunderstanding is the cause of much of the friction between the European and the Indian communities. Once this misunderstanding is dispelled I have no doubt that both communities can work together for the greatest good of South Africa. The presence in this country of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri followed by Sir Kurma Reddi

has contributed much towards bringing together the European and Indian communities, and I am confident that Kunwar Maharaj and the Kunwarani will strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two communities.

"As I have already said the Agent comes to us with a distinguished career. He has visited East Africa where he has rendered splendid service. At home he has filled with distinction many important positions, and although he will find his path in South Africa beset with many difficulties, I am sure he will rise equal to the task.

The Agent's Reply

The Agent who was greeted with cheers when he rose to speak, said:

"We have been immensely struck as well we might be by the cordiality of your welcome. This large hall I see is packed and I look upon you assembled here not as having done honour to myself but as a token of your appreciation of that great country to which you and I both belong. Some of you are personally concerned and with others your fathers came from there."

Proceeding, he declared that he knew of the immensity of his task and it was not altogether without some diffidence that he had accepted the position. He came for two reasons: first, his own interest in the problem of Indians overseas and particularly of the Indian question in South Africa. The other was due to the persuasive eloquence of Mr. C. F. Andrews.

Speakers, he went on, had referred to the disabilities that the Indians were suffering from in this country. He was well aware of them.

"We Indians have the misfortune not to possess the privileges and amenities of life which belong to other communities. The Government of India are well aware of your difficulties, and I know that they view them with the keenest anxiety. It is very difficult for the Government of India and its Agent to make their proper influence felt. You know and can sympathize with us.

"We protest and protest and often our protests go unheeded. With all our difficulties I always feel that as long as God reigns, truth, right and justice must ultimately prevail. The way may be long and weary, but in the long run will lead us to better scenes.

Drawing from his own experience, he refused to believe in the eventual extinction of the Indian overseas. "I have seen our countrymen not in one country but in many countries. I have seen and heard of their difficulties and in spite of all they

have pulled through due in no small measure to their remarkable qualities of industry and thrift. These qualities have earned him jealousy, and disability has been imposed upon him by his opponent. But I feel with all my heart that extinction of the Indians cannot and will not succeed. I am glad you are united on the whole. While there are healthy differences in minor matters, on crucial questions you are united."

The conciliation of the races, both European and Indian, was the charge placed upon him by the Government of India, he declared. "My humble duty will be to try to bring together Europeans and Indians for the purpose of understanding one another's point of view. This is one of the most important duties placed upon me by the Government of India. Both in spirit and in letter I shall try to fulfil that duty."

The Agent recalled a conversation with Mahatma Gandhi, who told Mr. Sastri before he came out to this country in 1927 that he was going to ask the Indian community of South Africa that they were not to expect too much from the Agent. They should remember that he was not armed with a gun: he was like them.

There was one thing that they would find in him—that he was an Indian like themselves, and a patriotic Indian belonging to an India that would one day have the full status of dominion government. "In the discharge of his duty the Agent can, will and must rely upon your friendship and assistance," he added.

In concluding, Kunwar Maharaj hoped to secure the help of the Europeans, and he was sure that the number of sympathetic Europeans would increase who would stand for justice and consideration of the Indian question in South Africa.

Kunwarani Maharaj Singh in a short and sweet speech said that her husband and herself were to identify themselves with their interests, for "we belong to you."

Bold stand by Kunwar Maharaj Singh

In the course of an interview given to the *Natal Mercury* Kunwar Maharaj Singh, in reply to a question as to the possibility of 2000 Indians going over to Reunion explained what the attitude of the Government of India in the matter would be:

"The Government," he said, "adopts an attitude against indentured labour being sent out of India. The Government has had some experience of that sort of thing, and it has moved against it for two reasons. In the first place, the Government feels that Indians should not leave the country for temporary settlement in other places where there is no possibility of those Indians making permanent homes in those areas. Secondly, the Government has objections on purely moral grounds. The movement of thousands of Indian men to an entirely new country where they live without their homes or families, cannot fail to have an effect on them which, from the moral and domestic points of view, are not beneficial. However, what the Government would feel about moving people from South Africa I cannot say."

We entirely agree with Kunwar Saheb in his condemnation of the Reunion scheme. Public

opinion in India will never agree to any labour scheme that principally aims at the reduction of Indian population in South Africa. By way of an experiment it may be persuaded to agree to an honest colonization scheme under certain definite conditions but for a purely labour scheme there is absolutely no chance of acceptance here in India and Kunwar Maharaj Singh deserves our thanks for his bold stand on this question.

Indian Education in Fiji

Here are some facts and figures taken from the Council paper No. 21 of the Legislative Council of Fiji Islands that contains a report of the Education Department for the year 1931.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

The First Government school for Indians was established at Natabua in 1919. Samabula school was taken over from a local committee in 1929 and Andrews and Votualevu in 1930. Vatuwaqa Indian Girls school was built in 1930 and Karavi and Wainikoro school in 1931.

In September 1930 a secondary department was added to the Natabua Primary school.

The fees in primary schools are 1s. a month and in the secondary department £2. 10s. per term.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Non-European.—In 1929 a Teachers' Training School was established at Natabua for both Fijian and Indian students. These are selected by competitive examination and receive free tuition and board and in allowance of six pounds per annum.

The Methodist Mission has been training teachers for more than sixty years. In 1918 the Davuilevu Teachers' Training Institute was established to train teachers to the standard required by regulations. Fijian and Indian students are accepted. A grant of £600 is made by Government in addition to an allowance of £10 per student for board and £6 for pocket money.

EVENTS OF THE YEAR

The floods and hurricanes of February caused much damage to school buildings. The Government Indian school at Votualevu and the grass bures used as part of Andrews School, Nadi, were completely destroyed. A new school-room was constructed by the Public Works Department at Votualevu while the Indians at Nadi erected temporary structures which were in use throughout the remainder of 1931. A sum of £750 was appropriated for a building to replace these in 1932.

In addition to the Government schools, twelve Indian schools were totally destroyed either at the end of 1930 or in February 1931. Five of these including one under the control of the Methodist Mission, have been re-built. This performance reflects great credit on the Indian communities concerned. Not only had they to bear the expense of re-building the school, but many of them had been impoverished by the loss of crops and homes. While all are deserving of the greatest praise, two cases call for special mention. The Madras community at Penang

completed a school at a cost of £500 in August, 1930. It was totally destroyed by a hurricane in November of that year. Reconstruction was quickly begun but before the building was completed it was demolished by the hurricane of February. Work was again started and the school was opened in August. The other case is that of Viti School which was built at his own expense by Thakur Din Singh. At the beginning of the year he decided to re-build. The old school was taken down and all the material was on the spot for the erection of a large building. The whole was swept away by the flood waters of Rewa River. Undeterred by this Thakur Din Singh bought more material and the new school was built. In addition to the above eight new schools were completed.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

In 1931 the number of Government and assisted primary schools was 6 and 37 respectively. In addition there were 18 unassisted schools. The total number of Indians enrolled in all schools was 4,531, of whom 3,542 were boys and 989 girls. The age and classification of 2,033 pupils in 28 schools that may be considered typical are given in Appendix 6. It will be seen that the greatest numbers of boys are in the ten and eleven year age groups, and of girls in the nine year age group. The fact that many of the schools are not capable of giving instruction beyond Class 4 partly accounts for the falling off in the number of boys after the age of ten.

The majority of the Indian schools were inspected twice during the year. Thirty-five schools were classified as efficient, 14 as satisfactory and 19 as inefficient. In general all schools showed improvement, particularly in Hindustani. Progress in gardening is slow and in most of the schools hand work is neglected. In the girls' schools needlework is well done, but in mixed schools no arrangements have been made for teaching it. The Board of Education approved of the use of Urdu instead of Deva Nagari script for Mohammedan pupils in registered schools.

A quarterly *School Journal*, edited by Mr. A. W. McMillan, Inspector of Indian Schools, with articles in Deva Nagari and English, was published for the first time in May, 1931, to provide wholesome reading in both languages for Indian pupils. The subscription is one shilling per annum.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

Approved Indian pupils may enrol in the secondary department of the Natabua Indian School. The fees are £7 10s. per annum. The average roll in 1931 was 23. The curriculum includes the usual secondary subjects with the addition of agriculture, wood-work and Hindustani. Pupils may also take book-keeping and business principles.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

There were 17 Indian students at the Government Teachers' Training School, Natabua and the same number at the Methodist Mission Teachers' Training Institute.

FEMALE EDUCATION

In the case of Indian girls the racial objection to co-education prevents most girls from obtaining a primary education even in academic subjects in

mixed schools. Thirty-two schools enrolled girls as well as boys, but as a rule the former leave about their tenth year and no provision is made for their instruction in needle-work.

There are also 10 girls' schools and two others, with separate departments for girls, situated in the chief centres of the Indian population with women on the staff. In these the girls stay longer at school and needle-work is well taught. The Methodist Mission Indian Girls' School, Toorak and Dilkusha, have boarding establishments in which home-crafts are taught. The available accommodation in girls' schools is not fully utilized, so that it may be accepted that the education of girls in the towns is well-provided for. In less densely populated areas much remains to be done. The education of girls in mixed schools would be improved and the girls would probably remain longer at school if women teachers were appointed to the staff. Very few, however, are available, and even if they were, the difficulty of providing them with suitable board and lodging would have to be overcome before they would accept appointments away from home. There are 989 Indian girls at school, which is approximately 10 per cent of the number of school age.

HELP GIVEN BY THE C. S. R. COMPANY

(ii) *Co-operation with Colonial Sugar Refining Company.*—This company is interested in the education of the children of its employees and tenants. Its local managers control three schools for Europeans and three for Indians. Grants-in-aid are paid to two of each class. It pays a contribution of £130 per annum towards the Government Rarawai School most of the pupils of which are children of its employees. In addition, it maintains the school building.

It gives monetary assistance amounting to £192 10s. to be distributed by the Department to certain Indian and Mission schools near Suva, and pays further sums to assisted schools in other districts. It also gives sites for schools and assists in their erection. It renders freely most valuable advice and assistance to schools that grow sugar and allows students of the Teachers' Training School to get experience in its workshops at Lautoka.

We are glad to note that Mr. A. W. McMillan, Inspector of Indian Schools, has been working hard to spread education and popularise Hindi among our population in Fiji Islands and he deserves our thanks for his continuous efforts.

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry of East Africa

The Secretary of the Indian Chambers has sent us a copy of the report of the proceedings of the first session of the Federation held at Kisumu (Kenya) on 9th and 10th July under the presidentship of Mr. J. B. Pandya of Mombasa. The report contains the speech of the Chairman of the Reception Committee along with that of Mr. Pandya and also resolutions, rules and regulations. Among the resolutions there is one which records the thanks of the Federation to Mr. P. D. Master, Mr. D. G. Mehta and Mr. Rupani. I have not had the privilege of knowing the last two gentlemen but I know personally something of Mr. Master's hard and sincere work

done at great personal sacrifice. Of all the young workers that I met in East Africa in the year 1924 Mr. P. D. Master appealed to me most and it is a pleasure to note that he has been appointed Secretary of the Federation.

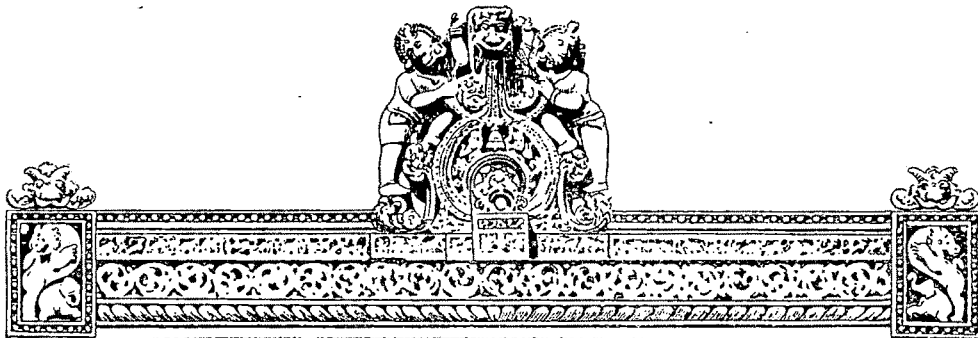
Report of the All India Colonial Students' Association

Mr. B. D. Vishalbharti (K. E. Hostel, Kamacha, Benares) has sent us a copy of the report of his association for the year 1932. Before the year 1925 the number of Indian students that came from the colonies to prosecute their studies in India was insignificant. In 1925 a large number of boys and girls arrived from Fiji as a result of the efforts of Sjt. Gopendra Narayan Pathik, who is working as the Head Master of the Aryasamaj Gurukula in those Islands. There are at present more than fifty colonial students studying in different institutions.

These colonial students are living apart far and wide in distant places like Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, Brindaban, Meerut, Jubbulpur, Dehra Dun, Lahore, Jullunder, Madras and Travancore and, therefore, it is difficult to bring them together. Still a good deal could be done by regular correspondence and occasional meetings. So an effort was made in the last week of December 1928 at the time of the anniversary of the Gurukula at Brindaban to start an institution for their physical, intellectual and educational progress. Thus came into existence the Colonial Students' Association that

has done some useful service to their cause. The report contains a brief account of the work done. Special mention must be made of the programme of tours taken up by the students who visited Jubbulpur, Dehra Dun, Mussoorie, Kotaghar, Nainital and other places. The social and educational value of these tours cannot be over-estimated.

There is a disquieting paragraph at the end of the report that mentions the fact that a number of colonial students have left India without finishing their education. The resources at the disposal of the association are very meagre and it cannot afford to send timely help to its members in distress on account of their living scattered at great distances. The secretary suggests the opening of a Colonial Students' Home at a central place in India near some educational institution. Benares ought to be the best place for such a Home and the authorities of the Hindu University can do a great service to the cause of Greater India if they take up the suggestion and give it a practical shape. The service that our compatriots in the colonies can render to us in broadcasting the message of Indian culture all over the world will be invaluable and we must try our utmost to keep the connection between India and Greater India intact. It was the shortsighted policy of our ancestors during the mediaeval period that led to the deplorable negligence and consequent loss of our cultural colonies. The colonial students, who come to India for education, will be the connecting link between the motherland and nearly three millions of Indians settled abroad and they, therefore, deserve all the help and sympathy at our hands.



NOTES

Mahatma Gandhi Breaks His Fast

On our return from Delhi this morning (September 27, 1932), we read in the morning papers the joyful news that Mahatma Gandhi has broken his fast. We pray that he may be soon restored to his normal health and strength to carry on his life work for India and the world.

Mahatma Gandhi's Fast

That Mahatma Gandhi would fast to death if the British Cabinet sought to separate the "depressed" Hindus from the other Hindus, was known to the British Government for weeks, if not months, before the latter took the Indian people into their confidence. Did they think Mahatma Gandhi was joking or bluffing? Or was it a trifle to them? That it is not a slight matter to the Hindus is evident from the way in which it has convulsed the whole of Hindu society throughout India.

It was about 11 o'clock at night that on the 12th September last we were rung up on the telephone by the *Associated Press* and informed of Mr. Gandhi's resolve. They wanted to know our opinion. We replied briefly on the 'phone. Perhaps not satisfied with it, that news agency sent one of its representatives to us with the whole Gandhi-MacDonald-Hoare correspondence. Having gone through it, we hurriedly wrote out our humble opinion—hurriedly, because it was midnight and there was no time to lose. Next day, 13th September, some of the morning dailies of Calcutta and other places contained the following paragraphs, along with the news of Mahatmaji's vow :

Interviewed by the *Associated Press* on the decision of Mahatma Gandhi to fast to death, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, President elect of the coming session of the Provincial Hindu Conference, said :

"From the day that Mahatma Gandhi took up the cause of Indian freedom and national solidarity, including solidarity of the Hindus, he has been ready literally to lay down his life for it at a moment's notice or even without notice.

"For people who have not staked their life and all for this cause as he has done, it must be very difficult to pronounce any opinion on the very serious resolve which he has taken. He has never indulged in bluff. And he has a will of steel. So, unless the British Government does what he wants, his resolve will lead to death. I shrink from the thought of what such self-immolation may lead to.

"But of one thing I am sure. Such martyrdom will bring about that Hindu, and possibly that Indian, solidarity which the so-called "award" stands in the way of. So whatever the British Government may do, Mahatma Gandhi's object will be gained. I humbly think that Mahatmaji is right in his resolve."

When we read the news of Mahatmaji's resolve in the morning dailies of the 13th September, along with our humble opinion thereupon, we thought we ought to give some of the reasons why we thought Mahatmaji was right. Along with other countrymen of ours we consider Mr. Gandhi's life of the greatest value to India and the world. But its value lies in his self-dedication. Like others, we also realized the extreme mournfulness of Mr. Gandhi's death by fasting, if it ever came to pass—which God forbid. It was clear to us, as to others, that, on his passing away, there would be no other leader of his character and capacity to take his place. But we felt that mere lamentations and mere appeals to him to save himself were of little use. We must try to understand his vow, and must help to bring about what he sought to achieve by it, so far as it lies in our power. So we tried briefly to explain the significance of Mahatmaji's resolve. Our note, which appeared in some of the Indian dailies on the 14th September, is printed below :

The communal decision of the British Cabinet very cunningly gives the "depressed" Hindu electors two votes—one as members of the general consti-

tuency and another as members of special "depressed" class constituencies. They are thus being given a special so-called advantage, and this they can continue to purchase only at the price of considering themselves degraded and of being considered by others as degraded and separate from the other Hindus. They cannot have this advantage if they do not admit that they are and are regarded as degraded and separate from the other Hindus. The continuation of this state of things for twenty years cannot but seriously thwart the efforts of Hindu reformers and of the "depressed" classes themselves to raise them in the social scale, thus perpetuating the most harmful social cleavage among the Hindus indefinitely. And nobody knows what may happen at the end of twenty years. Imperialist cunning may even then be able to devise new methods of preventing the social fusion of the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi, who has literally and in spirit made himself one with the depressed classes, has made immense efforts to destroy the curse of "untouchability," and his efforts are meeting with increasing success. Considering the communal decision as regards the depressed classes most harmful in spite of its transparent philanthropic veneer, he has resolved to resist it with his life, if the British Cabinet do not alter their decision. He seeks a remedy by himself suffering unto death, not by inflicting any injury on others. As a thorough-going believer in *ahimsa* and soul force, he has deliberately rejected the method of resorting to physical force with its possibility of killing the opponent as well as himself. Therefore his resolve to fast unto death differs from the ordinary method of rebellion in this that, whereas by fasting he will kill only himself, injuring no one else, by the use of physical force others might be killed or injured as well as himself. Argument not having proved of any avail, he now seeks a remedy through his own suffering and self-sacrifice.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, like the clever man that he is, in his letter to Mahatma Gandhi of 8th September current, misinterprets Mahatma Gandhi's attitude as follows:

"As I understand your attitude, you propose to adopt the extreme course of starving yourself to death, not in order to secure that depressed classes should have joint electorate with other Hindus, because that is already provided, nor to maintain the unity of Hindus, which is also provided, but solely to prevent depressed classes, who admittedly suffer from terrible disabilities to-day, from being able to secure a limited number of representatives of their own choosing to speak on their behalf in legislatures which will have a dominating influence over their future."

So Mr. MacDonald claims to be a great friend of the depressed classes—greater than even Mahatma Gandhi—and tries to make out that Mahatma Gandhi has, as their enemy, resolved to starve himself to death in order to prevent them from getting the so-called advantage promised to them by the British Cabinet! Mr. MacDonald's claim and his misinterpretation of Mahatma Gandhi's motive and object are too absurd to require exposure. As Mahatmaji himself says in his reply:

"I am sorry, however, that you put upon the contemplated step an interpretation that never crossed my mind. I have claimed to speak on

behalf of the very class to sacrifice whose interests you impute to me a desire to fast myself to death. I had hoped that the extreme step itself would effectively prevent any such selfish interpretation. Without arguing, I affirm that for me this matter is one of pure religion. The mere fact of "depressed" classes having double votes does not protect them or Hindu society in general from being disrupted. In the establishment of separate electorates at all for "depressed" classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism and do no good whatever to "depressed" classes. You will please permit me to say, no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be even against over-representation of the "depressed" classes. What I am against is their statutory separation even in a limited form from the Hindu fold so long as they choose to belong to it. Do you realize that, if your decision stands and the constitution comes into being, you arrest the marvellous growth of the work of the Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life?"

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald claims that the communal decision, so far as it relates to the "depressed" class Hindus, has a philanthropic object. May one ask why the benefit of this philanthropic motive should be confined to the "depressed" class Hindus? It is a widely known fact that there are numerous Christian and Muslim Indians who also are "depressed." Why do they not get the advantage of British Imperialist philanthropy?

Britishers in general cannot understand or appreciate Mr. Gandhi's vow. For they understand bloodily rebellion, which is not Mr. Gandhi's way. Besides, it is not reasonable to expect them to *appreciate* a method which may prove more efficacious than armed rebellion and may baffle all their ingenuity and power to crush.

There has not yet been any proof that the self-imposed sufferings and sacrifice of Mr. Gandhi and his followers have produced or may produce any moral effect on Englishmen in general. They call it "coercion." Coercion indeed! Prayers and petitions have failed. Representations, arguments and protests have been of no avail. Armed rebellion was not chosen by some on principle, and others considered it impracticable and unwise under present circumstances. So there remained the moral force of self-inflicted suffering and sacrifice. In the average Englishman's dictionary it may be synonymous with physical compulsion—soul force is too subtle for him. But it is with joy that one recognizes that

Mahatma Gandhi's self-dedication has moved the vast millions of his co-religionists, as also others abroad who are unaffected by the virus of imperialism and race pride. Untouchability is doomed. British imperialism and its servile tools among Indians cannot long keep it alive.

Mr. Suhrawardy Appointed Bageswari Professor

In our last two issues we have shown what should be the qualifications of the Bageswari Professor of Indian Fine Arts, according to the Calcutta University Calendar and the report of the University Organization Committee. We have also shown that Mr. Shahed Suhrawardy, nephew of the present Vice-Chancellor, does not possess those qualifications, and that some of the other candidates, particularly Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda, do so. But, as was anticipated, Mr. Suhrawardy has been appointed to the chair. And as a tribute to the independence of the senators, Mr. Suhrawardy anticipated the decision of the Senate and sailed to Europe on study leave more than a fortnight before the day on which it met to appoint him!

In the present note we shall notice a few of the so-called arguments and other points to be found in the proceedings of the Senate meeting as reported in the Calcutta Indian dailies.

Sir C. V. Raman in moving for the adoption of the recommendations of the Syndicate, paid a glowing tribute to Mr. Suhrawardy. He said that he was present at the lectures which Mr. Suhrawardy gave in the University and he was very much impressed by the extraordinary quality of his lectures—the beautiful diction, deep understanding of the subject and his appreciation of the relation of art on the one hand and historical and cultural aspects of the subject on the other.

Proceeding Sir Venkata said that Mr. Suhrawardy had a general appreciation of the art as a whole and particularly of the history of the development of art in Europe and Asia and that he was an expert on Musalman art.

In this special pleading of Prof. Raman's one cannot discover any proof of Mr. Suhrawardy's knowledge of *Indian* Fine Arts. Moreover, he cleverly omits to say what subject the "lectures" were about! It had nothing to do with Indian Fine Arts. "Beautiful diction," etc., may be additional orna-

mental qualifications if *the essential qualifications* exist. But in the elaborate statement of Mr. Suhrawardy's qualifications made by himself—wherein he does not err on the side of modesty—there is no proof of his special knowledge of Musalman or Christian or any other art, and, least of all, of *Indian* art. One would not appoint a man professor of history or physics or astronomy simply because he can say in beautiful language, "oh, how grand, how nice, how fine." The chair of Indian Fine Arts requires hard study of technical, historical and philosophical matters. A "general appreciation of art", such as even Prof. Raman may be charitably assumed to possess, would not qualify one for the Professorship of Indian Fine Arts. Professor Raman possesses the gift of the gab, and so within the space of a second he dwelt glibly on Mr. Suhrawardy's knowledge of the art of Europe and Asia (*which Mr. Suhrawardy himself has not claimed* in his statement!). Prof. Raman has overshot the mark. He has discovered a prodigy who knows all about "the history of the development of art in Europe and Asia," minus India of course! Let us take Asia alone. Where is the proof that Mr. Suhrawardy (or for that matter, Prof. Raman) knows the history of the art of Japan, China, Java, Bali, Cambodia, Annam, Siam, Burma, Tibet, Persia, Assyria, etc.? We do not include India in the list, because he who does not know anything about Indian Fine Arts must be presumed to know the art of every other country in the world. Prof. Raman says that Mr. Suhrawardy is an expert on Musalman art. Where is the proof? Has he published even a brief paper on the subject?

Proceeding Sir C. V. Raman said it was entirely wrong to suppose that Indian Fine Arts meant only ancient Hindu Art—they must mean every kind of Indian Art. When a visitor comes to India to study Indian Art he does not only visit South Indian temples, fine as they in themselves are, but they also visit the magnificent monuments of Muslim art in Delhi, Agra, Fatepur-Sikri.

It is a pity Prof. Raman indulged in irrelevant talk. According to the Calendar and the Report of the University Organization Committee the Bageswari Professor is to teach "ancient architecture." But the monuments

Dr. Raman refers to are not ancient, but medieval. But waiving that point, the professor will, we hope, admit that South Indian temples *are* also to be studied. There is no proof that Mr. Suhrawardy has studied either medieval Muslim architecture in India or ancient Hindu and Buddhist and other architecture either. And architecture does not cover the whole field of Indian Fine Arts. There is Indian Iconography. What does Mr. Suhrawardy know about it? There would be no refuge, in the case of Iconography in the (unsupported) assumption that, as a Muslim Mr. Suhrawardy must axiomatically know Muslim Iconography; for unfortunately there is no Muslim Iconography! And then there are the various schools of Indian painting. What does Mr. Suhrawardy know about these?

No wonder,

Mr. Ramaprasad Mookherjee speaking next, said, that he had gone through the applications of the different candidates which were placed before the Selection Committee. He found that there were applications which had been supported by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, one of the members of the Selection Committee. So far as Mr. Suhrawardy was concerned there was no certificate attached to his application before the Committee. As regards Mr. Suhrawardy's ability to occupy the chair of Indian Fine Arts Mr. Mookherjee thought that Sir C. V. Raman was rather apologetic in his statement in placing the recommendations of the Khaira Board before the Senate. Mr. Mookherjee thought that the Khaira Board had not placed detailed information before the Senate in the matter which had justified them in making this appointment.

It was contended on behalf of the party which supported Mr. Suhrawardy's candidature that all the information possessed by the Khaira Board had been placed before the Senate. But this contention was practically proved to be false by Mr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee, one of that party, proceeding to place before the Senate the letter written by Mr. Suhrawardy in connection with his plan to visit Europe. Thereupon Mr. Justice Manmathanath Mukherjee said: "It is too late to place this letter before us." Mr. S. P. Mukherjee replied, "I agree these papers ought to have been circulated!"

Mr. S. N. Mallik said that he knew Mr. Suhrawardy personally for the last few years. He was a man of high culture and was certainly a gentleman. He met some of his tutors in France and other countries, who spoke very highly of his attainments.

"Attainments" in what subject, please? Not in Indian Fine Arts! Is every "gentleman" fit to teach every subject on earth? And it is a criterion of gentlemanliness not to make unfounded statements regarding one's qualifications.

Mr. Pramatha Banerji said that the appointment meant no additional financial burden for the University. As regards the merit of the appointment it was the best possible under the circumstances. Of other most eligible candidates one had reached the age limit and the other was not prepared to devote his whole time. Mr. Suhrawardy possessed wide general culture and had thorough knowledge of general art, and Mr. Havell or Mr. Percy Brown who afterwards became authorities on Indian art had no higher qualification than that at the time they were first appointed.

Mr. Banerji, like Dr. Raman, made vague assertions relating to Mr. Suhrawardy's merit, unsupported by any proof or certificate. Their *ipsi dixits* are quite worthless. Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has *not* reached the age limit laid down by the University, which is 60, and which had been exceeded by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore before his appointment and by Sir P. C. Roy before his repeated re-appointments. There were other candidates besides the two mentioned who were better qualified than Mr. Suhrawardy.

Mr. Banerji has introduced a brand new argument. In his opinion, a man who may possibly become an authority on a subject in future ought to be appointed to a professorship in that expectation, and should be preferred to one who is already an authority!

Dr. J. N. Maitra asked for information on the point as to whether Mr. Suhrawardy had been appointed Nizam Professor in the Viswa-Bharati. The Vice-Chancellor: Our information is that he was.

But several days before the Vice-Chancellor gave this reply it had been shown by the publication of Principal Vidhusekhar Sastri's letter on the subject that Mr. Suhrawardy was *never* appointed Nizam Professor or to any other professorship in the Visva-Bharati. Mr. Suhrawardy's statement that he had been appointed Nizam Professor was false and on that moral ground alone he ought to have been declared disqualified. We do not wish to say anything more on this sordid business.

The Corporation and the Burning Ghats of Calcutta

Spending most of my life outside Calcutta, and returning to settle down there in my old age, I had time to look around me and see something of the work done by our civic fathers in recent years. Broad avenues, more imposing buildings in Indian quarters, the expansion of the city with all its sanitary and other amenities into the suburbs, opening of municipal parks, markets, schools and workshops, signs of horticultural and architectural decoration in public thoroughfares and buildings, organization of bus-service and extension of tram-service, renaming of important roads and parks after the great men of modern Bengal, inscribing street names in Bengali characters, are some of the most noticeable features. Almost all the streets and lanes have been tar-macadamized. The Calcutta Improvement Trust has done and is still doing a good deal in opening up the congested as well as the neglected portions of the city. Perhaps the longest, and certainly one of the most important of the main thoroughfares, the Circular Road which skirts eastern Calcutta, however, remains as unsightly as ever, its eastern footpath, broad as it is, being entirely given up to the accumulation of dirt and refuse and the use of cattle and the dumping of municipal drainage material and all sorts of rubbish and debris. On the whole, however, one feels that the Indian section of the town is receiving some attention, though the opening of many more municipal markets up and down the city is necessary to meet the requirements of the citizens. The surroundings of Kali's temple at Kalighat, and the adjoining burning-ghats, have been considerably improved. But having been under the mournful necessity of visitings Kashi Mitra's Ghat in the northern quarter of the town, I was struck by the evidence of gross neglect on the part of the Municipal authorities in leaving it practically as it was in the days prior to the Indianization of the Corporation. Numbers of Hindu ladies and gentlemen live within the municipal area in houses equipped with all the comfort and convenience, sanitary and otherwise, that

modern civilization can supply. It is not mere idle curiosity to project one's imagination into the future and think of the sad plight of those members of their family who will have to take them on their last long journey to the burning ghats of northern Calcutta. The arrangements there are of the most sordid and primitive description. One has to wade knee-deep in mud in order to take the purificatory bath in the Ganges, unless he chooses to use the slippery and dilapidated flight of steps where all sorts of things are afoot; there is no decent or adequate arrangement for retirement or rest or for changing one's clothes. We Indians are, I admit, largely responsible for the ugliness and untidiness apparent everywhere around the place, but the Corporation may set apart locations for the performance of the several duties connected with the funeral, enlarge, beautify and enclose the place, and see to the comforts of those who have to attend to the cremation, and it can recoup itself, if necessary, by levying a small toll from those who have occasion to visit the place. To a sensitive man or woman—and during mourning everyone has his sensibilities keenly aroused—the total absence of privacy such as one meets with in the midst of the cargo-boats, railway trucks, and a miscellaneous crowd of coolies carrying coal, timber and other merchandise, without any retiring room to speak of for the use and accommodation of the mourners, is a poignant experience. I could not help contrasting the total want of organization obtaining there with the beautifully kept European burial grounds not only of Calcutta but also of the Mofussil towns. The difference could not all be due to our comparative poverty. For the rich Hindu ratepayers of Calcutta could certainly bring about the much-needed improvements if only they had a mind to, and knew how. The wealthy and philanthropic Marwari community has, no doubt, done a great deal in these matters. But however materialistic the rich and luxurious among the educated Hindus may be, 'after me the deluge' cannot be their attitude, for they cannot ignore the other members of their family who are likely to survive them and mourn their loss. The fact is that

though family bereavements do take place among the rich and poor alike, we are too inertia-ridden to take the initiative in the matter of effecting improvements in our cremation grounds, however much we may desire them. We have accepted European improvements in our houses in so far as they have been brought to our doors by European manufacturers and their Indian purveyors, and if any European firm were to take upon itself to set up places of cremation for Hindus on somewhat modern and up-to-date lines we would, I am sure, unhesitatingly avail ourselves of them. But the European, as a rule, has no need for crematoriums, and wherever one is required, they set up an ugly machine—the incinerator—which serves their purpose much more efficiently. So long as the Corporation of Calcutta, with all the resources at its disposal, does not, as representing the ratepayers the majority of whom are Hindus, turn its attention in this direction, the old *sanatan* methods will go hand in hand with the *sanatan* religion, irrespective of the needs of a crowded modern city like Calcutta, where waste of energy and unnecessary hardship in connection with the disposal of our earthly remains is out of place and the refinement of civic life requires that our last resting place should not be made repellent and ugly for those who are left to mourn us.

POLITICUS

Indian Textile Industry and National Efficiency

It has been reported in *London Times* of August 9th that "in order to increase production the owners of a group of Delhi cloth mills are giving free flights in the local flying club's aeroplanes to the Indian operatives who produce the most cloth in a given time."

Efficiency of operatives in cloth mills can not be increased by "free flights." There is something fundamentally wrong about those who are in control of Indian textile industry. India produces raw materials, India has cheap labour and the market. There is also a tariff which favours Indian textile industry, yet Indian mills fail to

compete with Japanese or British products. We have noticed that Indian mill-owners are asking for a further special discriminatory tariff against cheap Japanese goods.

Indian mill-owners in the past and even now make plenty of profit. But they are as usual selfish enough not to think about adopting such measures as will really benefit the workers and increase their efficiency. Crores of rupees have been invested in the cotton industry by Indians and these merchant princes live royally; but with rare exceptions, they have not done anything to increase the efficiency of Indian experts in cotton industry. To be exact there is not one institution in India where scientific and higher knowledge about textile industry is imparted. If the Indian cotton mill-owners decide to spend one-hundredth part of their profit for spreading scientific knowledge among the most deserving scholars and for establishing chairs of "textile technology" in connection with existing Indian engineering colleges, and to give opportunity for better education among the children of workers and operatives and provide better living quarters for them, then there will be permanent changes leading to increased efficiency in Indian textile industry. Will the Indian mill-owners adopt a constructive policy and thus benefit the nation as well as themselves?

T. D.

Educational Progress in Afghanistan

The *Manchester Guardian* of August 9th publishes the following interesting news-item:

"The King of Afghanistan, Nadir Shah, is carrying forward his progressive policy in the country by decreeing the establishment of a National Afghan University in the new City of Darelmann, three miles from Kabul, the capital.

"*Reuter* learns that the King plans to dispatch to Europe an educational mission, which will pay special attention to education in England and France in order to obtain professors and fix the general lines of the curriculum."

Without educational progress a nation cannot hold its own in world competition. Afghanistan in population is far smaller than Bengal; and yet Afghanistan is free and independent. Afghan independence will cease to exist, if the liberty-living people of

this country do not increase their national efficiency through scientific education ; and this fact is fully understood by King Nadir Shah. Afghan National University will serve as a source of national power. We wish King Nadir Shah and his people success in this far-sighted and worthy endeavour. Let us hope this programme of educational progress of Afghanistan will be a source of inspiration to Indian patriots and educators who will concentrate their efforts to promote national education. It is high time for Indians to adopt effective measures to raise national efficiency through progressive education.

T. D.

Possibility of Russo-Japanese Economic Co-operation

There is every reason to believe that the outcome of the Ottawa Conference will be injurious to Russia as well as Japan. This may lead to Soviet Russian and Japanese commercial co-operation which may be mutually beneficial.

The *Times* (London) of August 23, 1932, publishes the following news-item which indicates that the Soviet Russian authorities are seeking Japanese co-operation.

Tokyo, August, 22.

Mr. Kojiro Matsukata, a former president of the Kawasaki Dockyard, has left for Baku on the invitation of the Soviet, ostensibly to examine the progress made under the Five-Year Plan. According to the vernacular newspapers he proposes on his return to establish a Russo-Japanese oil company to import oil from Russia.

Japanese importers regard his visit as one of demonstration and inspection rather than a preliminary to any arrangement for large imports. Mr. Matsukata is now connected with an oil company, but its resources are limited. Japanese importers do not expect any great change in the direction of Japan's supplies, but it must be presumed that the Soviet's invitation was issued with a view to entering the trade now enjoyed by British, American, and Dutch companies.

Indo-Irish Co-operation Against Britain ?

The *Chicago Tribune* (Paris) of Aug. 13th publishes the following interesting despatch :

Tribune Press Service
London, Aug. 12,—Vitalbhai Patel, former speaker of the Indian Legislative Assembly and

Indian Congress leader, who is shortly leaving London on an extended tour of the United States, to-day sent the following telegram to the Irish Convention of America, which is meeting tomorrow in New York.

"In the name of the millions of India I send greetings to the Irish Convention of America with a prayer and in the hope that sorrowing and oppressed India and Ireland may yet arise together in the bonds of sisterly co-operation and overthrow completely and permanently the dominion of Great Britain in our lands.

"Toward this objective, the Irish patriots in America, with the genuine American lovers of human liberty, can assist greatly by the inauguration of an all-American campaign for rigorously boycotting all British goods and British concerns despite Governmental treaties either at Ottawa or at London. Greetings."

The idea of Indo-Irish co-operation against Britain is not a new one. As early as 1907 some Indian nationalists established close relations with Irish patriots. During the World War Irish Republicans and those Indians who believed in Indian independence co-operated in various ways. However, the most significant fact is that in 1919 as well as in 1920 President De Valera in his various speeches in the United States—especially in connection with a dinner given to him by Friends of Freedom for India in 1919 in New York City—advocated Indo-Irish co-operation against British Imperialism. Behind the policy of Indo-Irish co-operation lies the fundamental fact that both India and Ireland have grievances against Britain and it is to their interest that they should co-operate.

T. D.

Soviet Russian Statesmen Seeking A Franco-Russian Pact

Soviet Russia has already signed a neutrality pact with Poland which is an ally of France. The following Bucharest despatch of August 17 indicates the possibility of a Russo-Roumanians neutrality pact :

Bucharest, Aug. 17,—Vadja Voievod, President of the Roumanian Council of Ministers, in replying to a question in the Roumanian Parliament to-day, stated that Roumania was ready to sign a pact of non-aggression with Soviet Russia, although, according to recent declarations of Stimson, and Litvinov, the Kellogg Pact has obligatory force. Roumania, he said, held that there is no disparity in signing a pact with Russia, as this is only another aspect of the same idea.

Roumania and Poland are dependent upon French military, political as well as

financial support. Therefore it is quite conceivable that French statesmen are not opposed to neutrality pacts between Soviet Russia and Poland as well as Roumania.

On the other hand, Soviet Russian statesmen are also convinced that with the changed situation in world politics it is desirable that France and Russia should come to an understanding. The following despatch throws some interesting light on the possible developments in Franco-Russian relation :

"Kaunas, Aug. 17.—The Sovnarkom—the Union Council of the People's Commissaries—discussed today the prospects of resuming negotiations with the view of signing a Franco-Russian pact of non-aggression.

"The opinion prevails here that the Herriot Government will adopt a more reasonable attitude to the debt problem if the Soviet Government compensates France in the form of political advantages or economic benefit.

Pointing to the importance of the Russian oil contract with France, the Commissar of Finance declared that this transaction vindicated the Soviet attitude toward the Anglo-Saxon naphtha hegemony. In referring to the Ottawa Conference, Krestinsky, Assistant People's Commissar, suggested that it was only proper for other countries to follow the example of Great Britain and establish closer and more amicable relations. It was, therefore, incumbent on the Soviet Union to achieve a Franco-Russian rapprochement.

A Franco-Russian rapprochement will strengthen the position of Soviet Russia in Europe and Asia ; and it will create a new situation in Anglo-French as well as Franco-German relations.

Franco-Russian Economic Understanding.

The Times (London) of August 10 publishes the following interesting news-item :

"The French Petrofina Society announces that M. Michael Ostrovsky, manager of the Russian Naphtha Products Society, and M. Leon Wenger, manager of the Petrofina Company, to-day signed a contract in connection with a syndicate representing nine independent French petroleum refinery companies, by the terms of which the Russian company will hold the sole right of supplying Russian crude oil and petrol to the French companies during the years 1930-37 inclusive.

The contract involves the supply of 500,000 tons of crude oil and an unspecified amount of petrol per annum. The parties undertake not to cede any of the advantages comprised in the contracts to third parties without the mutual consent of the principals."

In spite of the existing unfriendly attitude of France against Soviet Russia on the

question of the Tsarist debts to France, which have been virtually repudiated by the Soviet Russian Government, there are indications of a Franco-Russian rapprochement. This is due to the fact that French economic and political position is the strongest in the continent of Europe. Furthermore Soviet Russia is rather uncertain about German policy of the future. It is a fact that a Franco-Russian economic rapprochement will have its reaction international politics, especially on Russo-Polish and Russo-Roumanian relations. In the past Franco-Russian financial co-operation served as a forerunner of a Franco-Russian alliance. What will be the reflex of a Franco-Russian economic or political understanding in Anglo-Russian relations ?

T. D.

Soviet Russian State Capitalism Seeks Foreign Financial Support

For meeting Soviet Russia's industrial and commercial needs, the Soviet Russian Government arranges for securing foreign credit. Soviet Russian Government has borrowed money from foreign banks paying high rate of interest. It has been reported that the Soviet authorities are negotiating for loans from American bankers, by offering the high rate of interest of ten per cent.

It is now reported that Russian Government bonds are sold to foreigners. A United Press despatch from Moscow dated August 13, 1932 quoted below gives the details of such transactions.

"The Russian bonds now being sold to foreigners form part of the issue which was marketed here internally. This is the loan of 3,200 million roubles entitled "Fourth conclusive year of the Piatiletka." It is issued as a portion of the current year's investments of industry, agriculture and other phases of the Piatiletka. It must be emphasized that the Soviet authorities are not floating a loan abroad, but are merely enabling foreigners to purchase bonds which were floated internally here.

The State Bank's regular banking correspondents are thus not selling the bonds on behalf of the Soviet Union. They are simply acting as agents to transfer funds for Americans, who wish to purchase directly from the State Bank. The actual transaction thus takes place in Moscow, obviating any possible technical objection to the sale of Soviet bonds in the United States. The

State Bank's regular correspondents are the Chase National Bank, the Manufacturers Trust Company, the Bank of America in San Francisco and the Amalgamated Bank of New York."

Thus, the financial experts advising think it wise to borrow money from foreigners to develop national industries. Soviet Russia is seeking foreign capital as loans in order to strengthen its financial and industrial position. Inviting and using foreign capital is not a crime, as many think; but it is not desirable to allow foreign capitalists to control national industries.

T. D.

Who is a Hindu?

The term Hindu has a varied usage. In the United States of America, as well as in France and several other countries, Hindu means a national of India. Therefore, in these lands, Indian Christians, Parsis, Muhammadans, etc., are also called Hindus.

The definition that the Hindu Mahasabha has laid down for a Hindu is not quite so broad as the above nor quite so narrow as that prescribed by the more orthodox followers of the *Varnasrama Dharma*. According to the view of the Mahasabha, whoever follows any one of the many religions originating in India is a Hindu. As such, the oldest indigenous tribes of India, *viz.*, the Santals, Kols, Bhils, etc., and the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sikhs, the Brahmos, the Arya-Samajists and all other believers in similar Indian born religions are Hindus. But those who do not accept this view and abide by the hitherto popularly accepted meaning of the term Hindu, will find it difficult to explain clearly what they understand by a Hindu, even though they could deny Hinduism to the pre-Aryans, the Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists Brahmos, Arya-Samajists, etc. "Who is a Hindu?"

This problem was once tackled several years back by taking the opinion of a large number of representative persons from various parts of India. These were published in English in book form from Allahabad and might still be available at the *Leader* office there.

All the different provincial Hindu Sabhas all over India are affiliated to the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. For this reason the

members of the provincial Hindu Sabhas,—and they constitute the largest organized Hindu opinion in India—have accepted the Mahasabha's definition of a Hindu. Some, no doubt, say that this description of a Hindu is not religious nor social but is purely political. Be that as it may, we do not think it necessary to evaluate this criticism nor point out how the followers of the different religions, brought under the single name of Hindu by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha agree fundamentally in their faith, philosophy, social system, tradition and culture. Even if one had to agree that the definition of the Hindu Mahasabha has nothing beyond a political significance, would that mean loss of greatness or honour to the "Hindus"? Diplomacy and statecraft may have dimmed the reputation of politics; but the basic nature of politics is neither low nor dishonourable. In it is expressed the same spirit of universal humanity and its urge for self-improvement as we find in the evolution of religion. Just as depraved schools of thought have not lowered thought in the eye of humanity, just as pseudo-religious practices have not blemished the purity of religion, so has diplomatic cunning and sham failed to bring disgrace to politics; for in politics we find the essence and spirit of corporate human existence.

The meaning of a Hindu as given and accepted by the Hindu Mahasabha has a special importance from the standpoint of Indian nationalism. Hindus have a special and deeper loyalty to India. We all know that, of the permanent inhabitants of India, the non-Hindus draw sustenance from the soil and atmosphere of India and dwell in houses standing on her soil. The Hindus also do the same. But those who are genuine Hindus have an extra qualification. They not only obtain nourishment and shelter for their material bodies from the Indian soil, but their entire spiritual and cultural being is nourished and sustained by the ideals, the yearnings, the ethics, the aesthetics and philosophy that have for ever been Indian. The Hindu mind does not have to search as a matter of necessity and principle beyond the borders of India for its social, religious and cultural ideals. For this

reason the Hindus, generally speaking, are more closely attached to India than those whose bodies depend on this ancient country, but whose minds and hearts usually dwell in Arabia, Persia, Europe or China.

We do not think that those Indians who have no, or have only a slight spiritual and cultural attachment and loyalty to India are inferior beings. We only think that we Hindus have both an inward as well as an outward connection with India. This happens to be our own speciality. We do not say that we are immune from the influence of foreign thought and ideals or that we wish to discard foreign philosophy and culture entirely and on principle. In fact, we Hindus indulge in no such fancy fanaticism. But in its basic structure our mind and soul rest on Indian traditions and Indian ideals.

If others are attracted solely by non-Indian forces, we have no quarrel with them. That we love our own mother intensely or even with a certain degree of exclusiveness does not mean that we look at our neighbours' mothers with eyes of contempt and hatred.

That we Hindus place India above all other countries does not signify that we think all other countries inferior. To each man the land which provides him with bodily, mental and spiritual food, the vital stability of an all round and mature inheritance and the joy of socio-cultural relations should be an object of love, admiration and staunch loyalty.

It is natural for man to feel an attachment for his own family. Through the development of wider relationships, man widens his outlook and begins to feel for the tribe, the race, the nation, all humanity or even the entire creation. But this widening of one's emotional horizon does not destroy the closer bonds of family, tribe or race. So it is that the intense love of the Hindus for India has not prevented them from feeling for the whole of humanity.

We are discussing things on the plane of ideals. In fact, one can judge only oneself, by introspection, and decide how far one is a Hindu and an Indian.

It is very amusing, how in the recent Communal Award the British have followed the example of the Hindu Mahasabha. Let us see how in allotting seats to the various

communities in Bengal the British have worked along the plan of the Mahasabha. They have reserved a large number of special seats for the foreign Christians, the Indian Christians, the Eurasian Christians and the Muhammadans. For the rest they have allotted some "General" seats. Just as the Hindu wife never utters the name of her husband's elder brother as a matter of good form, the British also have never used the term Hindu anywhere in their scheme. We Hindus are "general." In this "general" group have been placed the pre-Aryan indigenous tribes, the orthodox cast iron Hindus, the Jains, the Buddhists, the Sikhs, the Brahmos and the Arya-Samajists. That is to say, the British have, may be unconsciously, put all whom the Hindu Mahasabha have defined as Hindus into one single group. By naming this group "general" the British have, perhaps, tried to do honour to them, or, may be, insult them. We do not know which. It is possible that the name is just accidental not intentional. The word "general," according to the dictionary, means "completely or approximately universal, including or affecting all or nearly all parts; not partial, particular, local or sectional." This, at least, does not read like an insult. Let others be non-universal, partial or sectional. We have all along asked for political rights not for any narrow group or sub-group; but for everybody and for universal well-being. For this reason all Hindus should feel proud of the term "general."

"India in 1930-31"

This is the latest volume of a series which has become a familiar feature of political life in India and turns out every year to be more difficult to place than in the year before. Is the book a chronicle of events like the *Annual Register* or is it a general description of the country like the first volume of the Simon Report or the recent volume on India edited by Sir Harcourt Butler? If it is the former, then there is no place in it for the paddings of social, economic and descriptive information which adds bulk to the book, particularly for chapter III which gives nothing more than a rehashing of elementary

and judiciously selected facts about the geography, climate, population, agriculture and industry of India. And if it is the latter, why drag in the historical portions which are too brief to be of any use and too prone to conform to the standard of historical accuracy set by Government *communiqués* to command respect?

As a matter of fact, however, the book is meant to serve a very definite purpose. It has been compiled in the Publicity Department of the Government of India and, not unnaturally, it bears the stamp of its origin on every page. The very opening paragraph of the book runs as follows :

Political happenings in India during the year 1930-31 having been so exceptionally important, it might be expected that such description of them as is permissible in a publication of this kind would be found in its opening chapter. But a more indirect method of approach seems preferable ; for by describing, first, some of the major problems which have arisen out of India's increasing contacts with the rest of the world, we shall enable those readers who are comparatively unfamiliar with the affairs of this country to see the events of the year in better perspective. The plan of this chapter, therefore, will be as follows : We shall endeavour, at the outset, to trace the growth of the demand now put forward by the majority of educated Indians that the responsibility for ruling this country should be transferred from British hands to their own ; and since the existing system of Government could only have been established owing to the inability, or lack of desire, on the part of Indians to undertake the administration of the sub-continent during the last two centuries, we shall then proceed to consider how far they would be capable, unaided, of resisting external interference in their own domestic affairs at present...."

so on and so forth. The passage might be taken as the motto of the whole book. It is, in fact, written for fleeting foreign visitors, "comparatively unfamiliar with the affairs of this country," but who by reading this book are expected to become well-informed and, on going back to their country, write books and newspaper leaders against Indian aspirations.

The selection of pictures in the book is also in harmony with its spirit and scope : Mount Pandim near Darjeeling, snowy range from Bhutia *busti*, a *sadhu* on a bed of thorns, the burning ghat at Benares, an Indian crowd at a railway station, the Kumbh Mela at Allahabad, interior of the Dilwara Temple (Mount Abu), etc. One wonders why the Jain Temple of Calcutta and the tourist's other familiar friend, the wayside barber, have been left out. Were

they considered too banal to be included in a volume which is meant to be presented to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th section of the Government of India Act (5 and 6 Geo. V. ch. 61) ?

Truth in Newspapers

There is not likely to be much difference of opinion on this question. But a pamphlet issued by the Society for Socialist Inquiry and Propaganda (Manchester Branch) puts it on a firmer statistical basis, and the result is startling.

The enquirer set himself the following problem :

"How far can we rely upon the news set forth in our newspapers? To what extent does the vast aggregation of capital, intelligence, enterprise and resource centred in our national newspapers enable the reading public to receive prompt, regular, adequate and true objective information of important happenings? Are newspapers entitled by virtue of faithful service to shoulder the grave responsibility of conveying news and stating views on national or world events?"

The test case chosen by him was neither India nor Soviet Russia, on which no British paper can be expected to be truthful or fair, but the Manchurian dispute. This was a case where "public interest—and public ignorance more so, perhaps—demanded a dispassionate exposition of the menacing problems of the Far East, and there seemed to be no visible motive for ignoring the public interest." British commercial interests were not imperilled, the scene of conflict was remote, and all parties in England were presumably agreed in hoping for a peaceful and just remedy for the problem ; and on the face of it there seemed to be no call for partisan reporting.

But the actual course of the reporting turned out to be quite otherwise. Almost all the important British newspapers showed a marked bias in favour of Japan. It is impossible to quote all the facts with which the writer proves his thesis. But one case is particularly illuminating. The Manchurian dispute witnessed the rise and fall of a typical newspaper rumour. The rumour concerned the alleged dispatch of Russian troops and munitions to Manchuria. It was subsequently killed by the explicit denials of the Japanese, Chinese and Soviet authorities,

and, therefore, it is instructive to note how some of the most prominent newspapers treated the rumour and the subsequent denials.

The Times reported the rumour, using one headline; but no headline was used in its denial.

The *Daily Mail* published long and sensational dispatches from its special correspondent at Harbin that men and munitions were pouring into Manchuria from Soviet Russia, that Russian sappers and portions of the 7th and 9th Soviet Railway Corps were operating along the Chinese Eastern Railway, that a shock brigade of the Bolsheviks, equipped with machine guns and supported by a Chinese cavalry corps, had made a surprise attack, etc., but it ignored the denial entirely.

The Daily Express also gave long circumstantial reports of Russian intervention under big headlines, but only slipped in five lines about the denials at the end of an article dealing with the Tsitsihar fighting and that in a sentence mainly devoted to discounting their value.

The moral which the enquirer draws is as follows :

"However ill written, tendencious and recklessly inaccurate our popular press may be, it has one other quality which is seemingly unimpaired by any others, namely, the power to impress the minds of millions of patient, uncritical readers. Anyone who has the welfare of democracy at heart will read an ugly message in the facts and figures presented in this pamphlet. Indeed, the very existence of democracy is imperilled by a system which makes the "consumer" of news the instrument of his own corruption."

Methods of Civilized Warfare on the North-West Frontier

As announced in the last issue of *The Modern Review*, we are publishing this month an article on the "Military Background of the Third Afghan War." This will enable our readers to judge the truth of the official statement that this war was an act of unjustifiable aggression on the part of the Amir. Meanwhile, we should like to elaborate one point which has only been casually referred to by the writer. Among the various means of inducing a submissive mood in the Afghans and Pathans, he mentions the des-

truction of villages as one of the most effective. Our readers have possibly no idea at all how the thing is done, never having seen a village burnt or seen it burnt in a deplorably perfunctory and inefficient manner. The following extract from an official handbook describing the British method of destroying villages on the North-West Frontier, therefore, may not prove to be entirely devoid of interest for them :

"Demolitions in warfare on the North-West Frontier of India consist mainly of the destruction of towers and villages.

"Demolition parties require ample equipment, tools and explosives.

"The first step is to demolish all towers and prepare houses for burning.

"The best method of destroying towers is to bury a charge of explosives in the base. The number of pounds of guncotton is given by the length in feet of the side of tower (in square towers), or the diameter of the tower (in round towers), *plus* 4 pounds.

"Unless all woodwork is completely destroyed, houses are quickly rebuilt. The best method is to blow out two corners, or, if time does not permit of this, to knock holes in the roof or walls to create a draught. Straw or brush-wood, etc., soaked with oil should then be placed inside the houses.

"When the whole area has been prepared the firing should be carried out systematically, the firers moving up wind."

Viceroy's Speech Before the Assembly

Lord Willingdon's speech before the Legislative Assembly on September 5 last was the orthodox performance usual on such occasions. But it could not hide the realities of the British attitude towards India under a mass of verbiage. Though the Viceroy did not perhaps intend it, yet his speech made it abundantly clear that what he meant by co-operation was co-operation with the British, who were our masters, and that it was also his conviction that there was no salvation for India except through this co-operation.

It is possible to refute every argument in his speech. One portion of it, particularly, has been answered more than once by us as well as others in the comments on the official accounts published with the object of justifying the denial of an unconditional interview to Mahatma Gandhi. But every British official in India possesses the quality immortalized by Goldsmith: like the village school-master, "even though vanquished he could argue still."

In fact, this class of people are so enamoured of their own infallibility, that they do not, in all probability, read the Indian refutations of their statements. But that need not deter us from doing our duty. What we have to say will be read by our countrymen and, through the inadvertence of our masters perhaps, reach the outside world as well.

But the Viceroy will not get two of the most effective rejoinders that can be made to him, in the first place because those at whom his speech is directed, that is to say, the Congress leaders, are now almost all in jail; and those who have been released have either left the country or are awaiting their second term in prison in broken health. Even if they replied there is no one to publish their rejoinders. The Press laws effectively guarantee that. The same instrumentality muzzles others who are not Congress men. Secondly, a satisfactory and convincing reply to the Viceroy would require reference to subjects which are now under a ban in India. It is impossible to deal with many points raised in the Viceroy's speech without going into the agrarian dispute in the United Provinces and the history of the Red Shirt movement in the North-West Frontier Province. But the book published by the Congress on the first question and Father Verrier Elwin's account of the Frontier disturbances have both been proscribed. These examples are not an encouragement to the truth-seeker in India.

One of the most peculiar features of this speech is its inconsistency. The Viceroy claims that the Ordinance policy has "met with a remarkable success" and in the next breath announces that this regime is to become a permanent feature of the Indian administration because he cannot "suggest for a moment that the civil disobedience movement is finished." His exact words are :

I do not wish to suggest for a moment that the civil disobedience movement is finished or that it does not still remain a very definite menace against which we cannot afford to relax our precautions. The Congress is an extensive organization which commands even outside its own ranks a certain degree of sympathy among many of the educated classes. It is still pledged to the policy of civil disobedience and is doing what it can to maintain the struggle. It would be rash to prophesy how long it will be before the Congress

leaders realize or at any rate bring themselves to acknowledge openly that they have failed, but to us it is by this time abundantly clear that the movement cannot succeed so long as Government maintains its existing policy.

Even the *Liberal Servant of India* makes the following comment on this part of the speech :

If the Government policy has not succeeded in driving the Congress to abandon its civil disobedience programme, if the movement can be kept down only by martial law disguised as Ordinance, if an emergency has only been prolonged into a permanent feature of the political situation the end of which even the Government cannot foresee, if the educated classes, who certainly are in a better position to appraise the significance of the civil disobedience movement than the masses, have not been weaned away from entertaining sympathy for the Congress, and have not been persuaded to support the Government in their attempt to put down the movement, and if this is claimed as "a remarkable degree of success" for Government's policy, we should like to know what failure would look like.

We must now pass on to the Viceroy's comparison and contrast between the constitutional policy of the Government and the methods of the Congress. He has called civil disobedience "a perpetual menace to orderly Government and individual liberty," implying of course, that the Ordinance regime was pre-eminently suited to foster both. He says :

"The leaders of the Congress believe in what is generally known as direct action which is an example of the application of the philosophy of force to the problem of politics.

Soul force to which the Congress appeals is not force in the usual sense of the word. If the latter meaning is accepted, then the words of the Viceroy would more properly be applied to the Administration than to the Congress.

Lord Willingdon again says :

"Government should be based on argument and reason and on the wishes of the people as constitutionally expressed."

Quite true and obvious. But it is at the same time no less true that the wishes of the Indian people have been repeatedly and insistently expressed on numerous occasions. If the British Parliament or those who call themselves its agents in India had paid any heed to those wishes and placed their own Government on the basis of argument and

reason the present situation would not have arisen at all.

Lord Willingdon's idea of what the Congress stands for is elaborated in the following passage of his speech :

"I do not think I do the Congress an injustice when I say that their policy and their methods are directed to securing their objects not by persuasion but by coercion. The Government on the one hand, the mass of the people on the other, are to be forced and intimidated into doing what the Congress consider is right. The fact that the force applied is, as a rule, not physical force in no way alters the essential characteristics of the attitude which at the present moment inspires the Congress policy. Their aim is to impose their will on those who do not agree with them."

There is something comical—we find it difficult to resist the temptation to use a harder word—in the head of the present administration in India bringing forward the reproach of coercion against the Congress or for that matter anybody. That Lord Willingdon's Government has never tried to impose its will on anybody is, of course, proved by the numerous extraordinary legislative measures with whose help India is ruled today. But for the Congress it may without any qualms be said that there is no political organization or party in India, far less the Government, which has a tithe of its claim to represent the people and voice their aspirations. There is no organization or party, too, in India, which stands for the interest of the mass of the Indian people to anything like the degree to which the Congress does. If Lord Willingdon wants to prove the truth of this assertion he has only to follow his own precepts and take a referendum with the object of ascertaining the wishes of the people of India.

Referring to the Communal Award the Viceroy said :

It is natural that, when a decision is given on a question which has been the subject of such acute controversy among the various communities for so long a period, discussion will proceed on the assumption that each community will form in each Provincial Legislature a self-contained and homogeneous unit pursuing its interests in opposition to every other community. To my mind this is a profound misconception of the developments to which we may look forward under a system of self-government. A government has to deal with the practical problems of the advancement and prosperity of its people. The people are not in their ordinary lives divided in exclusive communal compartments. They have the most varied relations

with each other and these relations develop a series of interests and objects which are bound to cut across the purely communal outlook. I would, therefore, suggest to those who are looking at self-government in India as a problem of the *Raj* of one community or of another to reflect that in practice this is not a natural development. And I would urge them rather to contemplate as a more probable picture of the future a grouping of parties on the basis of economic or other non-communal interests.

Here again is a puzzle for us. If the Viceroy really believes in what he says one wonders why he and his Government have been responsible for an electoral system which would nip in the bud the very ideal he so eloquently puts before us.

The concluding portions of Lord Willingdon's speech are devoted to the third Round Table Conference and its suggested procedure. We have no observations to offer on these questions. Having never possessed any faith in the *édition de luxe* of the thing, we do not feel inclined to anchor our hopes on its pocket edition.

Communal Award, Slavery and Democracy

If one nation, by successful warfare or by some other means, manages to bring another nation under its dominance, this fact of domination does not, by its mere existence, stand justified morally. Still, this method of establishing the power of one nation over another has been employed right through history and is still being employed by the so-called highly moral, just and civilized nations. Successful war is still the measuring rod by which masters and slaves are determined among nations, and the ruling nations are still accepted everywhere as *rightful* rulers so long as the ruled do not turn the table on them by successful warfare. (Such warfare is called rebellion at first, but, when successful, it becomes war *e. g.*, the American War of Independence). The ethical and logical aspects of this matter need not be discussed any further here. It can surely be asserted that the complete domination of one group of normal human beings by another, howsoever brought about, is contrary to ethics and justice. Such a state of affairs is comparable to the now defunct institution of slavery. All over the

civilized world public opinion considers slavery well dead and well buried. But what is the reason that led civilized humanity to discard slavery, if not entirely, at least on the surface of things? That slaves were cunningly enticed or forcefully brought away from their own homes and were sold often to harsh and cruel masters was one of the root causes of the disappearance of open and acknowledged slavery from the modern world. But not all slave owners treated their slaves with cruelty and heartlessness.

Therefore, another and the fundamental argument against slavery is that it lowered humanity to the level of beasts by buying and selling men against their will and rendered the well-being and life of the slaves subservient to their masters' whims. Slaves could change ownership in the same way as cattle or dogs and they were deprived of the human right of free will, of self-improvement, of ideals and responsible conduct. Could one call a thing like this moral or just? Could it enable even the slave owners to keep their manhood unstained? It tainted the buyer as well as the bought. At the present time all the provinces of India are under the British. If someone asked them, "Why are you ruling such and such provinces?" they would answer, "Oh, we have conquered them." It is called the "right of conquest" in the Western catalogue of rights and wrongs. Whether such a "right" is truly a right need not be discussed here. But this is certain that according to this military ethics if a third party came along and by successful warfare conquered both Britain and India, that third party will, by right of conquest, become the master of both countries.

At the present moment the British are talking about granting self-rule to India. The sort of self-rule they are granting will keep their overlordship intact. Indians will not have the final say in any matter of vital importance. The provincial legislatures may assume the nature of glorified Union Boards or municipalities and the self-ruling Indians may resemble a slave carrying his master's luggage, who is free to carry the weight on either shoulder according to his own choice as well as decide himself which

road he will follow or what food he will eat during the journey. The master would not interfere in these matters so long as he carried the luggage to its proper destination. Leaving aside however the nature of the self-rule that India will get let us assume that it will be real self-rule. Even then, the way the British are distributing political rights among the Indians, *i.e.*, on the communal basis, is making the latter in their political aspect similar to the slaves who used to be bought and sold in the open market in former times.

In the different provinces of India Muhammadans predominate in some and the Hindus in others. In such provinces as show a Hindu majority even though the Muhammadans have been given seats far in excess of their actual proportion to the total population, the Hindus will be in an effective majority. Those Hindus who will occupy the majority of seats in the legislatures of these provinces will be elected entirely by non-Muhammadans; but they will, nevertheless, govern the Muhammadans of the province. The significance of this will be that in these provinces Muhammadans will be governed by people in whose election they will have no voice. That is to say, in these provinces the British will have placed the Muhammadans in the hands of the Hindus, although in these provinces the Hindus can claim no right of conquest over the Muhammadans.

Similarly, in some other provinces, the Muhammadans are in a majority and as such will have undisputed sway in the legislatures of the provinces. They will elect Muhammadan legislators from amongst themselves and place them in power in the legislatures without any reference to Hindu opinion. In fact, in these strongly Muhammadan provinces, the British will have put all the Hindus in the hands of the Muhammadans by means of separate electorates and communal distribution of seats. The Muhammadans have not conquered these provinces from the British nor from the Hindus. Therefore, this handing over of the Hindus to the Muhammadans without voice or choice is comparable to the sale of slaves to masters by dealers who perhaps are stronger than both the buyers

and the bought and enter into the game solely with a view to profiteering. Those Muhammadans who say "Give us to rule over the Hindus in some provinces and we shall give the Hindus to rule over the Muhammadans in some others," may be asked, "Who gave you the right to sell the Muhammadans to the Hindus in the predominantly Hindu provinces? Who again gave the Muhammadans the right to submit the Hindus to irresponsible government in the provinces where the Muhammadans are in a majority? The fact is that the minority Hindus or the minority Muhammadans are neither cattle nor slaves that the British might hand them over to the tyranny of irresponsible rule by another community.

Some say if communal electorates and reservation of seats were done away with and joint electorates established instead, the Hindus would occupy the majority of seats in the Central Legislature and the whole of India will be ruled by Hindus. There is a serious mistake in such a view. With a joint electorate and general allotment of seats, the elected members will be responsible for the well-being of all, irrespective of their own religious views. With the destruction of the communal outlook, the political representatives will be elected on account of their fitness to do good to all and not because they belonged to a particular sect, so that, very naturally, the proportion of members of particular religious views in the legislatures will not always be any index to the numerical-strength of the communities in the various provinces. And a majority community may not always find a majority of their own sect in the legislature. Democracy is more real than communalism, for, after all, the important issues of a nation's political life are not religious. Therefore, democracy can always overcome communal narrowness. In England, the U. S. A., and elsewhere there exist different religious groups. But no one ever counts the proportion of Catholics, Protestants or Jews in the legislatures of these countries. The ministries in these countries are formed according to the strength of the various political parties. One party may be in a majority for some time, but, unless their ministry show ability to do good to the country they may lose their power in the

next election, so that there is no risk of a government for ever by an everlasting majority of any group without reference to their honesty, ability or ideals. It is easier for men to change over from one party to another than from one religion to another. So democracy cannot exist where majorities are based on non-political standards such as religion, complexion, language or race.

In a system of joint electorates the members of the legislatures will be elected not only by their co-religionists but by everybody and they will be responsible to everybody. They will thus think it worth while to behave in such a way as would enable them to secure votes from all communities and not only from their own. As a result, persons of extreme communal views will be open to defeat by more liberal and abler persons. The communities will be replaced by parties which will be composed of members of all religions. Parties will gain or lose support according as they benefit the nation by their activity. The present desire for communal "safe-guards" is born of jealousy, fear, suspicion and covetousness. Taking advantage of this "opening" the British are "awarding" some power to each and every community, but actually depriving the community of communities—the nation, of any real power.

If we could have real democracy in India, even a small community in a given area may turn out a large number of able men to act as legislators and officials. Merit being the criterion, smaller groups everywhere will not give up all hope as they would when branded as an eternal minority, and everybody and every group will attempt self-improvement. With communal government each community will work only for its own good and none for the common or national good. This fact alone should condemn this most infamous of political inventions.

With real democratic elections there is every chance that at least in Bengal and the Punjab Hindus will remain most of the time, even permanently, a minority in the legislature. Still, the Hindu Sabhas of these provinces have voiced their opinion favouring joint electorates. The

Hindus do not wish slavery to be revived in the Indian political world. They do not wish to possess unnatural and unjust power over others, nor would they give up their own rights anywhere to others. In no country can there be different communities of exactly equal numerical strength. Not even the worst of tyrants can force the different communities to assume this sort of equality. Therefore, one or other community will always be larger in number. In such circumstances true non-religious democratic politics is the only solution. Selfish exploitation of the minorities would surely break up the nation, and that would bring disaster to all. Though we have been under the British for a long time we have not yet lost our manhood to that extent as to agree to being treated politically like slaves who could be forced to change masters at any time without protestation.

The Intra-communal Hindu Settlement

On the 24th September last the following settlement was arrived at between the Hindu leaders acting on behalf of the "depressed" class Hindus and some prominent leaders of the Hindu community regarding representation of the "depressed" classes in the legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare :

(1) There shall be seats reserved for the Depressed Classes out of the general electorates. Seats in the Provincial Legislatures shall be distributed as follows :

Madras	... 30
Bombay with Sind	... 15
Punjab	... 8
Bihar & Orissa	... 18
Central Provinces	... 20
Assam	... 7
Bengal	... 30
United Provinces	... 20

Total 148

These figures are based on the total strength of the provincial councils as announced in the Prime Minister's decision.

METHOD OF ELECTION

(2) Election to these seats shall be by joint electorates subject, however, to the following procedure: All members of the Depressed Classes registered in the general electoral roll of any constituency will form an "Electoral College" which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the Depressed Classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of single vote and four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be candidates for election by the general electorate.

(3) Representation of the Depressed Classes in

the Central Legislature shall likewise be on the principle of joint electorates with reserved seats by method of primary election in the manner provided for in clause 2 above mentioned for their representation in provincial legislatures.

(4) In the Central Legislature 18 per cent of the seats allotted to the general electorate for British India in the said legislature shall be reserved for the Depressed Classes.

(5) The system of primary election for the panel of candidates for election to the Central and Provincial Legislature as hereinbefore mentioned shall come to an end after the first ten years unless terminated sooner by mutual agreement under the provision of clause 6 below.

(6) System of representation of the Depressed Classes by reserved seats in the Provincial and Central Legislatures as provided for in clauses 1 and 4 shall continue until determined by mutual agreement between the communities concerned in this settlement.

(7) The franchise for the Central and Provincial Legislatures for the Depressed Classes shall be as indicated in the Lothian Committee Report.

(8) There shall be no disabilities attaching to anyone on the ground of his being a member of the Depressed Classes in regard to any elections to local bodies or appointment to public services. Every endeavour shall be made to secure fair representation of the Depressed Classes in these respects subject to such educational qualifications as may be laid down for appointment to public services.

(9) In every province out of educational grant an adequate sum shall be earmarked for providing educational facilities to members of the Depressed Classes.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain has accepted this settlement so far as it relates to the representation of the "depressed" classes in the provincial legislatures. As for the rest, the attitude of the British Government will be clear from the following statement made in the Assembly on the 26th September by Mr. Haig, the Home Member :

"His Majesty's Government have learnt with great satisfaction that an agreement had been reached between the leaders of the Depressed Classes and the rest of the Hindu community regarding the representation of the depressed classes in the new legislatures and certain other matters affecting their welfare, in place of the system of general constituencies combined with the special depressed class constituencies which was contained in the Government's Communal Award of the 4th of August last. The agreement provides for general constituencies within which seats are reserved for the depressed classes subject to important condition as to the manner in which the reserved seats are to be filled up. The Government in their award which was given in the absence of any agreement between the communities, were solely concerned in relation to the depressed classes to provide adequate securities so that the interests of these classes should be safeguarded by the new legislatures."

As the representatives of the Depressed Classes and other Hindus acting together believe that the scheme now forwarded by them to His Majesty's Government is adequate for that purpose, the Government, in accordance with the procedure which they laid down in paragraph 4 of their award, will recommend to Parliament in due course the adoption of the clauses of the agreement dealing with representation in the provincial legislatures in place of the provisions in paragraph 9 of the award.

It will be understood that the total number of general seats including those reserved for the depressed classes under the agreement will, in each province, remain the same as the number of general seats plus the number of special depressed class seats provided for in His Majesty's Government's decision.

His Majesty's Government note that the agreement deals also with certain questions outside the scope of the award of August 4 last. Clauses 8 and 9 deal with general points, the realization of which will be likely to depend, in the main, on the actual working of the constitution. But His Majesty's Government take note of these clauses as a definite pledge of the intentions of the caste Hindus towards the depressed classes.

There are two other points outside the scope of their award *viz.*, (1) the agreement contemplates that the franchise of the depressed classes should be that recommended by the Franchise (Lord Lothian's) Committee. It is obvious that the level of the franchise for the depressed classes and indeed for Hindus generally must be determined at the same time when that for other communities is settled. The whole subject is under consideration by His Majesty's Government.

(2) The agreement also provides for a particular method of electing depressed class representatives for the legislature at the Centre. This again is a subject outside the terms of this award which is under investigation as part of the whole scheme for election to the legislature at the Centre, and no piecemeal conclusion can be reached. What has been said on these two points should not be regarded as implying that His Majesty's Government are against what is proposed in the Agreement but that these questions are still under consideration. To prevent misunderstanding, it may be explained that the Government regard the figure of 18 per cent, out of the general seats for British India at the Centre to be reserved for the depressed classes as a matter for settlement between them and other Hindus.

The settlement should obviously be considered primarily from the point of view of the "depressed" classes, they being the aggrieved party. For, Hindu social polity subjects them to certain disabilities in religious and social matters. It should be noted, however, that it is the Hindu reformers who have been doing most to remove these disabilities.

Looking at the settlement from the point of view of the "depressed" classes, it will be seen that their own Hindu

countrymen have given them in the provincial legislatures more than double the seats allotted to them by the British Government. That we should be more just and considerate to our own countrymen than foreigners is only natural, and, therefore, not a thing to be proud of. But those articulate "depressed" class men who have hitherto suspected the attitude and intentions of the "caste" Hindus should note what the British Government gave and what the Hindu community as a whole has agreed to give them. It should also be noted that the British Government made no promises to the "depressed" classes relating to seats in the Central Legislature, appointments in the public services, and educational facilities. The intra-communal Hindu settlement has supplied these omissions.

The Prime Minister's "settled fact" has been unsettled to some extent.

Mahatma Gandhi has all along been against the reservation of seats and separate electorates for any section of the Hindus, as both must have a disruptive effect on Hindu society. But in the course of the negotiations he agreed to reservation of seats for the "depressed" classes as a temporary measure of compromise. So, from his point of view, nothing can be said against this feature of the settlement. Nor do we object to the reservation of seats for our brethren for a time. But the settlement would have been more satisfactory from the democratic and national point of view, if a definite period had been fixed at the end of which such reservation would automatically terminate. In this respect the British Government's decision was more satisfactory from the national and democratic point of view, as according to that decision all and every special arrangement relating to the "depressed" classes were to terminate in twenty years at the latest. It should, however, be noted that so far as the "depressed" classes are concerned, as regards the duration of the reservation of seats the settlement is more considerate to them than the British Government's decision. For, according to the settlement, reservation will not come to an end until and unless they agree to its termination.

The prolongation of the reservation of seats is disadvantageous not merely from the national and democratic point of view, but from the point of view of the progress and welfare of the "depressed" classes themselves. Reservation is a prop. The sooner every section of the population can do without props, the better. Crutches are for the lame. If and when men can walk without crutches, to accustom them to walk with their help is to render them no service but a disservice. No class of the people can or will make the utmost effort to be equal to every other class, so long as it knows that even if it is less fit and capable than others, it can have certain rights and privileges.

Moreover, so long as there is reservation, mutual distrust and suspicion between the two sections of the Hindus will be in evidence. The earlier both such inner want of mutual confidence and its external signs disappear, the better for the Hindu community. The Hindus must attain solidarity within the minimum period.

As regards separate electorate for the "depressed" classes, to which also Mahatma Gandhi was opposed, this objectionable thing is in part a feature of the settlement in an indirect form. For under it the "depressed" classes themselves and they alone are to elect a panel of four persons for every seat allotted to them, and joint election is to come into play only in electing one out of these four. It is satisfactory, however, that this feature of the settlement will disappear automatically in ten years at the longest.

Compromises cannot be completely satisfactory. Whatever flaws the settlement may have, it would be within the power of the Hindu community to remedy. We rejoice that it has enabled Mahatma Gandhi to break his fast.

Seats for the "Depressed" in Bengal

Before proceeding to the Bombay leaders' conference Dr. Moonje made a public statement that he was ready to give the "depressed" classes cent per cent of the Hindu seats. He telephoned to us for our opinion. We, too, agreed. If, therefore, we say that it was unnecessary in Bengal to reserve 30 "general" or Hindu seats for the

"depressed" castes, it is not because we do not want them to be returned to the Council in full strength. What we have to say is that "untouchability" is perhaps least in evidence in Bengal. It is certainly not as rampant in Bengal as in Madras. Yet the settlement gives to the "depressed" classes 30 seats both in Madras and Bengal. In Bengal many of those whom Government have classed as depressed refuse to be so styled. Many of these castes do not stand in need of crutches like reservation of seats and separate electorates. At present, out of them, there are three Namasudra M. L. C.s in the Bengal Council. The following castes also have, some time or other, secured representation through election by joint electorates: Koch, Rajbansi, Pod, Chamar, Methar, Dosadh, Mahisya, and Chasadhoba. As it is not easy to ascertain the castes of all the M. L. C.s in the earlier Bengal councils, it may be that other "depressed" castes have secured representation through joint election. According to the "Indian Contributor" of *The Statesman*, there are at present fifteen "depressed" class jointly-elected representatives in the present Bengal Legislative Council in 15 out of the 46 general Hindu seats. That is why we say that the reservation of 30 Hindu or "general" seats out of 80 in Bengal for the "depressed" is not at all necessary. We have to observe here that it is not we who call these castes "depressed," but the Government.

Hindu Mahasabha on the Communal "Award"

The Hindu Mahasabha at its Delhi session has passed the following resolution on the so-called "award" of the British Cabinet on the communal question:

1. This session of the all-India Maha Sabha strongly condemns the communal decision of the British Government on the following among other grounds:

(1) That it maintains and extends separate communal electorates against all canons of democratic, responsible and representative Government which the British Government are pledged to establish in India.

(2) That it belies the Prime Minister's own declaration at the House of Commons on 19th January 1931, emphatically condemning communal electorates and weighted representation as giving

no room for "National Political Organization or party."

(3) That it flouts the unanimous opinion of the vast Hindu community, of the Sikhs, of important section of Muslims, Christians, Depressed classes and also the women of India in favour of joint electorates.

(4) That it practically forces separate communal electorates on unwilling Hindu minorities in the Punjab and Bengal.

(5) That it even extends separate electorates to women against their agreed demands to the contrary.

(6) That in the name of protection of minorities it has only granted protection to Muslims whether they form majority or minority, while not only no protection has been granted to Hindu minorities but they have even been deprived of a part of their representation which they were entitled on the basis of their population.

(7) That it gives differential treatment of minorities favouring Muslim and European minorities in that

(a) it adds an artificial and arbitrary weightage in representation to Muslim minorities ;

(b) it reduces the representation of the Hindu minorities of Bengal and Punjab below that they are entitled to on the basis of their proportion to the population ;

(c) it denied to the Sikhs the weightage of representation which it grants to Muslim minority under similar conditions.

(d) it grants to Europeans and Anglo-Indian minorities a weightage of representation which is grossly out of proportion to their strength and population ;

(e) it reduces the representation of the Hindu minorities of Bengal and Punjab to what is flagrantly out of proportion to their contribution in taxation and to the culture, charitable benefaction, progress of the respective provinces ;

(f) it destroys the communal equipoise of the Lucknow Pact which was an agreed solution for the time being and which was endorsed even by the Simon Commission.

8. That the communal decision is not the award of an arbitrator to which the party concerned are committed but it is the decision of the British Government.

9. That the contention that an agreed Indian solution of the communal problem, is not forthcoming is unwarrantable inasmuch as :

(a) The problem was at its origin, the creation of the Government itself.

(b) Its solution has been obstructed by conditions created by the Government such as publication of Government of India's despatch practically conceding in advance almost all the demands of the Muslims and exclusion of Nationalist Muslims from the R. T. C.

10. That therefore as circumstances favourable to agreed solution do not exist, the Hindu Mahasabha in accordance with previous resolutions recommends that the communal problem of India be settled on the lines of the international communal award on all-India basis as embodied in minorities guarantee treaties to which His Majesty's Government and the Government of India are already committed as parties and signatories and which in the words of Mr. Henderson now form a part of the Public Law of Europe and of the world, guarantee-

ing full protection to minorities, linguistic, cultural educational and religious, but not through separate communal electorates and the Hindu Mahasabha invites all other communities to stand for this international communal award as their agreed solution of the communal problem formulated by the highest arbitral body of the world.

That in case the communal award is not suitably modified within a reasonable period the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindus to take all steps necessary both in legislature and outside for frustrating the object of the Anglo-Muslim alliance on which it is based, and directs the Working Committee to prepare a programme of work to give effect to it.

Hindu Mahasabha's Plan of Action

The Hindu Mahasabha at a meeting held in camera authorized Dr. Moonje to formulate a programme of action for fighting the communal "award."

Dr Moonje, in course of an interview to the Free Press, made the following statement :

The Hindu Mahasabha is thoroughly dissatisfied and indignant over the communal award which is undemocratic and denationalizing. We are evolving a plan in consultation with the Sikhs for frustrating the decision of the British Government and are organizing forces which will cheerfully undergo sacrifices and mobilize public opinion in condemnation of the communal award.

"As to the removal of untouchability every Hindu organization will be requested to organize congregations in which caste Hindus would fraternize with their so-called untouchables. These demonstrations would show that untouchability is buried for ever"

The Hindu Mahasabha has also passed a resolution condemning untouchability.

The British Press on Mahatma's Achievement

The Free Press Beam Service sends the following cable from London :

London, Sept. 26.

The *Morning Post* in an editorial under the caption "Under the Mango Tree" remarks sarcastically that they admire the way Mahatma plays his cards but adds : "That does not alter their conviction that he is an astute and implacable enemy of the British in India and we cannot rejoice to see him score so easy and obvious a point."

The Provincial Hindu Conference, Malda

The Provincial Hindu Conference was held at Malda in Bengal this year. The session lasted two days from the 17th September to the 18th. The attendance was very large

and included representatives of almost all the so-called backward classes as well as of Sonthals and other aboriginal tribes. It passed many resolutions relating to social reform, such as abolition of untouchability, child marriage, the dowry system etc., and promotion of widow and inter-caste marriage, all of which received enthusiastic support. In the presidential speech which the Editor of this Review had to deliver, he dealt with all the important questions concerning Hindu society at the present time, particularly the communal "award" and Mahatma's fast. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments of these portions of the speech as what he had to say has been published in the pages of this Review both in this and previous issues.

But we might summarize here what he said about some questions specially concerning Bengal.

"He said that the Government was responsible for the decline of the Hindu population in Bengal, because they had neglected irrigation in West Bengal districts which were inhabited principally by Hindus and transferred many Bengali-speaking areas to other provinces; they were also deriving the greater amount of the land revenue from West Bengal districts, though East Bengal districts were admittedly more fertile.

The reputation of Bengal for educational, scientific and cultural achievements is principally due to the efforts of Bengali Hindus. The majority of the educational and philanthropic institutions of Bengal are dependent on Hindu endowments. Industry and manufacture, so far as they are in Indian hands in Bengal, are in the hands of the Hindus. The constitutional advance that has been made so far has been almost entirely through Hindu effort. In spite all these facts, in the distribution of seats in the Council Bengali Hindus have got only 80 seats out of 250, and of these 10 are reserved for the "depressed" classes.

In conclusion, he emphasized the necessity of carrying out a comprehensive programme of social reform in order to eradicate the evils which were a source of weakness for the Bengali Hindus. Among these he specially singled out the dowry system, widowhood of young women, illiteracy of women, prostitution of Hindu women, crimes against womanhood in Bengal and the decline of the Hindu peasantry and artisan classes. He recommended intercaste marriage as one of the possible solutions of the dowry system and called for stronger measures and greater energy in dealing with the crimes evil. He suggested to the Hindu Mahasabha to popularize ancient Indian literature and archaeology, and, in the end, supported the claims of the minority communities for a full safeguarding of their religious, linguistic and cultural interests without constituting them into separate political communities at war with the major element in the State.

Hindu Mahasabha Presidential Address

The Hindu Mahasabha has no particular political creed so far as the *method* of winning swaraj is concerned. This is, of course, our own personal opinion; for the Mahasabha has among its members men of very different shades of political opinion. Therefore, when in his able presidential address, which we are sorry we have no space or time to notice, Mr. N. C. Kelkar has declared against boycotting the Councils in the future constitution of India as foreshadowed in the communal "award", his position is not to be taken as that of the Mahasabha itself. According to the last paragraph of the Mahasabha resolution on the communal "award", its Working Committee will, if necessary, devise some means for frustrating the "award." As in Mr. Kelkar's opinion, which we do not consider unreasonable, working under a constitution is not working the constitution, he has, perhaps in view some plan of "responsive co-operation."

As Others See Us

Modern History by Professors Hayes and Moon of the Columbia University, a popular text-book for secondary schools and colleges, has run through several editions. It is printed in the United States and published by the Macmillan Company of New York. The latest edition, from which the following extracts have been taken, was brought out last year (1931). The narrative has been brought down to the year 1930. The authors claim that the book has been written with a view that the reader may get a clear picture of the whole landscape and may know the really significant facts and people.

Perhaps this accounts for the fact that, though this volume of 900 odd pages is profusely illustrated, and portions of some chapters are devoted to the history of India from the foundation of the East India Company onwards, the only two persons whose portraits are given in this connection are Lord Clive, the founder of the British Empire, and Mahatma Gandhi. None of the

worthies whose statues adorn the *maidan* of Calcutta, and whose pictures figure prominently in Indian school text-books on history are to be found in the picture gallery of the *Modern History*. The authors even resisted the temptation of using the brilliant gallery of portraits of which the Victoria Memorial Hall is full. Instead, they prefer the 'naked Indian fakir,' but they have dressed him in the European costume which he used to wear in his unregenerate days, probably as a concession to Western susceptibilities (which however find nothing objectionable in the dress worn by modern European ladies), and not in the habiliments in which he attended the *darbar* of His Majesty the King in London.

We make a present of the following passages from the book to our readers, adding or omitting nothing :

Progress of India :

Under British rule, the inhabitants of India made considerable progress in European civilization. Railways and highways were built, irrigation works constructed, cotton and jute mills erected. People of different races and religions were taught, or compelled, to live side by side in peace. The laws were codified and brought into harmony with English ideas of justice. The government forbade widows to practise the old custom of *suttee*, that is, of burning themselves to death as a sign of devotion to their deceased husbands. Furthermore, several universities and a large number of schools were established, although, of course, Great Britain's primary reason for ruling India was to promote British business, not Indian education.

[In describing the progress of Siam, the authors write on page 675 as follows : "Siam today has a larger number of people able to read and write, and a larger number of children attending school, in proportion to her population, than India."]

The movement for Home Rule :

One thing the upper classes of India learned more or less against the will of the British. The young men who studied in European and American universities learned to desire for India the liberties and the right of self-government which European nations prized so highly. Returning home, they founded newspapers and organized societies to work for India's freedom. These advocates of self-government, the so-called Indian "Nationalists," grew more and more insistent in demanding home rule for India. As a concession to this plea, Great Britain allowed the natives to elect some of the members of a council, which had no power except to offer advice to the Viceroy ; in most of the provinces, also, similar advisory councils were established, consisting partly of elected representatives and partly of persons appointed by the British administration.

When this concession failed to satisfy the Nationalists, the British authorities censored the press, forbade "seditious" meetings, and severely punished all conspiracies or insurrections.

[Regarding the Sepoy Mutiny the authors observe on page 670 : "To prevent the repetition of such an outbreak, thousands of the captured rebels were shot down in cold blood, others were shot from the mouths of cannon, and the native emperor was exiled. India had received one lesson—rebellion is dangerous."]

British objections to Indian Home Rule :

By 1914 the Indian upper classes had learned more of national patriotism and of the desire for national self-determination than Great Britain approved. The British wanted to keep India for business reasons. Besides, self-government would be injurious, they said, because India was not yet ready for it. India was a big country, with 315,000,000 inhabitants lacking experience in self-government, and badly divided in religion, race, and language. In religion, about two-thirds were Hindus and one-fifth Muhammadans, whilst the others were divided among Buddhism, Christianity, primitive spirit-worship, and other religions. By race most of the people were Aryans (that is, white men similar to the Europeans), but a large minority came of different stock. Of languages there were more than a hundred. Besides, even among Hindus speaking the same tongue and worshipping the same gods there were social divisions too serious to be bridged with ease ; the social distinctions between the various "castes" or classes among the Hindus are celebrated all over the world for their extraordinary rigidity. A Hindu of high caste would consider it a sin to touch a low-caste person. Because of these religions, racial, linguistic, and caste divisions, India if left to herself would fall into chaos and anarchy, said the British. On the other hand, the Indian Nationalists declared they could govern themselves better than England could govern them. Such was the perplexing result of India's lessons in European civilization. She was willing to discharge her teacher.

[After the Great War, England established a Legislative Assembly and a Council of State to make laws for India, subject to British approval, and with many restrictions. Nevertheless the Indian agitation for self-government grew more and more powerful under the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi. Gandhi urged his followers to use peaceful methods : they should refuse to co-operate in any way with the British Government but they should not employ violence. Gandhi and a number of other leaders were imprisoned by the British authorities, but the agitation continued.] (Pages 670-673.)

India's plea for "Swaraj" :

In India the plea of the Nationalists for "swaraj" (self-government) was so strong that the British Government attempted to satisfy it in 1919 by a compromise. In each province the upper classes were allowed to elect a legislature which would have control over certain departments of the local government, such as education and public health. A central legislature, also representing the wealthiest in-

habitants was created to pass laws and vote taxes; but the British Governor-General had power to override its decisions. This system of partial self-government fell far short of what the nationalists desired. Bitter protests were raised. A Hindu "holy man," Mohandas Gandhi declared that India must gain independence by a bloodless revolution. Without resorting to violence, all India should unite in boycotting British cloth, ceasing to co-operate with the British administration, and refusing to pay taxes. Gandhi was arrested and imprisoned and his campaign of non-co-operation was checked for a time. Still the agitation continued. When a commission of eight members of the British Parliament was sent to India in 1928, to discover what constitutional reforms ought to be adopted, the Nationalists proposed a democratic, federal government with national independence. The British Government's announcement in October, 1929, that at some future date India would be given "dominion status" (self-government without formal independence) was greeted by the Nationalists with the retort that what India desired was independence. Early in 1930 a new campaign of civil disobedience was launched by Gandhi, who still hoped to win India's freedom without shedding blood. (Pages 893-94.)

Financial Injustice to Bengal

It is in history that the loot of Bengal during the latter half of the eighteenth century was one of the most important factors in the progress of the Industrial Revolution in England. Most of the industrial experiments were directly helped by the rich "nabobs" who accumulated enormous wealth by their activities in Bengal. They also helped to create an outside market or Empire for English goods, which began to be produced now in the mass, in Bengal and all over the world with the help of Bengal funds. In fact much of the British Empire and the prosperity of the British during the last couple of centuries can be traced back to Bengal. The reiteration of these well known facts is not meant to act as an exhortation to the present generation of Britishers to feel grateful to the Bengali people. It is just stated to bring back to the public mind the fact that once Bengal was a rich country, so rich that it could be looted and the proceeds sufficed to build up an Empire. But today Bengal is for all practical purposes a poor country. Her people die of starvation. Her children cannot afford any education, though at one time every village had a school in Bengal. Sick people in Bengal succumb even to the most curable of diseases due to

lack of medical attention. The rivers of Bengal get choked up with silt or hyacinth without remedy. The roads of Bengal are distinguishable from the surrounding country only by their relative abundance of mud and filth. The Bengalis live in dwellings which no self-respecting European dog would choose as a kennel. The one time famous arts and crafts of Bengal have degenerated and even disappeared. In short, hardly in history can one find a parallel to Bengal's loss of material prosperity during the last two centuries. Maybe the Aztecs suffered worse at the hands of the *Conquistadores*; but that is hardly any consolation to us or a credit to our conquerors.

What little has been left of Bengal's riches can yet regenerate the country provided there is intelligent planning of the work to be done and the *unfettered* effort of the people of Bengal behind it. But, as we know, of fetters we have more than can be counted easily. Our meagre resources leak out of Bengal as profit of foreign traders, as commission to foreign middle-men, as salaries of foreign officials etc., etc. What is still left is taxed heavily and *the major portion of the proceeds of this taxation is spent by the Government of India* on things which, generally speaking do not add to the well-being of the inhabitants of Bengal. Even the lesser half is spent almost in a similar fashion. The present discussion is, however, a criticism of the system of taking away by the Central Government of the major portion of Bengal's revenue and as such we shall leave out the question of foreign exploitation. We may just mention in passing that just as the basis of individual economy lies in providing the necessities of life (and life means improvement and progress) to the individual so as not to impair the individual's productive capacity and also his ability to derive mental and physical benefit from his consumption of worldly goods, so must a group of individuals, a race or a nation, build up their political economy (of which public finance is an important branch) on such principles of production, distribution, taxation, public expenditure, etc., as would leave their productivity, progress and happiness not only

unimpaired but ever increasing. Unfortunately in India, neither the individual nor the foreign makers of India's national destiny look at economic matters from this point of view.

Now to proceed with Bengal's forced contribution to the central exchequer, we find that in 1928-29 Bengal added about sixteen and a half crore of rupees to the Central funds. She gave

Rs. 5,45,00,000	through	Customs
" 3,99,00,000	"	Jute export duty
" 6,15,00,000	"	Income tax
" 1,00,00,000	"	Salt

Total Rs. 16,59,00,000

These figures are much less than what was actually collected in Bengal, being authoritative estimates of only such portions of the actual collections as were paid by the people of Bengal. These sums can be put against the Rs. 11,73,30,000 which was Bengal's provincial revenue in 1930-31 for the sake of comparison. Rs. 16,59,00,000 goes out to be spent by the Government of India and only Rs. 11,73,30,000 are kept for provincial expenditure ! Now what are the heads of expenditure of the Central Government ? Out of say an approximate revenue of 130 crores the Central Government roughly spends as

Direct demand on revenue	Rs. 4.25 crore
Railway budget	" 32 "
Post & telegraphs	" 1 "

	Bombay	Bengal
	Rs.	Rs.
Scientific depts.	92,000	36,000
Education	2,10,00,000	1,49,90,000
Medical	53,76,000	59,84,000
Public Health	29,04,000	41,77,000
Agriculture	30,08,000	27,93,000
Industries	1,30,000	13,62,000

Let us again compare

In population Bengal is almost equal to Madras and the U. P. and about double of Bombay and the Punjab.

	Population	Educational Expenditure	Medical	Pub. Health	Agri- culture	Indus- tries
Bengal	1	1	1	1	1	1
Bombay	$\frac{1}{2}$	1.34	1	.75	1.1	1.1
Madras	1	2	1.6	1	1.6	1.75
U. P.	1	1.33	.66	.75	1.25	1.15
Punjab	$\frac{1}{2}$	1.25	1	.75	2.25	.85

Leaving out the relative per head expenditure, Bengal has an absolute inability to compete favourably with the other provinces in her expenditure on the "beneficent departments" (the term is used in the Punjab

Debts services	" 18 "
Civil administration	" 13 "
Currency & mint	" 1 "
Civil works	" 2.75 "
Military services	" 58 "

Rs. 130 crores

That is railways, debts, military services, and civil administration eat up practically everything. The real well-being of the people depend on education, sanitation, health, industries etc., and at least in the case of Bengal, after paying out almost the whole of the provincial income to the Central Government, nothing is left for expenditure on items which are of the most vital importance to the people. Now let us compare how Bengal has been *specially victimized* by the Government of India. We have already stated how much Bengal pays to the Central exchequer. What do the other provinces pay ? They paid in 1928-29 as follows :

Madras	Rs. 7,14,00,000
Bombay	" 5,84,00,000
U. P.	" 7,17,00,000
Punjab	" 3,46,00,000
Bihar	" 5,76,00,000
C. P.	" 2,25,00,000
Assam	" 1,27,00,000
Bengal	" 16,59,00,000

Let us now compare the remnant ability of the different provinces to spend on the vital services after paying up to the Central exchequer. (figures 1930-31.)

Madras	U. P.	Punjab
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
3,02,300	32,116	28,000
3,06,41,300	2,00,96,037	1,83,33,000
99,69,500	37,57,077	54,07,000
39,92,500	24,37,838	29,69,000
46,18,100	35,20,946	61,60,000
22,11,800	15,23,997	11,31,000

budget to signify the departments which we have been discussing above.) This inability is *not innate but enforced* by the Government of India. Bengal's case so palpably demonstrates the lack of a spirit of fair play in the Government of India that the latter should lose no time in putting things right.

Puja Holidays

The Modern Review Office will remain closed from October 2 to 16 on account of the Puja holidays. All business, except urgent orders and communications, will accordingly be attended to after the re-opening of the office.

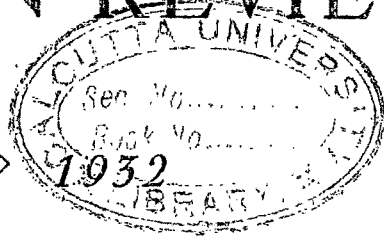
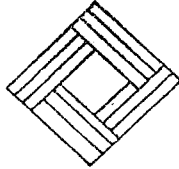


THE RAIN SONG OF THE SIDDHAS
By Ramgopal Vijayabargiya

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JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

AMERICA has produced no clearer, more ringing or more persuasive trumpet voice for liberty and democracy than that of James Russell Lowell. Therefore, I am sure, he has a message for India in her great and sacred struggle for national freedom.

Lowell was born in 1819 and died in 1891 at the age of 72. His birth-place was near Boston, in Cambridge, the seat of Harvard University, where he spent nearly all his life, dying in the very house in which his eyes first saw the light.

He was graduated from Harvard, and for many years was a professor there. His first intention was to become a lawyer; but after studying law and endeavouring to carry on its practice for a time in Boston, without success, he turned to literature, where his heart really was and had always been.

He began writing at once, both in prose and verse, and carried it on throughout his professorship and all his life.

During many years, he was an editor and a very successful one. He was the first editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*; it was under him that it attained its great fame, giving to America for the first time a literary periodical which ranked with the best monthlies of England and the Continent of Europe. Later, for some years, he edited another periodical, *The North American Review*, which he lifted

to a standing scarcely below that of *The Atlantic Monthly*.

* * *

During the last few years of his life, Lowell turned aside from his exclusively literary career and devoted himself largely to other important work, although he did not entirely give up his literary activities. Although he had never been a politician and had never held political office, he possessed a knowledge of public affairs and of the principles of true statesmanship second to that of few of his countrymen, as his writings both in prose and verse abundantly show. In recognition of this fact, when he was approaching his sixties, the United States Government invited him to accept an appointment to the honourable and important political position of Minister to the Court of Spain. Few men in America were better fitted for the place, and for five years he filled it with distinction.

Then the United States Government appointed him to the most important diplomatic position within its gift, that of Ambassador to Great Britain. England was greatly pleased by his coming, for by this time he had attained literary distinction second to no American, unless it might be Longfellow. In London, he was shown the greatest consideration, in political, in literary, and in social circles. No foreigner was more highly

esteemed by royalty, aristocracy and the common people. In America, he had never done much in any public speaking; but in England he developed a rich gift of highly literary, highly polished and yet highly popular oratory; and it was not long before on every great occasion he was in demand as a leading speaker, if not the chief speaker. The United States of America has sent many of her most eminent sons to represent her at the Court of St. James, but no one who has made a finer impression or brought her more honour than James Russell Lowell.

* * *

Those years of diplomatic service for his country formed a happy and distinguished episode in Lowell's life; but they were only an episode, an aside, in a sense a rest, from his main life-work, which was that of a writer. He published many volumes of prose which brought him much fame. Indeed, twenty years before his death, he had come to be recognized at home and abroad as America's greatest essayist and literary critic, ranking little if any below Matthew Arnold in England and Sainte Beuve in France.

And yet the general judgment is that he rose to his very best and will be remembered longest not as a prose writer but as a poet; that into his poetry he poured his finest gifts of both brain and heart.

His early poetry was partly serious and partly humorous. He first attained wide and high fame, fame on both continents, by his "Biglow Papers," a brilliant work of mingled humour and satire of rich humour which at every line made readers almost explode with laughter, but at the same time made them stop and think; of satire keen as a dagger, but not poison, which really was not a dagger at all but a surgical instrument that probed deep but always had kindness and healing in it.

The "Biglow Papers" had two themes, the wrong and wickedness of the institution of domestic slavery which existed in about a dozen of the southern States of the Union, and the wrong and wickedness of the war of aggression which the United States Government was waging against Mexico, by which it robbed that country of a third of its territory. It seems impossible to conceive of a stronger

or more unanswerable moral condemnation of these two great wrongs than this great poem of Lowell contained; yet the condemnation was expressed in ways so delightfully witty that everybody was compelled to read it; and nobody could read it without feeling the force of the moral indignation which the poem breathed.

I would be glad to quote several of the most brilliant and famous passages of the poem except for the fact that it is written in the extreme "Yankee" dialect, or dialect of old time country New England, which readers in India, unacquainted with it, would find great difficulty in understanding. I will, however, venture to offer a brief passage or two relating to the Mexican War:

"Ez fer war, I call it murder,—
There you hev it plain an' flat :
I don't want to go no furdur
Than my Testament fer that ;
God haz sed so plump and fairly,
It's as long ez it is broad,
An' you've got to git up airy
Ef you want to take in God."

"Taint your eppylett's an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right ;
'Taint a follerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse you in his sight ;
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru,
Gov'ment aint to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you."

"Call me coward, call me traiter,
Jest ez suits your mean ideas,—
Here I stand a tyrant-hater,
An' the friend o' God an' Peace."

Those parts of the poem bearing on slavery were as humorous, as witty and as blistering in their moral indignation as those relating to war. In the long and severe anti-slavery struggle which ended in the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln in 1863, the three most effective literary weapons were *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the famous novel of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the anti-slavery poems of the Quaker poet Whittier, and Lowell's "Biglow Papers."

Lowell wrote a considerable number of other poems of mingled humour and satire, one of the longest and most important of which was "A Fable for Critics." All were popular at the time of their production, but none attained the fame of the "Biglow Papers." His

writings of this kind comprise about one-third of his total poetical output.

* * * *

It is difficult to classify Lowell's poetry taken as a whole. It embraces a very large number of themes, which fall under such heads as historic, legendary, narrative, descriptive, ethical, religious, poems of patriotism, of friendship, of sentiment, and a considerable number of poems of a memorial character, written to celebrate great occasions.

When we consider Lowell's severe condemnation of the war against Mexico, it seems on its face a little strange that he strongly supported the Government in its war against the Southern Rebellion, known as the Civil War. The explanation, however, is clear. The former was a war of aggression and conquest, whereas the object of the latter was to prevent a dissolution of the National Union and to rid the nation of the sin and curse of slavery. Although he was all his life a foe to militarism and an ardent friend of peace, he believed, rightly or wrongly, that the enormously important interests at stake in the Civil War justified it on the part of the Government, as he also believed that his country's earlier war (the Revolution) to secure independence from Great Britain, was justifiable. Some of his poems relating to each of these two great episodes in his country's history are among the most striking and able that we have from his pen. Especially is this true of his three famous "Memorial Poems"—one read at the "One Hundredth Anniversary of the Fight at Concord Bridge," the earliest battle of the Revolution; one entitled "Under the Old Elm," read at Cambridge on the hundredth anniversary of Washington's taking command of the American Revolutionary Army, and his "Ode for the Fourth of July, 1776" the Birthday of the Nation.

Here are a few lines of his tribute to Washington in the second of these Memorial Poems:

"Soldier and Statesman, rarest unison;
High-poised example of great duties done
Simply as breathing;
Dumb for himself,
But for his barefoot soldiers eloquent;
Modest, yet firm as Nature's self;
Never seduced through show of present good;

Rigid, but with himself first:

Broad-minded, high-souled,—there is but one

Who was all this and ours and all men's—

WASHINGTON."

Here are some lines of a poem written at the close of the Civil War, when the Union was saved and the slaves freed:

"O Beautiful! my Country! Ours once more!
Soothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair
O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,
And letting thy set lips,
Freed from wrath's pale eclipse,
The rosy edges of their smile lay bare,
What words divine of lover or of poet
Could tell our love and make thee know it,
Among the Nations bright beyond compare?
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare."

Here are some lines written on another occasion showing his ardent love of his native land:

"O my Country, touched by thee,
My gray hairs gather back their gold;
My thoughts set all my pulses free;
My heart refuses to be old;
Thy love is all that I can see.
Unsummoned crowd the thankful words,
As sap in springtime flood the tree,
For all that thou has been to me!"

Lowell was in the best sense a patriot and a statesman. Some have called him unpatriotic because he would not toady to demagogues, and run blindly at the behests of caucuses and political bosses; because he was too astute to be fooled by the tricks and pretenses of designing politicians, and cared more for eternal principles than for transient party names and shibboleths.

So, too, small-minded men have sometimes declared him as wanting in patriotism because he saw the good there is in England, in Europe and in all the older world—being too large a soul to be cooped in by one single horizon.

Let those who thus complain read his magnificent address on "Democracy," delivered at Birmingham, to Englishmen—the most powerful and uncompromising defence of republican institutions, I venture to believe, that was ever spoken on English soil.

* * *

Lowell was a patriot, but he was more. He realized that it was belittling to an

American and belittling to his country not to relate his nation with other nations in noble ways of friendship and of co-operation and world service. With all his passionate love of his native land, he could not, would not, forget, that there were other lands beside his own, worthy of love and honour, and that while he was an American he was also a member of the great brotherhood of humanity. And so above and beyond the mere patriot vision he rose to the larger vision of the world-family, and sang :

"Where is the true man's Fatherland ?
Is it where he by chance is born ?
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn
In such scant borders to be spanned ?

Is it alone where freedom is,
Where God is God and man is man ?
Doth he not claim a broader span ?
O, yes ? his fatherland must be
As the blue heaven wide and free !

Where'er a human heart doth wear
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,
Where'er a human spirit strives
After a life more true and fair,
There is the true man's birth-place grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland !

Where'er a single slave doth pine,
Where'er one man may help another,—
Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—
That spot of earth is thine and mine !
There is the true man's birth-place grand,
His is a world-wide fatherland !"

This is not *un-patriotic*, it is *super-patriotic* ; it is patriotic *plus* : it is the *truer* and *larger* patriotism : it is the patriotism which will stop war ; which will bind the nations into a great world society, fraternal and co-operative instead of antagonistic and mutually destructive.

The world has had few more ardent lovers of Freedom than Lowell. And it was Freedom of the truest and noblest kind—Freedom for others as well as for self. In a poem entitled "Stanzas of Freedom," he writes :

"Men whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave ?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be freed ?
Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt ?
No ! true freedom is to share

All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free !
They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak ;
They are slaves who will not choose
Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
Rather than in silence shrink
From the truth they needs must think ;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three."

In another connection he writes :

"He's true to God who's true to man ;
 whatever wrong is done,
To the humblest and the weakest,
 'neath the all beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us ;
 and they are slaves most base,
Whose love of right is for themselves,
 and not for all their race."

Lowell has the wisdom to join Freedom with Progress. In a poem entitled "Freedom" we have these courageous and prophetic words :

"Doth Freedom, then, consist
Of musing with our faces toward the Past ?
Freedom gained yesterday is no more ours ;
Men gather but dry seeds of last year's flowers.
Freedom is re-created year by year,
In hearts wide open on the God-ward side.
No broadest creeds can hold her, and no codes
She chooses men for her august abodes,
Building them fair and fronting to the dawn."

Lowell wanted Freedom in Religion, as well as in the other relations of life. This is well shown in his "Bibliolaters," which is an unsparing arraignment of the book worship, the externalism, the spiritual bondage and death which so largely calls itself religion in our time—which pharisaically attempts to drive out and destroy God's living inspiration of to-day and maintain in its place the mummy ceremonies of an inspiration two or three thousand years old.

"God is not dumb, that he should speak no more ;
If thou hast wanderings in the wilderness
And find'st not Sinai, 'tis thy soul is poor ;
There towers the mountain of the Voice no less."

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on paper leaves or leaves of stone ;
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
Texts of despair or hope, or joy or moan.
While swings the sea, while mists the
 mountains shroud,
While thunder's surges burst on cliffs of cloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit."

Lowell's religion has great breadth and inclusiveness. He declares :

"The prayers of Christian, Turk and Jew
Have one sound up there in the blue,
And one smell all their incense, too."

It is hardly necessary to say that Lowell's religion was far from the popular Christianity ; but he believed it to be deeper and truer. "Christ," he says, "has declared war against the Christianity of the world, and it must go down." "The older I grow the less I am affected by the outward forms and observances of religion, but the more confidingness and affection do I feel toward God. . . . It is therefore no idle when I tell you that *I lean on God.*"

Lowell believed in a living and advancing religion, not a religion of the backward look. He writes : "There is a considerable party in the world, headed by the Pope—that pagan full of pride—who would cure all our ills by simply putting the world back." But to this he objects. On the death of Cardinal Newman, who had tried so hard to lead the English Church back to Rome, he exclaims, "A beautiful old man, as I remember him, but surely a futile life if ever there was one, trying to make a past reality supply the place of a present one that was becoming past, and forgetting that God is always '*I am,*' never '*I was,*' "

This utterance comes to us from the next to the last year of Lowell's life, and shows, that he kept to the end his faith, his forward-looking Unitarian faith, which finds such frequent and vigorous utterance all through his writings, that God is the God of the living, and that the future of man in this world is certain to be better than the past has been.

Lowell held firmly that most inspiring faith that ever entered the soul of man, to buoy it up and make it superior to death—I mean faith in immortality. He did not fear death, or see in it the ugly destroyer that many do. Rather he saw in it an angel of God. Here are a few lines giving his thought :

"Sin hath told lies of thee, fair angel death,
Hath hung a dark veil o'er thy seraph face,
And scared us babes with tales of how, beneath,
Were features like her own. But I, through grace
Of the dear God by whom I live and move,
Have seen that gloomy shroud asunder rent,
And in thine eyes, lustrous with sweet intent,
Have read that thou none other wast but love.

Thou art the beauteous keeper of that gate
Which leadeth to the soul's desired home,

And I would live as one who seems to wait
Until thine eyes shall say, 'My brother, come !'
And then haste forward with such gladsome pace
As one who sees a welcoming, sweet face ;
For thou dost give us what the soul loves best—
In the eternal soul a dwelling place,
And thy still grave is the unpilfered nest
Of truth, love, peace and duty's perfect rest."

* * *

Lowell is pre-eminently a *thinker* among poets. In this his place is beside Emerson. In concentration of thought and in depth of spiritual insight, Emerson is superior ; indeed in these qualities he seems to me to excel all poets. But in singing quality—in the ability to put high thought and rare spiritual vision into rich and noble verse—Lowell is far the superior of the seer of Concord, and takes his place beside Milton and Wordsworth and Tennyson.

Lowell had a strong and noble faith in human nature, which he expresses times without number. In one of his sonnets he gives us words of one who doubts human nature, and then answers him. Says the objector :

"True nobleness I seek in vain ;
In woman and in man I find it not :
I almost weary of my earthly lot,
My life-springs are dried up with burning pain."

To him the poet replies :

"Thou findest it not ? I pray thee look again,
Look *inward* through the depths of thine *own* soul.
How is it with *thee* ? Art *thou* sound and whole ?
BE NOBLE ! And the nobleness that lies
In other men, sleeping, but never dead,
Shall rise in majesty to meet thine own ;
Then thou wilt see it gleam in many eyes.
Then will pure light around thy path be shed,
And thou wilt nevermore be sad and lone."

I must give my readers one of Lowell's poems of which I am very fond, and which seems to me very helpful to all who care for the higher side of life. It is entitled "Longing."

"Of all the myriad moods of mind
That through the soul come thronging,
Which one was e're so dear, so kind,
So beautiful as longing ?
The thing we long for that we are
For one transcendent moment,
Before the Present poor and bare
Can make its sneering comment.

Still through the paltry air and strife,
Glow down the wished Ideal,
And Longing moulds in clay what Life
Carves in the marble Real :
To let the new life in, we know,
Desire must ope the portal ;—
Perhaps the longing to be so
Helps make the soul immortal.

Ah! let us hope that to our praise
 Good God not only reckons
 The moments when we tread his ways,
 But when the spirit beckons,—
 That some slight good is also wrought
 Beyond self-satisfaction,
 When we are simply good in thought,
 Howe'er we fail in action."

Nothing in Lowell's poetry is more charming than his love of Nature. Wherever he goes, he has eyes to see the beauty of the world, and a soul quick to catch the deeper meanings of things. He says of himself, "The flowering of the buttercups is a great, and, I may truly say, a religious event in my year." Here is one of his bright little nature poems entitled "The Fountain."

"Into the sunshine,
 Full of the light,
 Leaping and flashing
 From morn to night ;
 Into the moonlight
 Whiter than snow,
 Waving so flower-like
 When the winds blow ;
 Into the star-light
 Rushing in spray,
 Happy at midnight,
 Happy by day :
 Ever in motion,
 Blithesome and cheery,
 Still climbing heavenward,
 Never weary !
 Glorious fountain,
 Let my heart be
 Fresh, changeable, constant,
 Upward, like thee."

* * *

Lowell has two poems, entitled "A Parable," each of which contains an impressive religious lesson.

The first tells of a religious prophet who wants to get a message from God. So he makes a long and weary journey, and at last, worn and footsore, reaches the top of the far-off holy hill, where he thinks God is to be found. There he prays fervently for a voice or a sign. Alas! no thunder peal comes, and no voice. But a little flower springs up beside him as he kneels. And lo, he sees that it is the very same kind of a flower that his little daughter had plucked and given him just as he was leaving home. Then his eyes are opened to see, that God was just-as truly in his home, as on this far away so-called holy hill.

Lowell's second "Parable" teaches a lesson not the same, but equally impressive.

"Said Christ our Lord, 'I will go and see
 How the men, my brethren, believe in me.'
 He passed not again through the gate of birth,
 But made himself known to the children of earth.

Then said the chief priests, and rulers, and kings,
 'Behold, now, the Giver of all good things ;
 Go to, let us welcome with pomp and state
 Him who alone is mighty and great.'

With carpets of gold the ground they spread
 Wherever the Son of man should tread,
 And in palace chambers lofty and rare
 They lodged him, and served him with kingly fare.

Great organs surged through arches dim
 Their jubilant floods in praise of him ;
 And in church and palace and judgment hall,
 He saw his image high over all.

But still, wherever his steps they led,
 The Lord in sorrow bent down his head,
 And from under the heavy foundation stones,
 The Son of Mary heard bitter groans.

And in church and palace and judgment hall,
 He marked great fissures that rent the wall,
 And opened wider and yet more wide
 As the living foundation heaved and sighed.

'Have ye founded your thrones and altars, then,
 On the bodies and souls of living men ?
 And think ye that building shall endure,
 Which shelters the noble and crushes the poor ?

'With gates of silver and bars of gold
 Ye have fenced my sheep from their Father's fold ;
 I have heard the dropping of their tears
 In heaven these eighteen hundred years.'

'O Lord and Master, not ours the guilt,
 We build but as our fathers built ;
 Behold thine images, how they stand,
 Sovereign and sole, through all our land.

'Our task is hard—with sword and flame
 To hold thine earth forever the same,
 And with sharp crooks of steel to keep
 Still, as thou leftest them, thy sheep.'

Then Christ sought out an artisan,
 A low-browed, stunted, haggard man,
 And a motherless girl, whose fingers thin
 Pushed from her faintly want and sin.

These set he in the midst of them,
 And as they drew back their garment hem,
 For fear of defilement, 'Lo, here,' said he,
 'The images ye have made of me !'

* * *

All of Lowell's writings, especially his poetry, is full of short, striking sententious lines which arrest attention and are widely quoted. Since nothing can give a better idea of the whole range of his thought than these, I venture to cite a considerable number.

"What an antiseptic is a pure life !"

"No mud can soil us but the mud we throw."

"Strength and wisdom only flower
When we toil for all our kind."

"They enslave their children's children,
Who make compromise with sin."

"They who love are but one step from heaven."

"'Tis heaven alone that is given away,
'Tis only God may be had for the asking."

"To put more faith in lies and hate
Than truth and love, is the real atheism."

"Every hope that rises and grows broad
In the world's heart,
Streams from the great heart of God."

"God is in all that liberates and lifts,
In all that humbles, sweetens and consoles."

"O Power, more near my life than life itself."

"Great truths are portions of the soul of man ;
Great souls are portions of Eternity."

"The hope of Truth grows stronger every day,
Wider the soul's horizon hourly grows."

"Through his heart who earnestly believeth,
Life from the Eternal Heart doth flow."

"We are not free, whose Freedom doth consist
In musing with our faces to the past ;
Freedom is re-created year by year
In hearts wide open on the Godward side."

"Nothing pays, but God,
Served whether on the smoke-shut battlefield,
In work obscure done honestly, or vote
For truth unpopular, or faith maintained
To ruinous convictions, or good deeds
Wrought for good's sake, mindless of heaven or hell."

"Believe the promise of to-morrow,
And feel the wondrous meaning of to-day."

"Greatly begin ! Though thou have time
But for a line, be that sublime—
Not failure, but low aim, is crime."

"All things false shall crumble
Before the free uplifted soul of man."

"One day, with life and heart,
In more than time enough to find a world."

"Men reason that To-morrow will be wise
Because To-day was not, nor Yesterday ;
As if good days were shapen of themselves,
Not of the very life blood of men's souls."

"Perhaps the deeper faith that is to come
Will see God rather in the strenuous doubt
That in the creed."

"The miracle fades out of history,
But faith and wonder and the primal earth
Are born into the world with every child."

"He's true to God who's true to man."

"Who is it will not dare himself to trust ?
Who is it hath not strength to stand alone ?
He and his works, like sand, from earth are blown."

"New times demand new measures and new men ;
The world advances, and in time outgrows
The laws that in our fathers' days were best ;
And, doubtless, after us some purer scheme
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth."

Lowell is one of the eminent Americans
whose bust has been placed by the nation in
its Hall of Fame. On his bust are inscribed
lines from his pen :

"No Power can die that ever wrought for Truth ;
Thereby a Law of Nature it became,
And lives unwithered in its blithesome youth,
When he who called it forth is but a name."

* * * *

If I were to ask lovers of Lowell to name
the most beautiful of all his poems,—the one
in which his genius, his literary skill and his
deep religious spirit find their very highest
expression, what would it be ? I imagine it
would be his "Vision of Sir Launfal." In
this poem he treats a theme suggestive of
Tennyson. Certainly Tennyson has written
nothing finer. The poem is as noble in its
ethical and spiritual teaching as it is superior
as a work of literary art.

The poem tells a story. The Holy Grail
was the legendary cup from which Jesus was
supposed to have drunk at the last supper.
One tradition tells that Joseph of Arimathea
brought it to England. But, as the times grew
corrupt, it disappeared, and could be found
again only by one who was perfectly pure in
heart. In the stories of Arthur's Knights of
the Round Table, the search for it was a
favourite quest. Easily it lends itself to
allegory. To find the Holy Grail became the
symbol of discovering the secret of the true,
the divine life.

Lowell treats this in a fashion wholly his
own. This poem is in two parts. The
knight goes forth in the glory of summer.
As he leaves his castle, a leper asks alms.
The proud knight tosses him a piece of gold
in scorn, and goes on his way. But, in that
temper, his quest is fruitless. The second
part is a winter scene. Sir Launfal is
returning, old and decrepit, only to find
another in possession of his earldom. He is
a sadder, wiser, humbler man. The same
leper asks an alms again. Now he shares
with him his poverty :

"He parted in twain his single crust,
He broke the ice on the streamlet's brink,

A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

[The airship lands in the grounds of the Monastery of Opi. The first Martian seen by the members of the expedition is Narga, the high priestess. Maruchi and the others are met by some monks and welcomed by them. They are lodged in the monastery and very hospitably treated by Karos, the senior monk. They find out that the Earth is called Lamulo and Mars Heperon by the inhabitants of Mars. They learn the language quickly, but are rather alarmed to find that the monks have developed uncanny magnetic powers and it is unsafe to touch them. They are invited to meet Narga and are surprised to find her as wise as she is beautiful. They are told she is possessed of strange psychic powers and they are able to verify that fact with their own eyes.]

XI

LATER in the day Karos came to us and found us in earnest discussion of the remarkable sight we had seen. There was a look of triumph in his eyes. 'Narga has done you a great favour,' he said, 'you have been privileged to see what outsiders are not permitted to witness. What do you think of it?'

Maruchi replied, 'We have read of such things in fables, but we never believed that a man or woman could actually float in the air. How did Narga do it?'

'That is her secret. She has developed powers inherent to superior beings and she can transport herself anywhere at will. We do not know whether she can fly to another planet and she does not talk on this subject. What will you tell your people when you return to Lamulo?'

'People will think we are telling a traveller's tale. Who will believe such a thing unless he sees it?'

'But we do not disbelieve all the wonderful things you have told us about your inventions and innovations.'

'Some of them you have seen. You have seen our ship that sails through the air and the instruments we have brought with us and so you do not find much difficulty in believing the rest. What can we carry from here to convince our people of the truth of our story? The scientists may believe us but not the common people.'

Karos said, 'There are things of which it is best not to speak. We never spoke to you of Narga's powers and we were unwilling that you should witness them. But she chose to favour you and we were powerless to prevent her.'

Orlon said, 'But there may be danger. If her

powers were to fail her or something were to happen, it would mean instantaneous death.'

'We do not know. But you attempted a rash thing when you tried to go forward near the pillar of Raba, and Maruchi wisely stopped you. At that moment you were nearer death than you have been ever before.'

So Karos knew and had noticed the movement of Orlon. Ganimet suddenly asked, 'What would have happened to him?'

Karos smiled grimly. 'Surely, you ought to know. We have not got the powers of Narga but it is not safe for you to be touched by us. If Orlon had taken a single step some of us would have caught hold of him and he would have been a dead man. Narga was in no danger.'

We looked at one another and felt that Karos was speaking the truth. What manner of beings were these men who were human to look at, but whose grip meant death for us? And yet we were unafraid and these strange monks were gentle and we had received much kindness at their hands.'

Maruchi turned the conversation. 'We must thank Narga for the great honour she has done us, but we must now proceed on our journey. We shall take our chance as regards the dangerous places but we shall visit other places that you recommend. We are anxious to have a sight of Raba at close range and to meet the wise man who is Narga's Master.'

Karos started. 'Has she spoken to you about him?'

'Yes.'

'Then ask her. We know very little and we can say nothing about him without her permission.'

For some days Narga was invisible and then one morning we found her strolling about as usual near the wood. Maruchi, Orlon and myself approached her and she smiled to us in acknowledgment of our salutation. Maruchi put her a question, 'How did you perform that marvellous feat, Narga?'

Narga looked at him straight in the eyes for a moment and then said, 'What do you call a feat, Maruchi. Was it a juggler's trick?'

'I did not mean that, Narga. We do not understand what you did and should be glad if you explain it to us.'

'But you would not understand even if I attempted to explain. You concern yourself with

the forces outside, ignorant of the power latent in yourself. There is no mechanism or machinery necessary for developing the powers that we possess but which are neglected. If I were to tell you that there was really nothing wonderful in what you saw and that I am only a beginner you would understand nothing. You know certain laws in outside nature and you endeavour to make use of them. But there are subtler laws inherent in ourselves which you do not know and which you would not understand because your mind moves on a different plane. And the mind alone cannot grasp the knowledge that we initiates have been taught.'

We felt that Narga was referring to something beyond our comprehension and that it was useless to put more questions. Maruchi mentioned the subject of our proposed departure.

Narga glanced swiftly at Orlon, who was looking intently at her, and said, 'Must you go? But of course there is much for you to see and much of which you will have to tell your people on your return to your own planet. We thank you that of your courtesy you have stayed some time with us and we have derived valuable knowledge and seen your wonderful instruments. But will you visit us before you finally depart from Heperon?'

'So we shall, Narga, in common gratitude. We came to you as strangers from another world and you have given us freely of your bounty and of the large measure of your kindness. Moreover, you have permitted us to be witnesses of your conquest of the air and the attraction of this solid planet. This is a privilege we value all the more highly since we understand strangers are not allowed to be present on such occasions, and what we saw will remain with us as an abiding memory.'

'Spoken like a man of many accomplishments as I know you to be, Maruchi,' said Narga with a winning smile. 'Believe me, it was not out of a woman's vanity that I invited you to the rite of high worship. You are worthy and you have linked the planets with the greatness of your achievement, and I feel that in your sphere you rank very high indeed. Yes, I wish you to keep the memory of what you saw as a bond between us, but not to be mentioned to others who may not believe what your eyes have seen.'

'Tell us, Narga, how we may have the honour of meeting your Master.'

'That rests more with him than with you. Many have sought him but never found him, not that he denies himself to any one but because many learn nothing from him. His disciples are few and they do not live with him long, because they are sent away to follow his instructions in solitude. He may know at first sight that you do not belong to our planet, and probably he will give you of his wisdom

freely. He is known as Ashan and lives near Raba. But go to him after you have seen something more of our planet.'

We agreed to follow her advice. The last day of our stay at the monastery arrived and we were to leave the next morning. In the wood I had noticed a peculiar kind of flower, large, white with streaks of purple on the petals, and I had seen that the berries were ripe. The fragrance of the flower was delightful and I wanted to take away a handful of the seeds. The sun had set and the violet twilight was gradually deepening into gloom. There were thick tallish shrubs surrounding the flowers and as I stooped down to pick the berries I became invisible to any one passing by. Hardly had I plucked one or two berries when I heard the sound of voices approaching. I thought it might be some of the monks or our friends and it never occurred to me that the conversation could be such as I should not overhear. Presently, I distinguished the voices of Orlon and Narga, low but clear, Orlon's impassioned and appealing, Narga's musical, uncertain and trembling. If I gave any indication of my near presence they might be startled and annoyed. On the other hand, it was improper for me to listen to what was evidently not intended for the ears of a third person. But even as I hesitated they came up quite close to the spot where I had couched down, and I had no choice but to become an unwilling eavesdropper.'

They came and stood just beyond the shrubs where I lay concealed, and through the narrow gap between the branches and the leaves I could see that Orlon was holding Narga's hand. She was saying, 'I have laid my powers aside, else you could not even touch my hand with safety. Why have you sought me thus in secret?'

'Why do you ask?' thrilled the passionate voice of Orlon. 'Have not my eyes spoken to you of the love that has sprung up as a white flame in me? I know your power and have seen it. I know you can lay me dead at your feet, but my life is yours to keep or throw away as you will.'

'I have heard tell of the love of which you speak, but I thought I had left it behind me for ever when I undertook to live my present life. And you, O Orlon, come out of another world which is only a shining, tiny light in the heavens and you fill my heart with longings that never disturbed me before. Why have you come into my life with your golden shape, your burning look and still more burning words? I feel distracted and can no longer fix my thoughts on the things I hold so dear.'

'O Narga, the light of my eyes and the throb of my life, do you not see the hand of a destiny beyond even your knowledge? What else could have brought me safe through these millions of miles? Why of all places in this planet should we have landed here, and why

were you the first on whom I set my eyes on the edge of this wood? And your own heart tells you that we are destined for each other, that our lives must mingle as the fragrance of flowers is now mingling with the evening air.'

Narga attempted to withdraw her hands but Orlon held them fast with both hands. She was trembling and said, 'I feel it is not right for me to listen to your words and yet my heart refuses to yield to my reason. What is this destiny of which you speak and which is dragging me down to the level of common people? Is it for this end that I have subdued my lower nature and ascended to a higher? Ah, Orlon, you are tempting me to the ways of the flesh and all my strength is passing from me.'

'Dear heart, you are but fulfilling the law of nature. What will you gain by all your powers if the heart is starved and the fair blossom of your youth is allowed to fade without being cherished by love? You and I have met each other guided by a hand stronger than ourselves. Youth calls to youth even from one world to another and the voice I did not hear and the hand I did not see have brought me to your feet through the wide wastes of space. No man here touched your heart and your thoughts turned towards religion. No maid attracted me in our world and I devoted myself to the pursuit of science. But nature never intended that you should remain a priestess all your life, or that I should end my days with a pilgrim's staff in my hand. O Narga, your eyes are so keen and your understanding is so clear, do you not see the purpose behind our meeting, and realize why my steps have led to your door?'

'I do not know what to think and my mind is swayed by many doubts. Yet as you say it is passing strange that you, a being from another world, should have descended from the sky at my very door, and the sight of you should have filled me with restlessness. But it must be all wrong. I cannot renounce my present life and you must put me away from your thoughts and your life.'

'What is my life without you? But do not be ruled by your hesitating mind, Narga, listen to the voice of your heart.'

'Ah, my heart, it goes out to you,' and she swayed towards him and was clasped in his arms. Their lips met and they murmured words of bliss and endearment. They stood like this for a little while and then slowly retraced their steps, hand in hand, passing from my sight like figures seen in a dream.

The night had closed in when I returned with thoughtful steps to our rooms. I gazed long and silently at our own planet in the sky and wondered whether a new understanding would be established between the two planets by what I had seen and heard in the wood near by. It was once in my mind to tell Maruchi since he had thought of such a thing but had believed Narga

unlikely to be moved by any feeling of love, but I thought better of it and kept my own counsel. Events would shape themselves as predestined and it might be unwise for us to interfere. If accident had made me a witness of the secret between Orlon and Narga design should not lead me to blunder into their affair, and the wisest course for me would be to behave as if I had heard and seen nothing. So I held my peace and when I came in I found Orlon flushed and radiant and speaking with animation of the fresh adventures we were about to seek. Maruchi was looking at him intently and with a somewhat puzzled expression on his face, and looked up quickly at me as I entered. Nabor and Ganimet had been busy the whole afternoon with the machine and had just returned after satisfying themselves that everything was in order.

Presently Karos came in with some other monks. They brought clothes for us and food for the journey and gave Maruchi letters and directions regarding our route. He said Narga would see us next morning before we left.

Early next morning the machine was wheeled out into the open, and we went to bid Narga farewell. She was standing in front of the monastery surrounded by the monks, the nuns, novices and the servants. Narga greeted us in a clear voice, which slightly trembled towards the end. 'May you have a pleasant time, O strangers from another world, who are strangers no longer but our honoured friends, and may no ill come to you in your journeyings in our land! We shall await your return in hope and confidence without thought of the final parting when you will return to your bright abode in the sky. May Raba have you all in his safe keeping!'

Maruchi replied with emotion and feeling, and Karos and some of the other monks also spoke kind words of affectionate farewell with pressing invitations of return. Then Narga stepped forward towards me. 'For you, Sahir,' she said with a wistful look in her eyes, 'I have a special word of parting and remembrance. You are wise beyond your years and you may know what may not be known to others. Spare me a kindly thought when you can and may your wisdom prove helpful to your friends.'

I bowed to her as one bows to a queen and said, 'I am more than honoured, O Narga, by your words, though I can claim no wisdom. Need I say that you will be ever in our thoughts?'

Orlon was pale and he was struggling to master his feelings. He had no eyes for any one except Narga, who steadily avoided meeting his eyes. As we were about to turn away Orlon suddenly moved towards Narga and then abruptly halted and said, 'We go but to return, Narga, and may the promise of the present be fulfilled on our return!'

And then Narga's eyes met his own and shone with a wonderful light. 'Ay,' she said in a voice that thrilled us all, 'it will be as

Raba will. As you have found us now so will you find us again, ready to fulfil the promise of service.'

These sounded like words of common courtesy but I understood the meaning lying underneath them. So resourceful and subtle-witted is love that vows were exchanged and confirmed in the presence of all without any one being the wiser, and I also would have understood nothing if I had not spied unwittingly on the evening scene in the wood.

A few more moments and we were waving our hands and sounding a flourish of music in farewell as the Mundanus left the ground and swiftly floated away above the monastery and the tree-tops.

THE CITY OF SIPRI XII

We flew straight towards the mountains looming dim and distant towards the west. Maruchi wanted to have a near view of the mountains before visiting any city or attempting to approach Raba. We passed over what looked like small towns and habitations of the Heperonians. We saw several rivers below us and large tracts of forest land covered with dense forests. By noon we could clearly distinguish the line of mountains, red crested in several places, towering on the horizon. We wanted to find out why the mountain tops were red in so many places while other peaks were covered with snow. We had alpenstocks, ropes and axes for mountaineering and some of us were seasoned alpinists, but it was understood that we would not undertake a hazard if it appeared too great, nor risk our lives unnecessarily. We had not come solely or mainly for a mountain expedition and our explorations must not overlook considerations of our personal safety. In the afternoon we reached the mountains and descried a high tableland close to which was a peak which glowed like a giant flame in the setting sun. Nabor carefully chose a place which looked fairly smooth and was covered with moss and ferns and we made an easy descent. Maruchi decided to make the ascent the next morning, and we roamed about in various directions so long as the daylight and the twilight lasted. The flora was altogether new and there were small birds with a beautiful plumage and not at all shy. They let us approach them quite close, keeping just out of reach. Some of the flowers were extremely pretty, with a delicate and faint scent and we collected handfuls of them. We passed the night on board our airship.

With the first faint light of dawn we started for the mountain top, leaving Nabor alone in charge of the machine. Ganimet carried the axes and ropes, and we had each an alpenstock tipped with an iron point. For the greater part

of the way the ascent was easy. The sun came up when we were about half way to the top. We had to rope ourselves at two or three places when nearing the end of our climb, but there was very little snow on this peak. We found the top covered by a thick scarlet fungus or moss, velvety to the touch, and crowning the crest of the mountain with a red cap. We plucked up some and examined them, but they resembled nothing that we had seen before. The growth was so thick that it looked like the texture of a gorgeous, crimson carpet. We looked around us and saw many more mountain tops covered with the same red crown. Red Mars was red in more ways than one.

We resumed our aerial journey immediately on our return. Our bearings had been carefully taken and our next destination was a large city, the capital of a country which we had been advised to visit. It would take us about three days flying at a good speed. We recalled our memorable passage from one planet to another and discussed our plans for the future. Maruchi, Orlon and myself kept diaries in which we noted our observations and thoughts and sometimes compared our impressions. As I expected Orlon was most silent and uncommunicative, and I wondered what were the last words between him and Narga when they parted that evening when I overheard part of their conversation. She must have given him hope but she must have been also firm because Orlon had come away with us as if nothing had happened and he had carefully disguised his feelings in respect of Narga.

Our flight was uneventful. At night we could see the asteroids that revolve between the orbits of Mars and Jupiter, tiny points of light which shifted their positions more quickly than the planets. On the third day at noon we sighted the city which was our first objective and we circled over it at a low height. The houses were fantastically designed, some round, others in the form of a crescent, some conical and others shaped like pentagons and hexagons. People gathered quickly in the streets below and others rushed to roofs and terraces and gesticulated excitedly pointing towards our machine. In the centre of the city was a large open space with high strong railings surrounding it and in the middle we saw what looked like a stadium intended probably for sports. There were a number of people loitering about and as soon as we descended at a short distance from the stadium they made a rush for our machine. Not being aware of their intentions and fearing that the crowd might attempt to wreck the machine, Nabor brought his powerful sirens into play and they emitted a series of terrifying sounds that effectively checked the rush. Most of the crowd turned and bolted for shelter, while a few of the bolder spirits, though badly scared, held their ground, ready, however,

for instant flight if necessary. They must have all thought the machine some huge monster that had come out of the sky and strayed into their midst, and the sounds they had heard were doubtless the roaring of the monster. When they saw Maruchi, Orlon and myself descending to the ground their astonishment knew no bounds and they gazed at us open-mouthed, speechless and scarcely able to believe their eyes. At the same time, Nabor played some soft, musical notes and the wonder of the men grew and they looked at one another in dumbfounded amazement. We raised our hands in token of peace and approached the men a little closer. Speaking in a fairly loud voice, Maruchi said we had come from the monastery of Opi and he held out a letter saying it was for the Damato, the chief authority of the city, which was named Sipri. The men understood Maruchi, though we found afterwards that their language was somewhat different from what we had learned at the monastery. The men had all heard of Opi and when they found we knew of the Damato they were satisfied that we had not swooped down from the sky for the first time, but their bewilderment had not ceased and they began putting all sorts of questions. Maruchi politely told them that he would tell them everything but our first business was with the Damato and we wanted to see him. Whereupon two of the men went off to inform that dignitary of our arrival.

We waited and conversed with the people around us. Those who had fled slowly returned and joined the others. We were told that the Damato rarely went out to meet a newcomer and only received visitors in audience, but he might make an exception in our case when he heard of the very novel mode of our arrival and of our belonging to a strange race. And this surmise proved to be true, for presently shouts were raised behind the crowd of Damato! Damato! and the crowd parted and retreated to a respectful distance.

Preceded by half-a-dozen armed attendants came the Damato, a grave and middle-aged man of a fine presence with a carefully trimmed beard, wearing sober clothes and a chain round his neck, obviously the badge of his office. He greeted us with grave courtesy, but refrained from expressing any astonishment either at our appearance or our machine at which he glanced casually. Probably it was not considered good form for so great a personage to be astonished at anything. We saluted him and Maruchi handed him the letter from Karos. After reading it he raised his eye-brows and uttered a slight exclamation of astonishment, and invited us politely to accompany him as his guests. Maruchi pointed to our machine and explained that we could not leave it lying where it was. The Damato replied that we could put it in the stadium, where he would have it locked up and guarded. The machine was then wheeled into

the stadium, the large entrance gate was closed and locked, and a guard was placed in front of the closed door after which we followed the Damato out of the fenced arena.

On the street we saw a curious carriage resembling a char-a-branc of a beautiful artistic design, to which were harnessed a pair of splendid animals which were probably the horses of the country, but altogether different from the animals we are accustomed to ride and drive on the earth. They were white with splashes of red, with heads smaller and shorter than those of our horses, broad of chest and slender in the legs, with a pair of short, strong wings growing out from where the forelegs joined the body. The wings had no feathers but were like a bat's and when folded looked like a thin long pouch of folded skin. There was a smaller vehicle very much like a two-seated chariot, with a forward seat for the driver and another behind. The Damato entered the smaller carriage and invited Maruchi to take the seat by his side. We clambered into the large carriage and the horses started at a word from the driver. They ran like ostriches, flapping their wings and covering the ground at a great rate. We drove about two miles and drew up in front of an imposing mansion, the residence of the Damato. It was a large round building and reminded us of a big bowl set down with the bottom up. There were no angles or corners anywhere. As we mounted the broad stairs we found a number of servants waiting at the head of the staircase. They wore plain liveries with a small badge on the right arm and were much too well disciplined to express any surprise at our appearance. There was a large white door with sliding panels and as we advanced behind the Damato the two panels moved silently on noiseless castors and disappeared into the wall. We found ourselves in a large and handsome vestibule, and were conducted by the Damato himself to a suite of apartments furnished tastefully. We were requested to rest a little while after which we would be invited to join the early afternoon meal. We had changed our clothing before leaving the airship and each of us carried a small bag containing travelling requisites. We had carefully packed away our own clothes and were using those provided by the generous thoughtfulness of the monks of Opi.

The door closed and we found ourselves alone. We had a look round and found that our rooms were fairly large and comfortable, with low cushioned seats and curious pictures on the walls. The bedrooms were cosy and there were fine bedsteads with white sheets. Maruchi remarked that so far we had had an easy time like Book's tourists of old and were moving about much in the same way as if we had been on our own planet. I reminded him of what we had seen at the monastery and the incredible feat of Narga. 'It was a wonderful experience', admitted Maruchi,

'but where was the element of adventure or danger? So far we have been extraordinarily favoured by luck. When we first alighted on Heperon we might have found ourselves among a savage and ferocious people, instead of which we were the guests of the hospitable monks of Opi. And here also we have had no trouble at all and are housed in a mansion. We have every reason to thank our stars.'

'And our planets,' chimed in Nabor. 'The stars would not have helped us if this planet had proved unfriendly.'

'Well said, Nabor,' laughingly answered Maruchi, 'Heperon seems to have sharpened your wits.'

'And dulled those of some others,' I added, looking at the silent Orlon.

'Oh, he is missing our new friends,' said Maruchi, unaware how near his stray shaft had reached the mark.

The door opened and the Damato came in. He first asked us our names and then turning to Maruchi said, 'I have come to invite you all to take your meal with us, but there is one little caution that I wish you to bear in mind. In his letter the good monk Karos tells me that you have come from the planet Lamulo. This is such an unheard of thing that I do not wish it to be mentioned before my wife and daughter whom you will presently meet. I do not doubt the monk's or your own veracity, but ladies are different. They may or may not believe your story; if they do, they will talk to others and you will have the city at your heels; if they do not, you will fall in their estimation. I shall introduce you as visitors from a distant land and I hope you will bear me out. It will never do to speak of you as beings from another world. Why, the women might be frightened out of their wits and take you for spirits who have assumed the appearance of the living.'

There was considerable force in what the Damato said. Maruchi replied, 'We shall do as you suggest, but how are we to account for our flying machine?'

'They haven't seen it yet and I shall explain you are great inventors. We have heard of the marvellous powers possessed by the adepts and the wise people who live away from cities, and the ladies may gradually learn the truth about you. It will be wise not to spring too great a surprise upon them.'

With this wise warning the Damato invited us to follow him and we were presently ushered into a large and handsome room. We saw two ladies seated in the centre of the room. One was a handsome matron with fine features and a profusion of dark hair gathered up in a simple knot. The other was a beautiful, tall and slim girl with large bright eyes. Mother and daughter were smiling and bade us welcome when we were introduced. Soon after, Lady Hara, the Damato's wife, led the way to the dining-room. We sat

down on a thick and soft carpet, the Lady Toma, the daughter, next to me. There were a variety of dishes with several kinds of meat, but no wine. During the meal Toma asked me many questions about the country whence we had come and I was astonished at my own powers of invention, for I told her of a strange country near the mountains and the adventures that had befallen us on the journey. Meantime, Maruchi had been spinning another yarn to the Lady Hara about a fine country across the sea and the wonders to be found there. Toma had both her ears open and while listening to my tale did not miss Maruchi's fable, and suddenly she interrupted me by saying, 'But your friend is speaking of another country beyond the sea.' I was not to be caught, however, and brazened it out by saying with the utmost sang-froid, 'My friend is quite right. You must not think that all of us come from the same country. We are travellers from different lands and met at the monastery of Opi and since then we have travelled together.'

Toma was satisfied and asked me immediately about the monastery. 'You must have seen the high priestess about whom we have heard wonderful stories. What is she like and why has she been placed over the monks?'

'She is very beautiful and we heard she has strange powers. The monks render her implicit obedience.'

'What kind of powers? Is it magic? And if she is so beautiful why has she become a priestess?'

I thought of what we had seen in the domed temple of the monastery, but it was not a thing of which we could speak to any one. I explained to Toma that magic was an evil thing and could not be practised by the head of a religious order and the high priestess must have renounced the world because she aspired to higher things.

When we returned to our rooms Maruchi turned to us with a look of mock consternation. 'Look here, you fellows,' said he, 'we have been called upon sooner than I expected to draw upon our imagination and to tell traveller's tales. In our case, however, the truth is more incredible than any fiction we may invent. The truth must be reserved for people likely to believe our story. At Opi we told the truth and the monks believed us. We are now among sceptics and must be careful. At the same time, there must be some consistency and we must concoct a story, that will well hang together. Sahir and myself have just escaped being found out and this must not happen again.' We laughed heartily and put our heads together to invent a story which would not appear like a tale from the Arabian Nights, and in which each of us was assigned an important rôle.

XIII

Accompanied by some of the Damato's men we spent some days in seeing the sights of the

city. There were large and important public buildings, places of amusement, markets and gardens. In a well-kept zoological garden we saw many strange beasts and birds, but not a single animal belonging to the simian tribe. On enquiry we found monkeys and anthropoid apes were unknown, but there were stories of a fierce and savage race which resembled apes but was in reality a tribe of wild men. They were to be found in an immense and deep forest, but it was very difficult either to catch or tame them. They were known as Pompos and moved about in the forest in large groups, but fled on the approach of men. They had a system of signals and spoke some primitive language. The forest in which they lived was more than a hundred miles distant. We found it impossible to persuade any one to join us in an expedition to the forest, but we resolved to make a venture on our own account at some other time.

The Damato introduced us to a society of learned men and told us that we could discuss everything freely with them. They might be sceptical but they were open to conviction. We met them in a big hall in an imposing building full of numerous instruments. They were grave, thoughtful men of mature years, and subjected us to a polite but searching examination. A lean, tall, keen-eyed man, who seemed to be the president, did most of the talking. His first question was how we had learned their language since we claimed to have come from another world. Maruchi replied that we had been taught by the monks of Opi.

'Gentlemen,' pursued the president, 'we do not think a passage from Lamulo to Heperon is impossible, and the question has been discussed here also. We have heard of your airship and, with your permission, shall gladly avail ourselves of an opportunity of examining it. We also feel that you can have no object in telling us anything which is not true. At the same time, we feel certain that your experiences must have been unique and we invite you to relate them.'

'Gentlemen,' replied Maruchi, 'if some of you were to honour our planet with a visit we would have felt as much surprised as you are feeling now. We have been cautioned not to mention where we come from to all and sundry. The Damato knows because the monk Karos wrote it in his letter, but no one else in his house has any suspicion of our homeland. I trust you understand that it is quite immaterial whether we are believed or not on this planet. Our sole concern is to carry sufficient evidence with us back to our own people to convince them that we have accomplished our mission.'

'Very true, O learned stranger from Lamulo. We are waiting to be enlightened by you on your journey through space.'

Maruchi entered upon a long, clear and precise account of our expedition from its in-

ception to its fulfilment. He described how we had narrowly escaped coming into violent collision with a meteorolite and had passed through the tail of a comet and how we had descended close to the monastery of Opi. He was heard with close attention and when he had finished the president of the learned society remarked, 'Fortune has favoured you throughout, my enterprising friends, and she will smile on you to the end. You said just now that you want to carry back something with you which will satisfy the people on your planet that you have visited this world. I am glad to be able to say that on behalf of this society I am going to present you with an instrument which may not have been yet invented in your world. Come and see.'

We followed him and the other learned men to a large and spacious room which was apparently a part of the laboratory. There were various instruments of diverse designs and the uses of some of them were explained to us. There were instruments for recording faint sounds inaudible to the human ear, contrivances for catching and retaining flashes of light, highly sensitive instruments that showed the varying moods of man at a slight touch, rare metals and minerals possessed of marvellous properties. At length the president picked up a tube which looked like a small telescope and handed it to Maruchi and asked him to look through it. Maruchi looked into it for a few minutes, cried out in astonishment and passed it on to me. As I held the tube to my eyes I was astounded to see the street in front of the building and the people passing. I saw through the wall as if it had been built of transparent glass. I shifted the tube in another direction and found I could see objects at a considerable distance. Orlon, Nabor and Ganimet had each a turn at peering through the glass, and all of us were astonished and mystified beyond measure. Then one of the scientists, who probably knew more than the others, explained that the lenses had been prepared from a mineral recently discovered and they enabled a man to see through any solid obstacle. Experiments were still going on and they felt they were on the threshold of a great discovery. The instrument presented to us had a range of about two miles, but they hoped to succeed in making more powerful instruments with a much longer range. 'We do not know,' continued the scientist, 'whether such an instrument will be of much help in examining the heavenly bodies, for the problem there is distance and not the obstruction of an opaque body before our eyes. However, we have found other minerals from which glasses of immense magnifying power may be prepared and we have also reason to believe that the mineral out of which we have made the lenses of the glass you have in your hands may have other properties we have not yet discovered.'

Maruchi observed, 'The dream that our scientists have long cherished is to establish some means of communication between your planet and ours. On our own planet we have succeeded in transmitting sound and likenesses to great distances without any wires by setting up vibrations in the electric atmosphere which are received and reproduced by delicate instruments at considerable distances. Why should it be impossible to send a message from Lamulo to Heperon or from here to our planet through the waves of ether if sufficiently powerful and sensitive instruments can be constructed? There would be some difficulty on account of the difference in our languages in devising a code of signals or words which may be mutually understood, but it seems to me that our very presence here implies that that difficulty has been already overcome. Why, gentlemen, is there no purpose behind the incredible fact that we are here in the flesh, standing before you and admiring your marvellous inventions, visitors from another world in the heavens, travellers who have covered millions of miles of unexplored space? We bring to you the greetings of another race, the comradeship and brotherhood of one unit of the creation for another. We are speaking now in your own language and our language will present no difficulty to you. The time will surely come when you will be visiting our planet as we have visited yours and close relations may be established between the two races.'

'Precisely', responded the president. 'We cordially reciprocate your sentiments. We cheerfully yield to you the honour of having shown us the way and we grasp your hands in loving comradeship. Nature intends that we should wrest her secrets from her and the more we dare the more shall we win. Difficulties have been created to be conquered and overcome. The continuity of the race implies the continuity of endeavour. The work that we lay down must be taken up by others who may come after us. Today you have visited us from another planet. The day may come when we shall be in communication with other planets. If there is a common law governing the whole universe there must be a common bond uniting the various races inhabiting the different worlds. True, we are mortal and we have only a brief span of life, but the urge in our being is immortal and we refuse to leave unexplored the hidden ways and powers of nature and the strength that may be latent in ourselves. We devote ourselves to harnessing the forces in outside nature; others may be engaged in the development of faculties that we have neglected.'

'True', said Maruchi, 'and these other powers may be greater than our own, for aught we know. But science has opened out a wonderful vista of positive knowledge before our vision. You have made discoveries which are still unknown to us; we may have invented machines

and instruments to which you have given no thought. Every planet may possess hidden treasures of knowledge and power which may not be found elsewhere. If we were to combine our resources and share our secrets our united achievements would be infinitely greater, and results of which we have not yet dreamed may be obtained. As you have suggested we may link up with other planets and discover fresh treasure houses of knowledge. Since we are here I have thought of possibilities on the physical plane. There is some difference, which we cannot yet determine, between your people and ourselves. If well selected marriages between the two races could be introduced a new race with unequalled intellectual powers may come into being.'

The president and the other scientists looked surprised and slightly suspicious. 'We are much too busy', observed the president, 'with our own investigations and have not been able to give any thought to the movement of population. Of course, your suggestion is a hypothetical proposition. You, gentlemen, are fine representatives of your race, I have no doubt, though I do not think you propose to find wives among our people. Besides, we have not yet had the pleasure of seeing any ladies from your planet'—the president smiled blandly—and the people here are much too conservative to consider your proposal with favour.'

We had left the earth behind, but the pride of race was as strong here as on our own planet.

Maruchi next spoke of some of the inventions of our own scientists and invited the president and his friends to pay a visit to our airship. He explained how wireless messages could be sent to great distances and offered to place our installation at the disposal of our new friends. We found that some experiments in these directions had been made by some of the scientists present and they were prepared to continue their investigations. Maruchi's idea was that if we could agree upon a code for messages and a system of signals attempts might be made to exchange messages between the two planets. In fact, the possibility of communications between the earth and Mars had been fully considered by our foremost scientists before we had started on our present expedition. We had brought with us the apparatus for a powerful wireless installation, but up to the present we had been waiting to get into touch with the scientists of this planet, whom we wanted to be present at our demonstration. On the Earth a radio station had been established on a high mountain and machinery of exceptional power had been set up. Maruchi inquired whether there was any mountain near the city where we could install our own machinery.

'Oh yes', replied the president, 'you must have noticed the Zambo mountain to the east of the city. It is only a day's journey and we have got

an observatory there. There is ample accommodation. We have also a laboratory and a large machine room. We shall be very pleased to make all arrangements whenever you decide to come.'

'Is there any landing place for our airship?'

'There is. The observatory and other buildings are on a tableland and there is a very large, smooth lawn which is kept in excellent condition. We shall send previous word of your coming and you will find everything ready.'

Maruchi thanked the president and added, 'After the installation is made we should like you all to be present, but the thing should be kept quiet for some time. The demonstration may succeed or it may fail, and we should be sorry to disappoint a large number of people.'

The president gave us an assurance on this point. 'No one,' he said, 'can go to the place without a permit and we are ourselves anxious that perfect secrecy should be maintained about your experiment. It is the business of science to announce results and not to make public its methods of exploration and investigation.'

'Quite true,' replied Maruchi, and we took our leave highly pleased with our visit.

XIV

On our return to the house the Lady Toma met us near the door and said, 'Mr. Sahir, I want you and your friends to come to the games tomorrow. You are such frightfully learned and grave people that even father has been hesitating to speak to you on this subject, but I am not afraid of you and I am sure you will not be angry with me.'

We had found Toma an exceedingly nice girl, frank and unaffected, and of great charm of manner. From the first she had taken a liking to me and treated me as a big brother. 'Of course,' I replied, 'we shall come with great pleasure for we are interested in everything in your city. And don't accuse us of being learned for we have just seen some people who are far more learned than ourselves.'

Toma clapped her hands in glee. 'I know,' she laughingly said, 'you went to the Hall of Science. Those learned men are much too solemn for my liking. I am a poor ignorant girl and I don't want to be shut up in a room full of odd-looking instruments.'

'Quite right,' agreed Maruchi, 'we all need the sunshine of life more than the lowering clouds. I am sure even the scientists have their spells of amusements.'

'Do you think they would ever care to see the games?'

'I am sure they would if you were to ask them,' was the gallant and courteous rejoinder of Maruchi.

'Now you are laughing at me,' said Toma with a pretty pout, 'but I am not at all particular about those terrible learned men. I want you to come.'

And so it was agreed.

At table that night, the games were discussed. They were an annual celebration like our own Olympic games, and the descriptions recalled to our mind the classic sports of ancient Greece and Rome, but there was no cruelty of any kind. There were competitions of many kinds and trials of strength and skill. There were gladiatorial combats but no one had ever heard of the vanquished being slain. Young athletic women also took part in the games and there were several events in which both men and women joined. There were professionals and amateurs and the competitions were open to all. Toma was in high spirits and described vividly some of the games, while her parents listened to her with an indulgent smile. Ganimet interposed with a question, 'Shall we be permitted to take part in the games?'

'But certainly. Nothing would give us greater pleasure,' promptly replied the Damato. 'We were not certain whether the games would attract you.'

Toma was on our side. She said, 'They are not like the learned men here. They are just like other people.'



CANADA'S RACIO-CREDAL COMPLEXITIES*

BY ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

CANADA is not one of those fortunate countries of which some sojourners in India never tire of talking—where there is no racial rancour—no clash of creed or culture; where the rural and urban elements live side by side in peace and goodwill and there is no conflict of interest between agriculture and manufacturing industry. In such a country, we are assured, progress is swift and sustained, because such differences do not exist. National policy is therefore easy to formulate and easy to execute. Advancement can proceed smoothly—almost by itself.

This is not the place to discuss in what quarter of the globe a land so fortunately circumstanced is to be looked for. Suffice it to say that by no stretch of the imagination can Canada be regarded as one of these countries.

Whatever other advantages the Dominion may enjoy, it does not have a homogeneous population. It has racial problems, credal differences and conflict of interests between various "communities"—between political groups—rural and urban elements—agriculturists and industrialists.

In Canada, as elsewhere, such differences have acted as bars to progress. They have held up material advancement and impeded political and national growth.

But for the suspicious and even hostile spirit bred by differences of race, creed and culture, differences in intellectual outlook and conflict (or seeming conflict) of material interests, the movement for federation would have achieved its objective a little earlier than it did and the terms under which federation actually took place would have been of a less

halting character. Mistrust of one section of Canadians by another section of their countrymen is writ large in certain provisions of the British North America Act. To this day—after many decades of the closest co-operation in the governmental and economic spheres—such mistrust retains much of its vitality.

The point to be stressed is that while racio-credal complexities have not been wanting, Canadians have managed to go forward. In the political realm they have succeeded in becoming entirely their own masters. In the economic field they have established an enviable record. They have developed their primary as well as secondary industries to an extent where they have become world-factors. As exporters of raw, semi-finished and fully manufactured goods and as buyers of commodities of varied descriptions from foreign countries, they have outstripped all Asiatic peoples and even many European nations numerically far stronger than themselves.

It is futile to speculate as to how much further along Canadians would have been, had they been a homogeneous people without racial conflict or credal clash and if the rural population in the Dominion and the industrialists had not pulled in opposite directions. It is far more useful to dwell upon the fact that in spite of all handicaps great progress has been made in every direction. Therein lies the utility, especially for Indians, of studying the growth of Canadian institutions since the British handed over the reins of administration to Canadians, particularly since the foundations of Nationhood were laid in 1867.

II

To form an estimate of the nature and strength of the racio-credal complexities that Canadians have had to contend against during the period of Swaraj, attention must first be directed to eastern Canada, or the "East," as it is called in North American parlance.

Alongside the Atlantic sea-board are the

* This is the second article in the series: *Material Prosperity Under Swaraj: Canada's Example*. The first appeared in the September issue of the MODERN REVIEW.

"Maritime Provinces"—New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. They comprise, between them, an area of 52,000 square miles and had, in 1931, a population of 1,000,000 persons.

Canadians of British descent, professing one form or another of Protestantism, predominate in the "Maritimes." There is a considerable Scottish element. The non-conformists dominate politically and economically.

Though not lacking in enterprise or the power to organize, the people of these provinces are not as prosperous as they might be. Their industries—among the earliest established in Canada—have, indeed, been declining. During my last Canadian tour a Commission appointed by the Federal Government had just concluded an elaborate investigation of the situation: but the remedies suggested by it have either not been applied or do not appear to be proving effective.

To the north and east of the Great Lakes extends the province of Ontario. It is both large and populous—populous according to the Canadian (and not the Indian) standard. It has eight times the area of the "Maritimes"—or 413,000 square miles—and nearly three-and-a-half times their population—3,426,000 persons in 1931.

Canadians of British descent adhering to one Protestant denomination or another form the bulk of the inhabitants of Ontario. Many of them are descended from Ulster stock and their blood is saturated with antipathy to Catholicism. "Orange Lodges" are as conspicuous in Ontario as they are in North-Eastern Ireland and Roman Catholics exercise hardly any influence in the polity of the province.

Needless to add, no "separate electorates" have been created for them nor have seats been reserved for them on a population or other basis.* Devices of such a nature are

apparently needed only for the protection of minorities in "Dependencies." They certainly are not imposed on the self-governing communities in "free British countries."

Comprised in the Ontario population there is another element of great importance. It is descended from the "United Empire Loyalists," that is to say, men and women of British stock who quitted the British North American Colonies (the present United States of America) at the time of the Revolution, rather than forswear their allegiance to the King. As can be easily imagined, they have inherited from their forbears hatred of the United States and everything pertaining to it. Lapse of time has strengthened rather than toned down their antipathy towards Americans in many of them.

Though comparatively few in numbers, persons of "United Empire Loyalist" stock are exceedingly determined and vocal. They regard themselves as super-Canadians and insist upon being so regarded by others. As may be expected, they are highly Imperialistic. They are, in fact, more British than stay-at-home Britons.

Ontario is a rich province. It has extensive mineral deposits and considerable forest, agricultural, piscatorial and hydro-electric potentialities.

Being hard-sensed and resourceful, the citizens of this province have built up many industries, acquired great wealth. Politically shrewd, they wield an influence over federal affairs that makes them the object of envy in other parts of the Dominion.

The Ontario industrialists are particularly a power to reckon with. It is popularly believed that the Conservative Party, when in office, has danced to the tune that they have

* 1867 is regarded as the date of Canadian federation. In that year four provinces, namely, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, united. Provision was made in the Constitution for the subsequent inclusion of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Rupert's Land and the North-west Territories. In 1870 the province of Manitoba was created and its Lieutenant-Governor given power over the re-constituted North-west Territories (which

included the former North-west Territories minus the district of Assinobia, which became Manitoba, and Rupert's Land). In 1876 the North-west Territories were given their separate Governor and in 1905—the year prior to my first visit to Canada—two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, were carved out of these territories. In the meantime British Columbia had entered the federation in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. It may be added that there still are two Territories (i) what is left of the North-west Territories after the creation of the three provinces in the middle west, and (ii) Yukon—neither of which enjoys the status of an autonomous province. Newfoundland has insisted upon preserving its individuality and is recognized as a separate Dominion.

set. The Liberals of Canada have talked much of Free Trade from the Opposition Benches : but when in office have done little to antagonize these captains of industry.

The tariff wall in consequence has been raised higher and higher. The holes left for the admission of British and other Empire manufactures have been so made and have until now been of such size, that the Canadian industrialists have had no cause for disquiet from this source. Even then there has been an outcry from them individually and collectively for giving effective protection to Canadian industries. Love for Britain, of which they talk in season and out of season, has never prevented them from frankly demanding protection against British competition so that their own factories may drive a thriving trade. Of these matters I shall have more to say in another article.

III

Wedge between "the Maritimes" and Ontario is the province of Quebec. In area (594,000 square miles) it exceeds all the other eastern provinces put together : but in population (2,900,000 persons) Quebec yields precedence to Ontario.

Quebec is exceedingly rich in resources. It has extensive forests, the fringe of which has hardly been touched. Pulp made from soft woods feeds many paper-mills that have sprung up at sites conveniently located for the supply of raw materials and water-power. Hydro-electric development has gone farther than in any other Canadian province. According to the latest figures available turbine installation exceeds 3,100,000 horse-power, whereas such installation in Ontario is only 2,145,000 horse-power.* Cheap water-power and encouragement extended by the provincial authorities are accelerating the pace of industrialization.

Agriculture, practised longer in this province than anywhere else in Canada, gives employment to the largest number of people. Of French stock, they are exceedingly hardy, industrious, thrifty and pertinacious. Life is led on a simpler, more frugal basis than in other parts of the Dominion. The *habitants*

(peasants) have not become modernized to the point of abandoning old-world hospitality and make the stranger welcome in their fold.

Almost cent per cent of the French Canadians owe allegiance to the Pope. They employ French as their language in their homes and, as far as possible, in business. It is the medium of instruction in their schools, which are dominated by the Catholic clergy.

There was a time when Quebec was virtually a Catholic colony. The Catholic hierarchy were directly controlled from Rome.

Many changes have taken place in this province since the British conquest : but the power of the Roman Catholic clergy has not been shaken. The influence exerted by the Church has been immense. I wonder, however, if it has been more potent than that wielded through the separate school.

The insistence of the Catholics and Protestants in this Canadian province to compartmentalize education has had the most far-reaching consequences. Boys and girls have grown to manhood and womanhood with the separatist mentality.

Had the school system of Quebec been different, children of French and British descent would have come in contact with each other in the class-room and on the playground. They would have learned to like one another and, in many cases, would have formed life-long friendships. Separatist tendencies would have been weakened, if not entirely killed.

The separate school has prevented the two peoples from coming together in the most plastic period of their lives. It has strengthened the fissiparous mentality.

Language, too, has played its part in this political drama. The French Canadian and the British Canadian have insisted upon speaking and writing their own mother-tongue. Such insistence was natural and would have done no harm had both the peoples been good neighbours to the point of learning the other's language. During my several visits to Quebec, spread over a quarter of a century, I failed to find any marked signs showing that the two communities (as we would call them in India) had been welded together by the bilingual spirit.

I did come across British Canadians who had acquired mastery over French and spoke

* *Canada 1932*, issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Ottawa), p. 79.

it—and wrote it—as well (or nearly as well) as their compatriots who had learned it while being dandled in their mothers' arms. There was, for instance, Doctor MacDonald of Montreal. The poems in which he wrote of the *habitant* were famous. I came in close contact with him and his good lady. They were exceedingly kind to me and received me cordially in their beautiful home.

As a matter of business or convenience some Canadians of British descent may have learned French. I failed however to detect any general movement amongst British Canadians in Quebec to acquire the French language, such as one finds in Switzerland, for instance, among the German-Swiss and the Italian-Swiss. These Canadians may perhaps have lacked the genius for learning other languages, or more likely they felt themselves to be too superior to master a "furrin tongue"—their own was good enough for them.

The French Canadians were not so bad about learning English—at least the French Canadians in the cities and towns. They no doubt found that language useful even though the business of the State was conducted through both languages.

In the Quebec villages, English was at a discount. There were many French Canadians of mature years who could not understand English, or at any rate who spoke with ease and fluence only their own mother-tongue.

I have returned from each visit to this province and Ontario all the more impressed by the race-consciousness of both the French Canadian and the British Canadian. Each group is proud of its distinctive ethnic and cultural inheritance. Each is determined to preserve its peculiar characteristics. Each possesses a strongly developed sense of superiority.

The French Canadian considers his mode of thought and action much superior to those of the British Canadian. The latter returns the compliment, with compound interest.

Both the French Canadian and the British Canadian may strive to hide this sense of superiority: but it refuses to be hidden. It finds expression in deportment—in talk—even in writing.

V

Curiously religion is no solvent for the acerbities bred of race-consciousness. The Irish element in Quebec is an illustration in point.

The Irishman owes allegiance to the Pope. So does the French Canadian. But the two remain separate entities. They often will not act in concert for common purposes. It would indeed be no exaggeration to say that not infrequently these Catholics, with their distinct racial heritage, are actually at loggerheads with one another.

This is a matter that every person desirous of promoting concord among separate racial groups settled in the same country must ponder.

If the French Canadian only considered his way to be better than that of the British Canadian it would matter little. He goes further, however. He is intent upon having his own way.

So is the British Canadian. He has the advantage of numbers in the Dominion as a whole—in all provinces save Quebec, in fact. He is in undisputed possession of the political machinery everywhere outside Quebec. He is, therefore, in a splendid position to enforce his will—and usually does.

This circumstance has an important reaction upon the formulation and administration of policy in Quebec. It makes the French Canadian in that province grit his teeth and clutch at the power that superiority of numbers gives him.

VI

The French Canadian control over the machinery of government in Quebec would be absolute but for the fact that the money-power vests largely in British Canadian hands. Most of the barons of finance in Montreal—the largest and wealthiest city in the province but not its capital—are of British (often Scottish) descent. So are the railway magnates.

Money "talks" in this province, as indeed it does elsewhere. During my several visits to the Dominion I found a Canadian of British descent in charge of Quebec's money-bags. Though in the Cabinet he was in a

"microscopic minority", as was his community in the population of the province and the two houses of the provincial legislature, he exerted considerable influence upon the formulation, and especially the execution, of the government's policy.

What the French Canadian lacks through this circumstance he makes up through cohesion. He belongs to a compact community. The ability to make common cause is due partly to its institutions and partly to the influence exerted by the Catholic Church.

The French Canadian is remarkably tenacious, too. That quality is a part of his inheritance, from France. It has been further developed through propinquity with the British—a race noteworthy for its acquisitiveness. But for it the French Canadian might easily have become a vassal in Canada.

Talk of the British "bull-dog grip!" It is a flea-bite compared with French Canadian tenacity.

What the Canadian of French descent has, he means to hold through eternity. He certainly has no intention of relaxing his control over the affairs of his province.

He is, on the contrary, ever on the alert to resist any effort upon the part of the Federal authority, in which the French Canadian element constitutes a minority, to encroach upon his rights and privileges. In the estimation of some British Canadians, he is indeed seeking every opportunity to dominate national affairs and even to block national progress when such progress is held to run counter to provincial interests.

VII

The Federal Constitution provides the predominantly French Canadian Government of Quebec with many opportunities to make its influence felt in inter-provincial matters. The framers of that Constitution, though far-seeing, were not prescient. In delimiting the provincial and federal spheres they were not able to provide for every eventuality for all time to come. Development along unforeseen lines during recent years has made it possible for the Quebec authorities to raise grave issues for the Federal Government.

The St. Lawrence River Canal furnishes an apposite illustration. In building this

canal, partly through American and partly through Canadian territory, it is proposed to harness water, in certain places within the physical limits of Quebec and Ontario, for the generation of electric current. Hydro-electricity was undreamt of by the framers of the British North American Act and therefore they could make no provision in respect of it.

Here then was a fruitful source of quibbles. Quebec and Ontario badgered the Federal Government and, between them, held up the scheme so long as the Liberals were in power at Ottawa.

Since the coming into office of the Conservatives under Mr. Bennett, Ontario—also under the Conservative thumb—has withdrawn its opposition; and a treaty for constructing the canal has lately been signed at Washington, D. C., by Mr. Bennett's brother-in-law in behalf of Canada. The Liberal Government in Quebec, however, remains obdurate and all sorts of difficulties are being created.

VIII

The division of the Federal loaves and fishes is another fruitful source of inter-racial rivalries and quibbles. The British Canadians say that the French Canadians manage to obtain more than their due share, while the latter profess to be dissatisfied with the apportionment of "plums."

When I first visited Canada the Liberals were in power under Laurier—a French Canadian. His elevation to the position carrying the greatest power in the Dominion had caused much heart-burning among some sections of British Canadians. It was said—and said in no discreet whispers—that the French Canadians were having things their own way.

But I found that the French Canadians thought otherwise. Laurier had bitterly offended the Catholic clergy by his efforts to put a stop to their interference in politics.

He had also angered the section of his compatriots and co-religionists of his own race anxious to keep clear of British entanglements by his action in connection with the Boer War in South Africa. Henri Bourassa, a gifted writer and speaker, felt that in aiding Britain the Canadian Prime Minister

had done mortal injury to the movement for full-orbed Canadian autonomy. I recall meeting him late in 1906 or early in 1907 and listening to his bitter denunciation of Laurier, of whose statesmanship and national consciousness I had however formed the highest impression.

More recently, when Mr. Mackenzie King was in the saddle at Ottawa, I heard similar complaints. The Conservatives accused him of placating the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec by sacrificing British Canadian interests.

Mr. Bennett, Mr. King's Conservative successor, evidently tried to adjust the balance to the satisfaction of his followers of British descent. The delegates he nominated to the Imperial Economic Conference that met during July and August at Ottawa were all English-speaking. The list he originally announced apparently contained no French Canadian names.

There was a howl from Quebec, immediately that province learned of the decision. So effective was the howl that Mr. Bennett promptly altered arrangements and got a French Canadian in his Cabinet (Mr. Suave) to tell his people that they had not been left unrepresented.

The French Canadian Minister did not quite "put it over" his people—to use an expression much favoured by Canadians. They told him that they would have better appreciated Mr. Bennett's action if it had not been in the nature of an after-thought induced by agitation.

IX

It must not be assumed that French Canadians and British Canadians are completely isolated from each other. Nothing of the kind. They associate, one with the other, in business and even share one another's joys and sorrows.

Nor must it be supposed that French Canadians are anti-British. While proud of their French descent and French heritage, anxious to remain on the friendliest terms with France and the French and to add to the stream of French literature, they profess attachment to the British Crown—and most of them, I am sure, genuinely.

It seems to me, in fact, that French Canadians regard the British as a sort of buffer between themselves and Canadians of British descent. Britain is regarded as a protector of the rights, privileges and interests of the minority differing in race and religion from the majority.

French Canadian politicians are adroit. They have not hesitated, in the past, to use the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council as an instrument with which to lambaste the Federal Government.

This tendency has had a serious effect upon the march of nationhood in Canada. The desire upon the part of the French Canadians to have an outside arbiter prevents the Dominion from acquiring the right of revising its own Constitution without reference to any external authority and thereby makes it impossible for Canada to rise to her highest stature.

X

The position of the French Canadians in provinces other than Quebec remains to be considered. In Ontario and elsewhere they are in a minority—a hopeless minority. Having been accorded neither the privilege of being represented only by persons of their own race, nor weightage, their voice in the administration of affairs is practically inaudible.

Absence of such adventitious aids however has had the effect of bringing out all that is best in the French Canadian character. They have been driven to focus all their forces upon improving their status in the polity of the province in which they have been born or to which they have migrated.

Race-consciousness, often reinforced by credal prejudices, has made it difficult for the French Canadian minorities in the provinces outside Quebec to secure the advantages, especially for their children, that they would have liked. Education, for instance, has presented a most difficult problem. They naturally desired that their boys and girls should pursue their studies through the medium of their mother-tongue. The non-French Canadian majorities entrenched in power in Ontario and elsewhere have however affixed their veto to any such.

proposal. These majorities have, in fact, placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of children of French extraction even studying French in public schools, let alone permitting its use as a medium of instruction.

When I first went to Ontario the "language question"—as it was called—was a burning topic. The French Canadians there were much wrought up over it. The French Canadians in Quebec burned with indignation over the treatment accorded to them. The intolerance begotten of race-consciousness and religious prejudice, particularly "Orange," was held responsible for the disabilities heaped upon the French Canadian children in that province.

Nor were the French Canadians in the middle west much better off in this respect. There, too, the "language question" smouldered.

During the quarter of a century that has elapsed since I first toured the Dominion, some adjustments have taken place. Often, however, the concessions have been made most grudgingly or in a niggardly spirit.

I found, for instance, in 1926-27, that in some places in the middle west French Canadian children were permitted to study French: but only outside school hours, either before the classes began or after they had finished. This provision inflicted a measure of hardship upon the children. They had to get up and go to school earlier than the British Canadian boys and girls or remain away from home later than they. The distance from a farm house to a school is often considerable in this region and sometimes has to be covered on horse-back or in some sort of a conveyance. The authorities that framed the regulation were not unacquainted with these conditions: but they refused to unbend to a greater degree.

The French Canadians in the provinces dominated by the British Canadians will not suffer such pin-pricks in silence. The circumstances in which they live and work have indeed given them remarkable lung-power and they draw upon it liberally. They have also developed great cohesion.

XI

Industrious and thrifty, the French Canadians get on remarkably well, even in the areas where they are in a hopeless minority. Some of them manage to acquire political influence and work their way into government departments and even into the provincial cabinets.

Among my friends in Manitoba is Mr. Prefontaine, the French Canadian Minister of Agriculture. He told me that he began life in the East, in exceedingly narrow circumstances. Early in his manhood he emigrated to the United States of America, where he found intense intolerance of Catholics. He moved back to the Dominion, but decided to try his luck in the middle west, in the prairie country. Lacking capital, he had to operate his homestead in conditions that would have broken the spirit of a less determined man. By industry and thrift he managed, in two decades, to acquire a competence. One autumn when I happened to be making a stay of some duration in Winnipeg, he motored Mrs. St. Nihal Singh, a highly placed business man (Mr. Pugh of Tea Eaton's) and myself to his farm and I saw for myself how grit had enabled him to prosper. The house in which his sons lived was substantial. It stood in the midst of an extensive acreage. We had gone without previous notice, but the fare set before us, within an hour of our arrival, was sumptuous and deliciously cooked.

I came in more or less intimate contact with the colleagues of this French Canadian Minister—all Britons. They entertained great regard for him—had no secrets from him—consulted him without reserve on matters outside his official sphere. He was a happy member of a happy family. The Secretary to the Department of Agriculture—a Welshman, paid him great deference and loyally carried out his orders.

Mr. Prefontaine's case is by no means universal, otherwise it would not have occurred to me and I would not have mentioned it. Other men of French extraction are, nevertheless, making a mark outside Quebec.

BOOK SELECTION FOR PUBLIC LIBRARIES

By AMULYADHAN MUKHERJEE, M.A.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE PROBLEM

BOOK selection for public libraries is an essentially difficult work, and it is rendered more so by the peculiar conditions obtaining in our public libraries. The function of a library is to gather, store, and circulate books so as to render the best service to the community, and, therefore, the greatest care is to be taken in selecting books for acquisition by a library. Here the difficulty rises. It is one thing to know and gather the best books, difficult though that is ; but it is quite a different thing to get the best service out of them. You may have the shelves of a library filled with the most thoughtful and learned books in the world and yet fail to render the service that the library is meant for. Books in a library are of no use unless they are read ; and mere reading is useless unless it stimulates the mind and character ; and mere stimulation does no good unless it is the right sort of stimulation, calling forth the higher human functions in the readers. When we add to these a consideration of the wide diversity in point of taste, knowledge and culture amongst readers, the difficulties become patent enough. The extremely limited resources of our libraries, the want of any intellectual atmosphere in the areas served by most of them make the problem an extremely thorny one.

DISCRIMINATION NECESSARY WITH RESPECT TO PRESENTATION VOLUMES

Generally, our public libraries get their books through two different channels—through direct purchase and through presentation. Many libraries were started with a number of presentation volumes and many have yet to depend upon presentations to this day. The principles which we are to discuss here apply to presentation books as well as to those purchased. There is a general tendency to welcome any books that may be presented,

simply because they do not cost the library anything. But they do really cost the library to some extent. One has to get shelves and racks for them, take the usual care of them, perhaps more, because they usually happen to be old dog-eared volumes. They have a shorter life and require rebinding sooner than ordinary purchased books. Therefore, the principles of book selection should be extended even to the presentation volumes. Every book in the library should be there to supply some intellectual want of the library, not merely to fill space in a show-case.

NECESSITY OF A CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE

It is best to start the work of book selection with a properly classified catalogue. By a properly classified catalogue I mean one that can serve as a guide to the librarian in the matter of book selection, telling him what he possesses and what he does not but should have possessed. In such a classified catalogue the major, minor and subordinate classes should be so constituted that in a model collection *for the particular community* there will approximately be the same number of books under each co-ordinate head, so that the librarian turning over the pages of his own catalogue will readily understand the strength and deficiencies of his library. I emphasize the phrase 'for the particular community' because the needs of each community are different, and therefore a mechanical adherence to an international system will be of little use to the type of libraries we are envisaging. Such an international catalogue may be of use only to international libraries or those that are imitating them, trying to make a thorough and exhaustive survey of all human knowledge and learning. But even that is hardly possible, for in every collection books in one particular language and well-known in a particular community must predominate. However, a model catalogue

like what I am speaking of may be prepared for the smaller libraries of Bengal which serve areas inhabited by the same type of people and having practically the same atmosphere and the same needs. The Hooghly District Library Association might give a useful lead here by preparing a model catalogue for smaller libraries of Bengal. Each library might try to utilize its resources to follow the model set for them.

But it will never do merely to follow a model, helpful though that might be. The principles of book selection that underlie the preparation of a model should further be amplified and applied in the particular case of each library to make it a useful and dynamic institution.

DEMAND

The first thing necessary before starting work in book selection is to know the demand. The word 'demand' is to be taken in its widest sense, including both existing and potential demand. The librarian has to know what the people do read, as also what they would like to read. By personal contact with the readers and the potential readers, through knowledge of club talk, through a close study of comments on books taken out by readers and first-hand talk with them, the librarian may know much about the existing demand. Direct and indirect enquiries for information on various topics, the use of reference works by readers, and the popularity of papers and magazines may help the librarian in understanding the nature of the 'demand.' A study of the 'Issue Register' and other records in the library will also yield valuable information as to the readers' likings and intellectual equipment. A Suggestion Book should be kept for use by the readers and the suggestions carefully noted even though the particular volumes suggested may not be thought suitable for purchase. The study of the demand should be directed not so much with the passive instinct for compliance with popular wish but rather with the desire of discovering the tastes and capacities of the clientele. It is not enough simply to note the percentage of demand with respect to

the various classes of books. Closer scrutiny should be made with a view to understand each particular reader's taste and manner of thinking. A reader who always orders novels is not necessarily interested in any and every novel; he can, moreover, be interested in works other than novels which have relevancy to the topic he is interested in. If he is a reader interested in novels touching the question of relationship of the sexes, he may gradually be led on to dramas, then to essays having a similar theme, and later on to sociology and history. The study of demand is to be actuated by the desire to know just what material exists and how it can be shaped best. Another method of gauging the demand is to know the occupations, pastimes and hobbies of the readers. They will naturally be interested in getting knowledge that will stand them in good stead in their everyday activities of life. The intelligent librarian pursuing these hints will be able to form a fairly accurate idea of the nature of the demand.

CLASSIFICATION OF READERS

The next thing that the librarian requires to assess is the potential demand. Having known the people the library is meant to serve, he should next judge what further branches of knowledge they might be made interested in. The library is an educative agency and the "intellectual quotient" at the library must be higher than that of the public it is meant to serve, so that the readers should always go back from the library *gladder and wiser*. The most convenient plan, therefore, will be to have also a classified list of readers. A great deal of labour has been spent over devising systems for classification of books, but at least an equal amount should be spent in classifying readers. After all the library, like all educative agencies, is a human institution and has to do not so much with books as with men. But unfortunately no thorough-going or scientific system has yet been tried in this connection, and if the Hooghly District Library Association would make a beginning in this direction, they might set an example to the rest of India. In this connection I

venture to suggest that suitable formulas might be devised connecting the classification of readers with the classification of books so that it might be easy to suggest suitable books for each particular reader. Too often the practice is to procure books for a nonentity called the general reader. As a matter of fact no particular reader fully answers to the description of the general reader, and books are procured with the haziest notion as to their utility and interest for different types of readers.

IMPORTANCE OF CLASSICS AND STANDARD WORKS

Coming now to the other side of the ledger, that is to say; the intrinsic worth of books, we have first of all to recognize the importance of the classics and standard works in every branch of learning. Little need be said regarding the classics. They are the great and immortal books, and it is one of the supreme rewards of education to be able to read and appreciate them. Whatever else one may read for edification has its value only as leading ultimately to a sympathetic study of the master minds. It is one of the first duties of a library to preach the gospel that is contained in the classics, and therefore the library should try its best to procure them. Fortunately most of the classics are today available in cheap editions and a library will be well advised to have additional copies of such works. Actually most of the classics are among the best-sellers and a library need not be afraid of any diminution of its income or influence on account of stocking the shelves with classics.

Where the resources of a library are limited, and it is not possible to have an adequate number of books under every subject head, the best thing to do will be to have one standard work or a representative anthology in lieu of a small number of unimportant books or pamphlets on a particular subject. On the same principles, in order to make the library comprehensive though unambitious, dictionaries, encyclopaedias and other important reference works must be procured and their use popularized. A library after all

is meant to complete the mental equipment of the citizens.

PERIODICALS

Every library ought to have a sufficient assortment of newspapers, reviews and magazines of various kinds. As vehicles of popular knowledge and as sources of daily mental stimulation and of every-day information, their utility is almost immeasurable. As to the particular number and the variety of papers and magazines to be subscribed, the librarians should be guided by the nature of the 'demand'.

BOOKS IN ENGLISH

An Indian library today, like the educated Indian, cannot help being bilingual. English is for us the key to the world's knowledge and culture which it is practically impossible for us to do without. English books should, therefore, be procured to supply deficiencies that cannot be made up by any work in the vernacular and further to acquaint us with the world's best thought and culture outside the mother-tongue.

EVALUATION OF BOOKS

Ultimately, however, every library authority will be faced by the problem of evaluating books—with the question whether a particular book is worth purchasing. To decide such a question one must have a thorough education, a catholic taste, and a wide knowledge of books. Sometimes it will be found that the work can be best performed, if done by those who have specialized in different branches of learning. The selector or selectors should make their reports, and then and only then should the question of purchase be decided on. The frequent practice of purchasing books simply by looking through the announcements of publishers ought to be discouraged. An exception can only be made in the case of works of writers of very great reputation, almost every work of whom has been accepted as a classic. Here again the Library Association might help the constituent libraries. It is not always possible for every library to procure the services of a qualified

group of selectors. The Library Association might send to the constituents monthly reports of new books published as also of other books regarding which a reference has been made to it. For the sake of convenience and expedition in work, the routine forms for report like those recommended for American Libraries might be followed.

CHOOSING BETWEEN DIFFERENT BOOKS

The final problem for the selector is to adjust the demand to the resources of the library and its educative mission. A simple system of arithmetical values might be given to books according to the demand and the intrinsic worth. When the question is one of choosing between two books X and Y , their respective utility might be judged by the ratio $X : Y :: a b : a_1 b_1$ when a and a_1 represent the probable number of calls for X , Y during one year and b and b_1 represent the index of intrinsic worth. In purchasing books of different classes, the well-known principle of economics regarding the equality of marginal utility might be observed, and utility judged by the formula $X : Y :: a b : a_1 b_1$. By observing these principles it will be possible to apportion the library funds to obtain books of the highest quality for the greatest number of people. In actual practice it will be found that a mechanical adherence to these rules may cause some inconveniences, and where the librarian's instinct tells him to make a departure from them he should not be afraid to do so. 'The letter killeth; the spirit giveth life,' and the true library does indeed possess an entity and a spirit of its own, quickening and energizing the intellectual lives of its clientele.

ROUTINE FORM OF REPORT ON WORKS OF FICTION

1. The Author—(Literary reputation)—(How many of his books are already in the library.)
2. Price

3. Whether the interest depends on *the plot* or *characters* or *setting*
Whether a thesis or propaganda work—(the particular thesis)

Whether humorous, tragic, happy, melodramatic, satiric or fantastic.

4. Plot—kind of plot (adventure, mystery etc.)

- original or hackneyed
- simple or involved
- ingenious or probable
- well worked out, or loose
- interesting, or flat

5. Characters—whether lifelike, natural or subtle—whether it is a psychological novel.

6. Setting—period, locality, atmosphere, society, pictures and manners.

7. Style—diction—expression.

8. Art—whether romantic or realistic or idealistic or impressionistic, etc.

Appeal—very popular, popular, average, limited.

Effect—If inspiring, stimulating, wholesome, cheerful or moralizing.

General treatment—worthy or trashy; important or trivial, interesting or dull.

9. Specially meant for—all, men, women or boys; students or laymen; sophisticated readers or the average reader.

10. Opinions from critics.

ROUTINE FORM OF REPORT FOR WORKS ON SPECIFIC SUBJECTS

1. Author—(Literary reputation)

2. Price.

3. Exact statement of the subject-matter—special aspects emphasized.

4. *Treatment*—full or brief; concrete or abstract; elaborate or simple; scholarly, technical or popular; accurate or inexact.

Form—monograph—treatise—manual—school-book

5. Sources.

Materials—Primary or secondary; private or accessible. Based on person observation or research.

6. *Style*.

Diction

Expression

Presentation—clear or involved, forceful or illogical; whether informing and convincing, whether entertaining, interesting or dull.

7. Quality—authoritative or spurious—learned or trashy.

8. Position in the world of learning—comparison with other works on the same subject.

9. Meant for—adults or children; students (beginners or advanced) teachers or specialists.

10. Opinions from critics.*

* An address delivered at a general meeting of the Hooghly District Library Association on Sunday the 5th June, 1932.



MAHATMA GANDHI'S FAST

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

INDIA, with which a considerable portion of the civilized world is in sympathy, has been spared the agony of witnessing Mahatma Gandhi fasting unto death in the Yeravda Prison at Poona. This form of extreme penance, the deliberate surrender of life by complete abstention from food, was not unknown in ancient India. It was designated *Prayopaveshana*. The person who took this vow usually squatted down on the bank of a river and fasted till death. Thirst kills more quickly than hunger; the fasting man could allay his thirst from the river in front of him, but he never left his seat and finally laid himself down to die. Mahatma Gandhi's *prayopaveshana* was not absolute; he did not refuse to drink water; he agreed to break his fast if certain conditions were fulfilled. Still in the course of the week that his fast lasted his vitality ebbed alarmingly and in the opinion of some of the highest medical authorities in the country his life was in grave danger.

There is no need to recite afresh the circumstances that led to the fast. These are known to the whole world. The correspondence that passed between Mahatma Gandhi, the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister began in March, and was treated as an official secret till about a week before the commencement of the fast, when it was released for publication. The effect was instantaneous and overwhelming. The whole country was stunned. No one dreamed of treating the Mahatma's decision as a mere threat. The Government realized the gravity of the situation as fully as the people of India. It was announced that rather than accept the responsibility of permitting Mahatma Gandhi to die in prison the Government would release him at once so that he might exercise his influence to bring the leaders of the suppressed classes and the caste Hindus together and induce them to

agree to joint electorates in lieu of the separate electorates provided for in the Prime Minister's award. There was, however, a lurking apprehension at the back of the Government's mind that the unconditional release of Mahatma Gandhi might help him to revive the activities of the Civil Disobedience movement. It will be remembered that Mahatma Gandhi's anticipatory arrest almost immediately after his return from the Round Table Conference was probably sanctioned to prevent any overt acts of civil disobedience. On this occasion he was concentrating on the prevention of a statutory disruption of the two sections of Hindus. The uneasiness of the Government was groundless, for there was not the remotest likelihood of the Mahatma agreeing to any condition attached to his release. His fast had nothing to do with his imprisonment. He begged to be left in peace where he was and the Government agreed. If Mahatma Gandhi had died he would have died in prison.

Throughout his life Mahatma Gandhi has been strenuously opposed to the humiliation and isolation of what are known as the depressed classes, whom he rightly calls the suppressed classes, of India. They are Hindus, but the caste Hindus deny them all the elementary rights of Hindus. They are utterly despised, they are refused entry into Hindu temples, their touch is pollution. The systematic and prolonged degradation of these people is a disgrace to Hindu society. It is more: it is of the nature of self-mutilation, the lopping off of a limb to cripple the body-politic of Hindu society. By personal example and repeated precept Mahatma Gandhi has endeavoured to remove this disability, to lift the ban of untouchability from the suppressed classes. He has adopted an untouchable as a member of his family, he takes his food in their company, he admits them as co-workers. As he has himself said, he is a touchable by

birth but an untouchable by conviction. He has deliberately taken his place among the untouchables and pariahs of Hindu society, and these ill-used people have no greater or more powerful champion than himself.

There is no mention of this kind of untouchability in the annals of the ancient Aryans of India. Rama was a Kshatriya king and an avatar of Vishnu. He is worshipped as a divinity to this day. In Valmiki's Ramayana it is mentioned that when Ram accompanied by his wife Sita and his brother Lakshmana went into exile he was met by Guha, the king of the *chandalas*. At the present time the *chandalas* are the lowest of the untouchables. Guha was a beloved and intimate friend of Rama and on his approach Rama warmly embraced him. After greetings Guha offered his three guests cooked food of various kinds and had comfortable beds prepared for them. Rama could not partake of the food because he had taken the vows of an anchorite, nor did he lie on the bed but slept on the ground. When making his excuses he embraced Guha again. It is quite evident that if Rama had not taken such a vow he would have eaten the food offered him and slept on the bed prepared for him. The bar sinister of untouchability did not exist.

At the second Round Table Conference held in London Mahatma Gandhi was present as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. He was dressed as usual in his loin cloth and was easily the most remarkable personality present at the gathering. The speeches that he delivered were the most impressive heard at the Conference. It was expected that the representatives of India would be unanimous in their demands and would present a united front. In the first place, all the delegates were the nominees of the Government of India, and, in the next place, communal and class distrust presented an insuperable obstacle to unanimity of opinion. Protracted and prolonged deliberations failed to bring about an agreement, the Minorities Pact was drawn up and signed, and India appeared as a house divided against itself. As the so-called Indian "representatives" failed to agree amongst themselves the matter of representation in the provincial and central

legislatures was decided by the Prime Minister of great Britain.

When the minorities' claims were being considered at the Conference Mahatma Gandhi declared that he would resist with his life the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes of India. Neither at the time nor subsequently did any one understand that these words were not a figure of speech, but were used in their literal sense. Ordinarily, these words were used to emphasize a statement and to accentuate the conviction of the speaker. In his letter of March 11, 1932, to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that the words had not been spoken in the heat of the moment or by way of rhetoric, but contained the announcement of a deliberate decision. He went on to say in his letter that he had hoped on his return to India to mobilize public opinion against separate electorates, at any rate for the depressed classes. But the matter was taken out of his hands by his arrest and imprisonment.

It is evident that the resistance of which Mahatma Gandhi spoke could only be put into execution after the announcement of the communal award by Mr. MacDonald. With the merits of that award we are not concerned here and now. The question has to be considered with the most scrupulous fairness. It was for the Indian "delegates" present at the Conference to draw up a complete scheme of electorates and representation. The Prime Minister did not offer to mediate or intervene at the outset. His intercession was requested by some delegates only when the delegates failed to arrive at an agreement. The representatives of the suppressed classes favoured separate electorates, nor could they be blamed for their attitude. No one paused to consider that separate electorates imply the negation of nationalism, and, pushed to the logical extreme, they would bring about the complete disruption of society. Why should all Mussalmans have a common electorate? To be logical, Shias and Sunnis should have separate electorates; each suppressed class should have an electorate of its own; among the caste Hindus Sudras should not be permitted to vote for Brahmins. Instead of cohesion

there should be disintegration everywhere. In a few years no one would hear anything about an Indian nation. If the Prime Minister's decision is the golden apple of discord which has set the communities in India by the ears it is quite clear that the communalists were asking for it.

Frantic and earnest appeals were made to Mahatma Gandhi to dissuade him from fulfilling his vow of fasting till death, but these were of no avail for the Mahatma had not made his resolve lightly. To him it was a divine commandment which could not be disregarded. His fast could be broken and his death averted only if the "award" so far as it related to the suppressed classes and the caste Hindus were set aside. The fast, as announced, commenced on the 20th September. All restrictions as regards visitors to Mahatma Gandhi in prison were removed. His wife, who is undergoing a sentence of imprisonment at Ahmedabad, was brought down to Yaravda to remain in attendance on him. The physicians of the prison as well as distinguished physicians from outside visited him to report on the state of his health.

The consternation caused by his terrible vow was dissipated by the urgent need of swift action. The leaders of both the suppressed classes and the caste Hindus hurried to Poona. Consultations were held early and late, and Mahatma Gandhi, who was lying in bed in the open under the shadow of a mango tree, was frequently interviewed. The strain on his enfeebled health was very great, but he was at all times accessible. Even newspaper correspondents were permitted to interview him and to publish his conversation. They were immensely impressed. The *Times of India* correspondent wrote: "The journalists were treated to one of the most easily delivered and seriously thoughtful interviews to which it has ever been my fortune to listen." In the course of the interview Mahatma Gandhi said: "If I had anything more to give, I would throw that in also to remove this curse (of untouchability), but I have nothing more than my life." Words of such simple and supreme sublimity and the uttermost sacrifice have not been heard in the world for two thousand years.

It was a race against time and the

approaching shadow of death. Dr. Gilder, the greatest heart specialist in Bombay, gravely declared in the Bombay Legislative Council, of which he is a member, that Mahatma Gandhi had entered the danger zone and there was serious cause for anxiety. This was fully realized by the representatives assembled in Poona. The fast, as already stated, began on the 20th September. By the afternoon of the 24th an agreement had been arrived at, separate electorates had been abandoned, the new scheme was signed by the leaders of both classes and Mahatma Gandhi, and was handed over to the Governor of Bombay personally. A summary was cabled to the Prime Minister and personal telegrams were sent to him and the Viceroy urging the need for immediate action.

The fearful responsibility resting upon the leaders and people of India had been promptly and satisfactorily discharged. So far as they were concerned, there was no longer any justification for the continuation of the Mahatma's fast. They had proved by merging all differences of opinion how precious his life was to them all. Away in England also there was no disposition to underestimate the importance of the crisis. A consultation was held between the Premier and the Secretary for India. On the afternoon of the 26th a cable from Mr. MacDonald was placed in the hands of Mahatma Gandhi accepting the decision arrived at Poona. The fast was broken amidst a scene of great solemnity. A number of people standing outside the prison gate were admitted. Rabindranath Tagore, who was sitting by the Mahatma's bedside, sang a hymn composed by himself, other songs followed and then Mrs. Kasturbai Gandhi handed a small glass of fruit juice to her husband. There were to be no separate electorates for the two sections of Hindus, and so the fast, which otherwise would have terminated in the death of the Mahatma, came to an end.

The repercussions outside the prison were almost incredible. People belonging to the untouchable classes were invited to dine with caste people. At Benares, the stronghold of orthodox Hinduism, a number of Brahmins sat down to dinner with sweepers. Many

temples were thrown open to the suppressed classes, and caste Hindus fraternized with them. Curiously enough, the most eloquent appeal, which moved the audience to tears, in this connection was made by a Mussalman. Speaking at a public meeting at Delhi Mr. Asaf Ali said: "Throw open the *ghats* and temples of your hearts." It is really a change of hearts that is needed. It would be too much to expect that the ban of untouchability has been completely lifted, but there can be no doubt that the back of orthodox opposition has been broken and this wonder has been worked by Mahatma Gandhi from behind the prison bars.

Correspondents of Anglo-Indian newspapers have borne testimony to the reverence shown to Mahatma Gandhi during the week of his fast when visitors from outside and prisoners from inside the prison were freely permitted to approach him. The tree under which he rested was treated like the famous

Bodhi tree under which the Buddha attained Nirvana. Leaves and twigs were carried away as sacred relics. Men, women and children prostrated themselves before him. If Mahatma Gandhi had been released he might have carried on the good work that he had begun in the prison and helped to break completely the fetters of untouchability. But the spectre of Civil Disobedience continues to haunt the Government and the only way of exorcising it seems to be the imprisonment for an indefinite period of Mahatma Gandhi and many others and the gentle measures known as Ordinances. The spectre remains but no other alternative has been thought of for laying it.

Once again the prison doors have closed and interviews with Mahatma Gandhi have been forbidden. The cross that he was ready to mount is still borne by him. Who can tell when the time will come for him to lay it down?

THE TIGERS' GOD IN BENGAL ART

BY G. S. DUTT

CONSIDERABLE interest has been evinced in recent years in research in the field of Folk-lore in Bengal but hitherto such research has been almost wholly confined to the literary, historical, religious, mythological and sociological materials to be derived from folk-lore, rather than to an appreciation of its expression through the medium of art. Yet the more one explores the subject the more is one impressed with the extent and variety of the artistic expression of folk-lore in its various aspects in Bengal. In fact, it will hardly be an exaggeration to say that it is by an examination of its expression through the medium of the pictorial art that we can appreciate the real spiritual or sociological significance of folk-lore in Bengal and its deep connection with national culture and national character. It is just six months since the present writer had occasion to invite pointed attention to the deep significance of the art of the rural *Patuas* of western Bengal from the point of view of the spiritual develop-

ment of the Bengali people and the national culture of Bengal as distinguished from that of other provinces of India. Since then he has been fortunate in securing additional materials on some of the minor but highly interesting branches of folk art in Bengal having an intimate bearing on the beliefs and practices current among the common people of Eastern as well as Western Bengal and their cultural and spiritual development. It is of some of these minor but highly interesting branches of the folk art of Bengal as revealed through the medium of painting that it is proposed to give a brief review in this article.

The art of the rural *Patuas* of Western Bengal, which is mainly devoted to the portrayal of the incidents connected with the Krishna legend, the Rama legend and the life of Gauranga, deals with the higher national culture of Bengal, and has a deep philosophical and spiritual significance. Side by side with these higher cults which are based on a philosophical and

spiritual basis, other cults have also flourished among the lower and more ignorant classes of the population.

Of these lower and less spiritual cults prevalent among the more backward and ignorant classes, the cult of the *Baghai-devata* or the God of Tigers and the cult of Satyapir deserve special mention as having found expression through the medium of the pictorial art besides being commemorated in popular songs and ballads. The cult of the God of Tigers is one that appears to have originated primarily in the

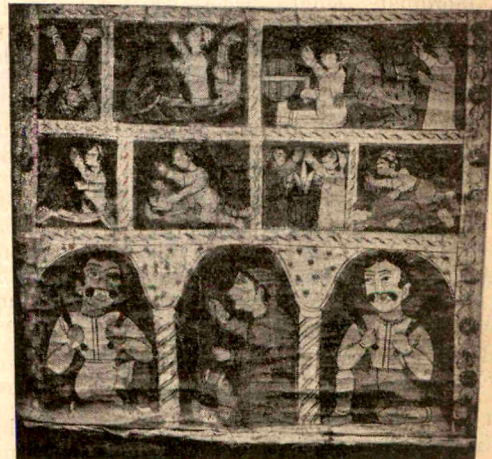
offer worship and *shirni* (offerings) to him but also to attack and decimate the enemies of the country. In Northern Bengal this tiger-deity is known as Sonarai and is worshipped by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. In the legend of Sonarai current in Northern Bengal his force of tigers is represented to have repelled the invading Moguls. In Eastern Bengal the honour of occupying the throne of the tigers' deity appears to have been divided between the two deities known as Dakshin Rai and Barekhan Gazi whose protracted feuds and ultimate reconciliation is described in detail in the *Rai Mangal* of Krishnaram Das. Both Dakshin Rai and the Gazi are held in honour by Hindus as well as Muhammadans alike throughout Eastern Bengal as well as in several districts in Central Bengal. So far as Dakshin Rai is concerned his visual representation appears to have been confined to rude drawings on trees and images in temples. An example of the latter will be found in the illustration against page 107 in *Bangabhasa and Sahitya* by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen. Here Dakshin Rai is represented as riding on a tiger and carrying a bow. So far as I know the Dakshin Rai cult has not been represented in any *pats* or pictures. The cult of the Gazi, however, has found ample expression in the pictorial art in what are known as *Gazir pats*. It may be mentioned here that Kalu Fakir who is sometimes described as Kalu Rai and is represented to belong to Hijli in Midnapore plays an important part as a peace-maker between Dakshin Rai and the Gazi and is often represented in *Gazir pats*.

The *Gazir pats* are scroll paintings depicting

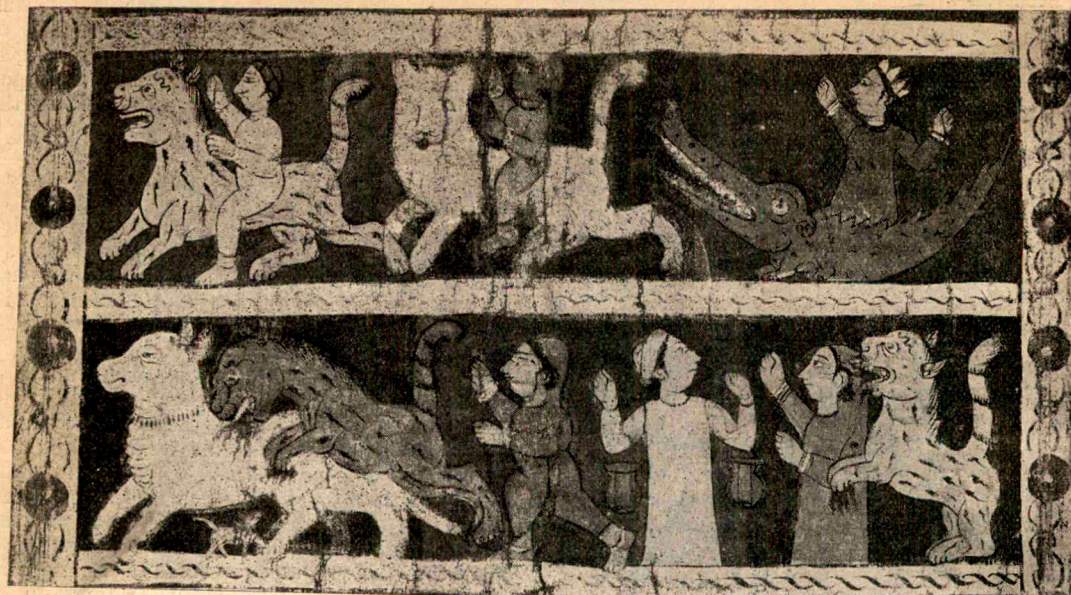


Central picture of Gazir Pat
The Gazi riding a tiger with two attendants
and two tiger guards

Sundarbans area in Eastern Bengal and in the Terai region in Northern Bengal where depredation of tigers on human life and cattle is particularly prevalent and where it has been easy for interested persons to persuade the ignorant classes that there is a presiding deity of tigers by propitiating whom through offering of eatable, etc. one can escape these depredations. This God of Tigers has been represented as riding on a tiger and having armies of tigers at his beck and call ready not only to pounce upon and kill those who are so insolent as not to



(Two upper pictures)
Scenes of punishment for withholding the Gazi's Shirni
(Lower picture)
Centre—The mother of Yama boiling a sinner's head
Sides—Yamaduta and Kaladuta



Left to right—Gazi

(Upper picture)

Kalu Rai

Ganga

(Lower picture)

Gazi's tiger kills the milkman's wife's cow and tears off her khopa

in pictures events in the career of Barekhan Gazi with special reference to the punishment inflicted by him through the medium of his faithful following of tigers on persons who refused to offer him *shirni* or oblation. In Eastern Bengal the expression *Gaxir pat* is in common parlance synonymous with excessive and inordinate length from which it may be presumed that these scroll paintings used to be of considerable length in olden times. The longest *Gaxir pat* among these which I have been able to procure, however, measures only sixteen feet in length which is quite small as compared to the scroll paintings depicting *Krishna Lila* and *Ram Lila* etc. painted by the rural Patuas of Western Bengal. These *Gaxir pats* are painted mainly by the *Ganakas* or *Acharyas* who used at one time also to paint pictures representing *Krishna Lila* and *Ram Lila*, etc. The demand for *Gaxir pats* appears to have arisen from their usefulness to professional beggars mainly of the *Bede वेदे* caste in Eastern Bengal (sometimes also called

वेराजा or *वेवाद्या* who make a livelihood by showing them at the *Charak* festival fair and other fairs to the accompaniment of the chanting of verses relating incidents depicted in the paintings. The main subject of the songs appears to be the manner in which chastisement is inflicted by tigers on persons who refused to give *shirni* to the *pir* or the

Gaxi. One particular incident is constantly mentioned in all these chants and depicted in all the *Gaxir pats*, which describe how the daughter of a milkman although she had some milk in her pot concealed the fact and refused to give an offering of the milk to the Gazi as a result of which she was chased by a tiger and carried off. The fact however that although displayed by the Muhammadans of the *Bedes* or the *fakir* class they were painted by Hindu *Ganakas* explains some of the features of these *Gaxir pats* which indicate their Hindu origin. For example, as in the scroll paintings of the *Patuas* of Western Bengal who paint *Ram Lila* and *Krishna Lila*, we find that the *Gaxir pats* invariably end with representations of the torture of sinners in Hell in the hands of the *Yamadutas* or the myrmidons of *Yama* the God of Death. Only in the *Gaxir pats*, there is an additional feature attached, *viz.*, the mother of



Gazi's asa-danda (mace of authority)



(Upper Picture)

Left to right—Ganga on Makara

Kalu Rai on horse-back

(Lower picture)

The Gazi's shrine under a tree with the asa symbol and with protecting tigers

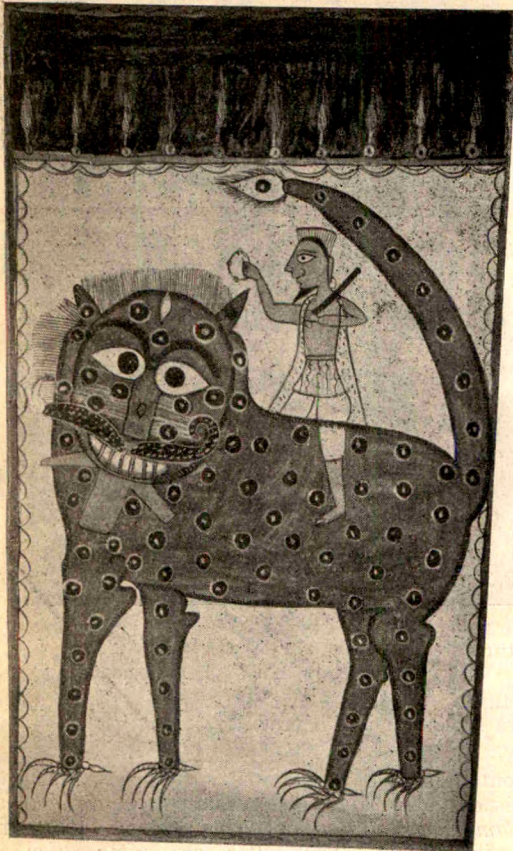
Yama is represented as seated between *Yamaduta* and *Kaladuta*, engaged in boiling the head of a sinner.

The Gazi is represented as carrying a string of prayer beads in one hand and a peculiarly shaped staff or *asa-danda* in the other. The prayer beads appear to have originated from Hindu conceptions and the *asa* (staff) from Muhammadan origins. The *asa* or staff has a long handle which is surmounted by a round disc-shaped tin with a deep crescent-shaped cavity on either side. Parties of villagers who sing *Gaxir gan* or Gazi's songs use the *asa* as the symbol of the Gazi.

The cult of the Gazi is at a low ebb now and the *Bedes বেদে* or other beggars who go about showing them get very little remunerations now-a-days for doing so, with the result that there is now little demand for *Gaxir pats* and the *Ganakas* or *Acharyas* who used to paint them in olden times have given up doing so. In consequence it is extremely difficult now-a-days to get genuine example of *Gaxir pats* and what commonly pass as *Gaxir pats* now-a-days in the fairs of Eastern Bengal are spurious imitations of a very inferior character. They are generally of an omnibus character and

contain, besides the pictures of the Gazi and his exploits, incidents from *Krishna Lila* and *Ram Lila* and as well as comic skits of a topical nature. The latter are often of a low standard of morality. There is one curious feature about them which may be mentioned here, *viz.*, the representation of two and sometimes of four tigers having one common head. Sometimes the Gazi and Kalu Rai are depicted as riding on the two of the tigers of this combination but in some pictures the tigers are riderless. Most of the *pats* which commonly pass as *Gaxir pats* now-a-days in Eastern Bengal have, for the reason explained above, little value from the point of view of the pictorial art, either in respect of draftsmanship or colour scheme or of a genuine attempt at objective or subjective representation. I have, however, been able to secure a few genuine *Gaxir pats* which have considerable aesthetic value. They consist entirely of incidents from the life of the Gazi with the exception of ending which consists as usual of a representation of the *Yamaduta* and *Kaladuta* and the mother of Yama. They have no irrelevant matter in them, such as, incidents from *Krishna Lila* or *Ram Lila* or of any topical matter. A few monochrome

reproductions of the paintings from one of these interesting scrolls are given here. The Gazi is represented as riding on a lusty tiger, and holding a mace in the left hand and a string



Satya Pir

(From a Jadu Patua's painting)

of prayer beads in the right hand. One attendant holds an umbrella while another attendant has a flag in his hand. It is not improbable that the idea of the two attendants and their relative positions were suggested originally by the attendants *Nandi* and *Bhringi* in representations of the Hindu God *Siva*. Both above and below the central picture of the Gazi there are narrow panels depicting incidents in which tigers play the most important part. The line drawings are of a lively and vigorous character and indicate considerable skill in draftsmanship. There is a distinct genius shown for making patterns in drawing the stripes of tigers and in the drawings of the crocodile, the *makara* and the peacock-prowed boat. The goddess *Ganga* riding at one place on the *makara* and at another place on the crocodile is represented as acting as a co-adjutor and ally of the Gazi. In the top of the *pat* there is a

figure on horse-back which is presumably a representation of *Kalu Rai* who is described in the *Rai Mangal* of *Krishnam Das* as riding a horse. The colour design is a pleasing and harmonious one and consists of yellow, blue, brown and white. The interest of this scroll painting centres mainly on its technical value from the point of view of pictorial art. From the point of view of purely descriptive art it represents a fairly high level of excellence. The actual story is, however, far from being of an edifying or spiritual character, representing, as it does, merely the wrath of the Gazi against those who fail to give him worship and their punishment, through the agency of his army of tigers, in alliance with the goddess *Ganga*, mounted on the *makara* and the crocodile. A special feature of interest with regard to this scroll painting is that it is a true *pat* in its original sense, being painted not on paper but on cloth in the old traditional manner. The cloth is plastered over with mud on which



Satyanarayan

(From a painting by a Jadu Patua)

whiting is then applied. The actual translation of some of the verses which are chanted by the beggars displaying this particular picture is

given below. It will appear from them that some of the verses are quite irrelevant and even of an unmeaning character and questionable taste and have sometimes no reference to the actual pictures, unlike the *Krishna Lila* or *Ram*



Scenes from Krishna-lila
(From a painting by a Jadu Patua)

Lila verses chanted by the *Patuas* of Western Bengal, which have a high spiritual significance and literary merit and which are strictly pertinent to the subject-matter depicted in the paintings.

TRANSLATION OF SOME OF THE VERSES

"The name of the Gazi's father is Shahi Sekendar,
He built a house of jewels at Madina.
From the subterranean regions he married the
daughter of king Bali.
And from that union was born the *Pir Zinda*
(*lit.*, living) Gazi,

Says Gazi to Kalu Rai "O brother mine!
Let us give up the throne and become Fakirs."
So the Zinda Gazi wandered about cities and
bazars as a Fakir.

And throughout the land Hindus and Musalmans
offered *shirni* to him.

First he went to the house of the *Goala* (milkman),
"Give me some *dahi* first, O Nanda Ghose" said he,
"so that I may partake of it;

Let the best cow of the herd be milked for me."

The foolish daughter of the milkman recognized not
the *Pir*,

She had the *dahi* in her pot but she denied

it and so imposed upon the Gazi and lo!

The moment she left the house a tiger came and
carried away the best cow of the herd,

The white cow of Kalachand also the tiger took.

The milkman's mother took a *lathi* from the door,
and beat the tiger;

She uttered a yell and hit the tiger on its back,

The tiger carried away her daughter-in-law, by

clutching her hair with his teeth,

Four men sit in a ring, and old mother Ganges
rides on the *makara*.

The father coughs and smokes the *hooka*,

And while the mother blows on it the fire burns
his beard.

The old woman beats her son-in-law and dances
wildly.

She beats the son-in-law's father and stands in a
coquetish way.

When asked to work she feigns fever.

When she gets an offer of marrying again, she runs
away.

She does not give away her wealth nor does she
spend it for herself,

And so the miserly woman hides her money under a
tree before her death.

The mother of Becha goes to catch fish in
the Koaranga *beel*



Pictures of a deceased Santhal by a Jadu Patua

- (1) Before Chakshudan (bestowal of eyesight)
- (2) After Chakshudan

From the point of view of a pictorial art the Jadu Patuas occupy a very unique place and their art will be found to possess interest in the



Scenes from Krishna-lila
(From a painting by a Jadu Patua)

field of pictorial art comparable in some ways to that of Negro art in the field of sculpture, with this difference that while the Negro art of sculpture is now extinct and belongs to a dead past, the primitive pictorial art of the Jadu Patuas is still a living art in full possession of its primeval vigour. The Jadu Patuas appeared to have been by origin of a purely aboriginal stock but who were subsequently converted into Hinduism and although in the *Gazeteer* they are described as occupying a place midway between Hinduism and Muhammadanism, the Jadu Patuas whom I have come across have all described themselves as pure Hindus in both religious belief and practical life.

Their art of painting has all the attributes of strength, vitality, freshness, naivete, directness and simple rhythm as well as the subjective power of story-telling which belongs to all true primitive art. They draw five kinds of pictures and exhibit them mainly to Santhals but sometimes also to Bengali villagers, *viz.*, (i) pictures

of Santhals who have recently died. This will be more fully described presently; (ii) pictures of stories from Santhal tribal legends and of Santhal tribal customs; (iii) pictures of scroll paintings depicting scenes from *Krishna Lila* on the same lines as the rural *Patuas* of Western Bengal but in a more simple and primitive manner, the conceptions being borrowed from the Bengali *Patuas* but the technique remaining essentially primitive and simple; (iv) pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses, such as, Kali, Jagannath, Balaram, Subhadra; and (v) the pictures of the deities Satyapir and Satyanarayan who are worshipped by both Hindus and Muhammadans, as well as by Santhals.

Whenever a Santhal man, woman or child dies the Jadu Patua appears at the house of the bereaved family with a ready made sketch of the deceased done from his own imagination. There is no attempt at verisimilitude but the picture merely consists of drawing of an adult or child or a male or female according to the age and sex of the deceased. The Jadu Patua presents the picture completely drawn in colour with one omission only, *viz.*, the iris of the eye. He shows the picture to the relatives and tells them that the deceased is wandering about blindly in the other world and will continue to do so until they send gifts of money or some other articles through him, *viz.*, (Jadu Patua himself), so that he can perform the act of *Chakshudan* चक्षुदान or bestowal of eyesight. The Santhals believe this to be actually true and give themselves up to weeping at the misery of their deceased relative wandering about blindly in the other world. They protest that they have already given gifts to him at his death but the Jadu Patua remains adamant and tells them that King Yama has taken away the gifts which they made with the body of the deceased and so they must send the deceased more things through him (*i.e.*, the

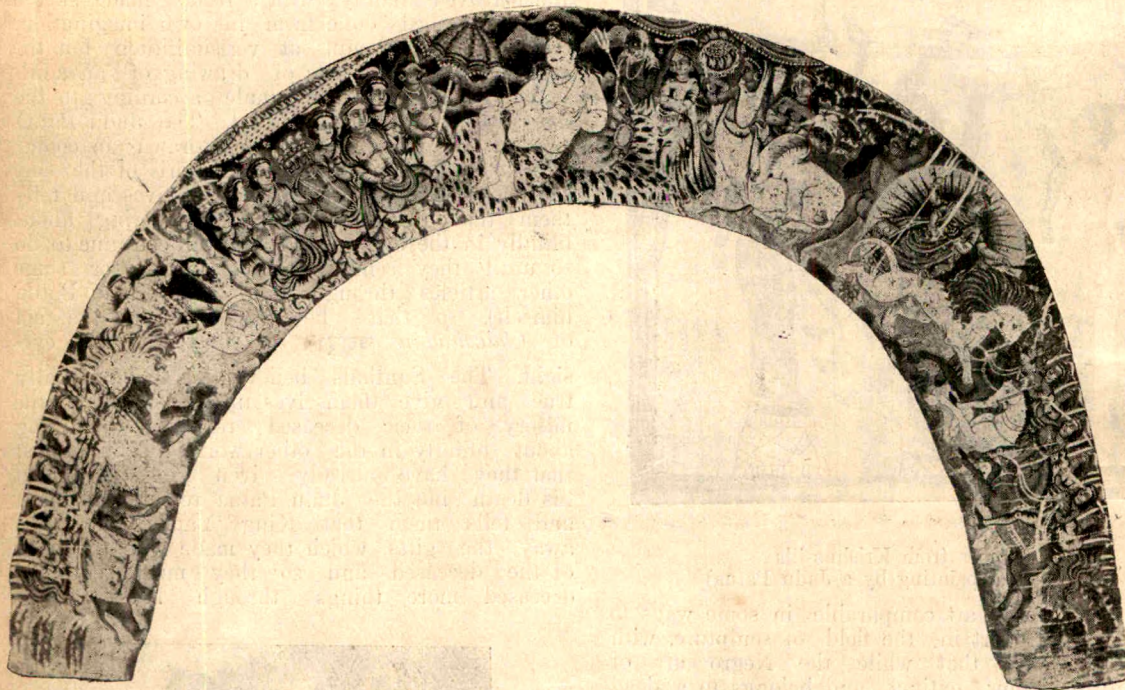


An Acharya showing his Chalchitra Painting

Jadu Patua) in order to satisfy his needs. So the relatives make presents of money or some other articles of domestic use to the Jadu Patua for transmission to the deceased and the Jadu Patua then puts the finishing touch to the picture by performing the act of *Chakshudan* or supplying the iris of the eye in the picture of the deceased. It is perhaps from this semi-magical practice that the Jadu Patua derives his name (Jadu=magic; Patua=painter).

The Jadu Patuas have an instinctive colour sense and the sense of creating rhythmic patterns with their brush as will appear from a glance at some of the pictures painted by them which are reproduced here in monochrome. In the case of some of the deities which they paint, such as, Jagannath, Balaram, etc., they

Satyapir forms an exact parallel to that of the Gazi in the *pat* which we have examined above. Only here there are no attendants and for the stripes of the tiger are substituted the rings and the spots of the leopard or the panther. It is perhaps natural that Satyapir should be made to ride on the leopard which inhabits the jungles of the Western Bengal but the most interesting problem here is as to how the imagery of Satyapir and Satyanarayan of the Santhal Parganas came to be exactly equivalent to that of the Gazi of Eastern Bengal. In none of the *panchalis* of Satyapir is the deity described as riding on a tiger or leopard. As regards the deity Satyanarayan the literature concerning which is obviously the production of the Hindus, the imagery approximates to



A ritualistic Chalchitra Painting by an Acharya of East Bengal

use the Hindu names of gods and goddesses when describing them to a Hindu audience but they give them the names of Santhal gods and goddesses when describing them to a Santhal audience.

But it is with their representation of the two deities of Satyapir and Satyanarayan that we are directly concerned here and special interest attaches to the close analogy in the conceptions of the jungle deity or Tigers' God as conceived by the *Gaxir pat* artists of Eastern Bengal and the Jadu Patuas in the Santhal Parganas, for although the *Gaxir pat* or the cult of the Gazi is entirely unknown in the latter region, yet we find that the imagery of

that of Visnu. Although the mace might be regarded as an equivalent of the *gada* or club of Visnu, yet the string of prayer beads put in Satyanarayan's hand in the pictures painted by the Jadu Patuas is not accounted for by any of the literature extant on the subject. But perhaps the obvious explanation here is that the Jadu Patua after having obtained an imagery of the Satyapir has repeated the same for that of Satyanarayan only changing the features of the face and the hair dress. Satyapir, being by origin a Muhammadan deity, is made to wear a cap like that of a Muhammadan, whereas Satyanarayan is made to wear a round *pugree* like those worn by the Hindus

in Western India; and while Satyanarayan is without a beard Satyapir is given a beard in order to suggest his Muhammadan origin. Both are shown riding on a leopard and both are called by the Jadu Patua as *Baghut devata* corresponding to *Baghai-devata* of Eastern Bengal folk-lore. By a simple couplet which he recites the Jadu Patua identifies the imageries of Satyapir and Satyanarayan. This is what he says: "Victory to father Satyanarayan! we invoke his blessings. Lo! he comes riding on the leopard (*bagh*). To the Hindus he is *Narayana* and to the Musalmans he is *pir*. He incarnates himself to take the worship from both the races."

Perhaps the convention as to giving the Tigers' God as string of prayer beads in one hand and a mace of authority (*asa-danda*) on the other arose originally in connection with the conception of the Satyapir, for we find the *asa* mentioned as one of his weapons, in the book *सत्यपीर कथा* by Bharat Chandra Rai Gunakar. In the book *Bara Satyapir*, we find this deity described as holding the *asa* in

one hand. He is represented as half *sannyasi* and half *fakir* in dress and holding a string of *tulsi* beads in one hand (*Bara Satyapir*, p. 212).

It will be found from the monochrome reproductions given here of the pictures of *Satyapir* and *Satyanarayan* drawn by Jadu Patuas, that they exhibit distinct primitive qualities, *viz.*, the subjective qualities of force and vigour and the objective qualities of simple rhythmic patterning.

Further evidence of an instinctive genius for rhythmic patterning will be found in the monochrome reproductions given here from the *Krishna Lila pats* painted by the Jadu Patuas.

The palette used is one of simple, pure and clean colours, and there is a preponderance of blue, yellow and green. The pictures are invariably in the form of scroll paintings but are much smaller in size than the scroll paintings of the *patuas* of Western Bengal which were exhibited by the present writer at the Exhibition of Folk Art held in Calcutta in March 1932.

A BROKEN FRAGMENT OF A NEW CHARTER OF SAMALAVARMMA, A WELL-KNOWN BENGAL KING OF THE 11TH CENTURY A. D.

BY N. K. BHATTASALI, M. A.

THIS fragment is that of a copper-plate inscription. It records grant of land by Samalavarmma, a well-known king of Bengal of the 11th century A. D. He was a contemporary of William the Conqueror of England. For a long number of years, this fragment was a plaything of the boys of a family in a village in the Dacca district. One day, it attracted the attention of the tutor who taught the boys. He realized its importance and persuaded the head of the family to present it to the Dacca Museum.

The Varmma kings ruled over a considerable portion of Bengal for about a century. Their history is very imperfectly known. Roughly, the boundary of their kingdom may be indicated as the Ganges and the Yamuna (at present, the main stream of the Brahma-

putra that joins the Ganges near Goalanda) on the north, the Bhagirathi or the Hoogly river on the west, the Meghna on the east and the Sea on the south. Probably, they had sway over the Burdwan division as well as portions of Orissa, in addition to the Dacca and Presidency divisions. On the decline of the Pala power in Bengal, Eastern and Southern Bengal became the hunting-ground for ambitious free-lances, and one man after another tried to wrest this portion of Bengal from the Palas. Two such attempts are known from copper-plate inscriptions now deposited in the Dacca Museum. One was Kanti Deva, who appears to have been the first in the field. His unfinished copper-plate grant was found somewhere in Chittagong and secured for the Dacca Museum. His

aggression appears to have been very short-lived. The next kings to measure swords with the established Pala family for the sovereignty of East Bengal are known as the



Image of Shyama Tara

Chandras, the best known member of which was Sri-Chandra. This family ruled over territories round the Lalmai Hills, a low and picturesque range of hills, about ten miles by one mile, and five miles west of the town of Comilla. They were quick to observe the

weakness of the Pala rule in Bengal and lost no time in wresting a considerable portion of it from the Palas. Two of their land-grants are deposited in the Dacca Museum and a third is preserved in the Museum at Rajshahi. For the first time in history, Vikramapura figures as a capital town in the land-grants of Sri-Chandra. This is to be identified with the ruins of a big town, now known as Rampal, in *pargana* Vikrampur, under the Munsiganj sub-division of the Dacca district. Sri-Chandra appears to have been master only over what is at present known as the Dacca division, in addition to his ancestral territories. The rule of the Chandras did not last for more than a generation or two. The Varmmas of the Yadava lineage, who hailed from a place called Simhapura (probably in Orissa) ousted the Chandras by about 1025 A. D., and became masters of Eastern and Southern Bengal.

The Varmmas of Bengal are known from one stone and two copper-plate inscriptions or three, if we add the present fragment. The founder of the fortunes of the family was undoubtedly one Jatavarmma, who allied himself with the famous king Karnna of the Kalachuri family. Karnna ruled over a powerful kingdom round Jabbalpur in Central India and was a terror to the neighbouring kings. Jatavarmma married Virasri, daughter of Karnna, and probably thus rose to power. It is not known if he or his successor ousted the Chandras from Vikrampur and when and how it was done. Yauvana-sri, another daughter of Karnna, was married to Vighrahapala III, King of Bihar and north Bengal. Samalavarmma, the donor of the grant, of which the present fragment is a quarter, was born of Virasri. Many of these details were known from the Belava plate of Samala's son Bhoja, now preserved in the Dacca Museum.

But the problem of the Varmma chronology is that a king called Hariavarmma is also known to have ruled over Vanga or Eastern Bengal, the kingdom proper of the Varmmas, and he is not included in the list of Varmma kings recorded in the Belava plate of Bhoja. Bhavadeva Bhatta, a vastly learned Brahmin hailing from the village of Siddhala in Northern Radha (modern Birbhum district), erected a temple at Bhuva-

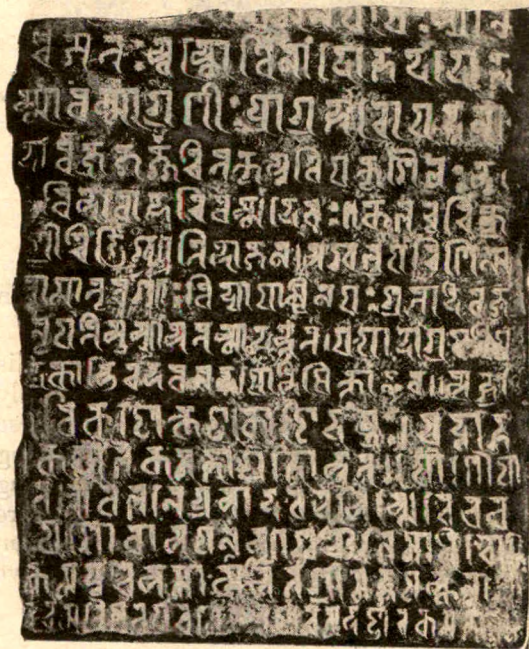
Bhubanesvar in Orissa. The stone inscription still affixed to that temple records the family history of this Brahmin scholar and it says that Bhavadewa served Harivarmma Deva in the capacity of a minister, and the son of Harivarmma is also recorded to have flourished, following his instructions. Several old manuscripts have been discovered from Nepal copied in the reign of Harivarmma Deva and recording the date in regnal years in which they were copied. These records go to show that Harivarmma Deva had a long reign. The Varmmas ruled in Eastern Bengal for about 75 years, roughly from 1025 A. D. to 1100 A. D. How and where to accommodate Harivarmma Deva with his long reign of about forty years within this short period of seventy-five years and what might have been his relationship with Jatavarmma were the problems of Varmma history. A copper-plate grant of Harivarmma was found long ago at Samantasar in Faridpur district; but it was so damaged by fire that the name of Harivarmma could be read on it with difficulty.

The present plate would have solved all these problems, had it been entire. But unfortunately, this fragment is only a quarter of the entire plate, and that also the fourth quarter.

In the first portion of these copper-plate charters, the genealogy and the eulogy of the kings of the line ending with the donor are recorded in verses. The deed of gift proper, with the genealogy and other particulars of the donee Brahmin, as well as the boundaries of the land granted, are recorded in the second portion in prose. The phraseology of the second portion is more or less stereotyped, but the verses in the first portion necessarily vary in different plates. Thus in the present fragment, the lost counterpart of the prose portions on the reverse can be almost entirely restored. But an attempt to understand the verses recorded on the obverse, with the left halves lost is tantalizing in the extreme. Welcome glimpses of very interesting historical information are obtained, but none of them of a very definite character. Only this much appears to be certain that Harivarmma Deva preceded Samala on the

throne. There is also a mention of the Kalachuri line, which is probably called the mother's side of Harivarmma. Thus it would appear that Jatavarmma had two sons, Hari and Samala, who reigned in succession, a fact guessed by some historians long ago. Hari's line became extinct and thus Samala came to the throne. Samalavarmma issued the present charter from his capital at Vikrampur in Dacca district.

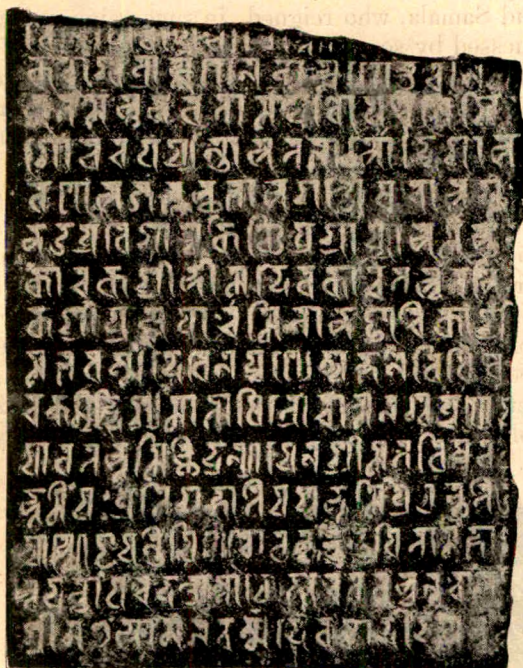
The reverse gives us very interesting information. It records that one Bhimadeva had erected a temple to the Buddhist goddess Prajnaparamita. Samalavarmma, a staunch Hindu and worshipper of Vishnu, donates some land to this Buddhist establishment and seeks to win favour of Vishnu by this pious act. The picture of the wonderful religious toleration evidenced by this new fragmentary



The New Charter of Samalavarmma (obverse)

charter will give the lie direct to those who held so long that the Varmma kings of Bengal were great persecutors of the Buddhists. This wrong notion arose from a statement in the Bhubanesvar inscription of Bhavadewa Bhatta, minister of Harivarmma Deva, that he was like Agastya to the Buddhist sea. The allusion is to the legend of Agastya who

drank up the sea. This boast can now be definitely taken as the victory of Bhavadeva over the Buddhists in scholarly disputations



The New Charter of Samalavarmma (Reverse)

and is not a reference to the active persecution of the Buddhists by the Varmma kings.

The place of find of the new fragment is the ruined site of an old temple, commonly known as a *deul* in the Dacca district. These sites rise above the level of the surrounding country and are strewn all over with crumbling bricks and brick-constructions. Two or more large tanks are invariably to be found on these sites, the earth from which must have

been utilized to raise their level before erecting temples on them. The *deul* on which the present fragment was found appears to have been the temple of Prajnaparamita referred to in the inscription. In this *deul*, portions of brick construction are still found intact in places and from the large tank on the north of the site, a life-size image of the Buddhist goddess Shyama Tara was discovered. The image is now in the Dacca Museum.

How the charter came to be broken into four pieces can only be surmised. It is surely the act of a vandal who probably took forcible position of the *deul* and its lands at some subsequent date and took care to destroy the title-deed and throw it into the nearest tank.

The fragment is reported to have been discovered only about six inches below the soil, about five yards off the northern bank of the tank, south-east of the site. This tank was re-excavated about thirty years ago and the fragment, which is only $4\frac{1}{2}' \times 5\frac{1}{2}'$ in size, appears to have come up on the excavator's spade with the clods of earth unnoticed and was thus thrown on the bank of the tank, along with the loam. And it accidentally rose from its still bed and is now unfolding a tale of wonderful religious toleration of the benign king Samalavarmma of Bengal. The Brahmins of Bengal, as is well known, are divided into three principal sections,—the Rarhi, the Barendra and the Vaidik. The last was the latest to settle in Bengal; and the Vaidiks still fondly remember that it was the good Samalavarmma, who received them kindly in his kingdom when they migrated from the west and settled them there in 1001 saka or 1079 A. D.



A WAYSIDE DRAMA

By SANTA DEVI

THE rains had come down in good earnest, when suddenly I had to take to bed with fever. It was very monotonous, lying alone all day long. Through the open window on the southern side, I could see a wide stretch of green. This was my only recreation. I had nothing else to look at excepting beams and rafters in my room.

The first thing I could see through the window were the green treetops, under a cloud-laden sky. They swayed to and fro in the gusty wind beckoning to passersby. On two sides of the path, the gold mohur trees delighted the eyes with their wealth of rain-washed green leaves. Their red and fiery glory of blossoms was no longer.

The quarter in which my home was situated was a sparsely populated one. Long stretches of waste land lay between the newly built houses. These lands served as the refuse-bins of the whole quarter, but within a few days they had all become coated with rich green and gold verdure. Rank vegetation had sprung up everywhere. The drops of rain shone like pearls on the large leaves of bushes. A poet could have done justice to this scene, but it was wasted on an ordinary mortal.

As I lay alone all day long, I gazed at the road continually, and had come to know most of the people who frequented it. As soon as the sun rose, you could see old Rahman with his bald head. He had his small grandchild in his arms and had come in quest of fresh fish. He was mortally afraid lest his neighbours should forestall him and buy up all the fresh fish that passed by the way. Though he was an old customer, the fisherwomen were ungrateful creatures and would never put by a small quantity of good fish for him.

In the noon, I could see our dark Amazonian mango-woman, sitting under a tree, with her load of mangoes. She was a huge creature, clad in a red *sari*. The best time for selling the fruits was the morning. After that she scarcely sold anything, and she would begin to feel hungry. So she breakfasted with the remaining stock, and nearly cleared the lot. If she saw any children loitering about, she would never fail to give them a share. She had her favourites. That boy in a striped *loongee*, who went past, driving a flock of geese, used to get two mangoes regularly.

In the evening, the first man I used to see was old Mr. Scott. He would return from his

office punctually at four, with his small leather bag, shaking his head at every step. Next came young Hudson, in his shirt sleeves, with his pair of huge Great Danes. He was taking them out for their evening round. As the shadows thickened I could see young Amy in a corner of the lane, flirting with one or other of her numerous admirers.

But suddenly, one morning, I noticed a new-comer. Someone had usurped the mango-woman's seat under the gold mohur tree. Some wandering muffin man perhaps. I had noticed them once or twice with their iron stove and tin utensils, plying a roaring trade. I raised my head a little to have a good look, and was surprised to see a woman, instead of a man. She had set up a temporary oven, with the help of some bricks and was cooking rice in an earthen pot. She had collected bits of paper, straws and some sticks as fuel. She went to the street pump and scrubbed and washed the few cheap utensils she had; she also fetched water in a small basin and kept it by the fire. When the rice was done, she took it down and began to cook some pulse. She also took out betel leaves out of a small tin and began to prepare these. She had a bundle with her, which she untied and took out three or four *saris* and two bedsheets and spread them to dry in the sun. It was a regular household! But she was all alone... Who could she be? Perhaps she was going on some distant journey. But it was a rare sight in this metropolis, infested with trams and motor vehicles of every kind. She reminded me of olden times, when people started on pilgrimages on foot, and made up temporary homes on the roadside everyday.

I had a long nap in the noon. When I was awakened by my maidservant it was evening, time for my barley water. I looked out of the window and saw the woman sitting under the tree. She was drying her long wet locks in the sun. She appeared in no hurry to leave this roadside abode. She looked quite at home, like the mistress of a house, enjoying a bit of rest in the evening. The passersby looked at her a bit curiously but none stopped. She never tried to attract any attention to herself. After a while, she rolled up her hair in a tight knot behind her head, and drew down her veil over it. She then began to collect and fold up the clothing she had spread out to dry. When the clothes were finished, she arranged her cooking pots over her empty oven, and tied up the remaining utensils in a bundle. The few pice she had,

she secured in a corner of her *sari*. Then taking a good look around, she began to make a bed at the western part of the field and placed her *saris*, rolled up, at the head of the bed, to serve her as a pillow. I was filled with amazement and dismay. Was this lonely woman really going to spend the night in this deserted field, in such a night? I could scarce believe it. She did not look like a beggar. She seemed to be the mistress of a genteel home, the way she did her few duties.

I called out for my servant, and after I had repeated the call for a dozen times he appeared finally. "Who is that person over there?" I asked. "Is she going to stay there in the night? Go and enquire."

The servant went out and returned very soon. "She appears to be sleeping, Madam," he reported. "I called and called but got no answer. Nobody knows anything about her. She had spoken to none. Since she has laid herself down, she is probably going to remain."

The woman was not very young, but neither was she old. Her lying in the open field was too unseemly. I got up even during the night and looked out. She slept on quite at ease under the cloud-laden sky. Early in the morning, as soon as I was awake, I found her busy with her work. She scrubbed her pots and pans, she carried water to her cooking place, she even bathed and washed her clothing at the roadside pump. She seemed as much at ease there, as she would be at the well inside her own courtyard. She regarded other people, who came for water there, as interlopers and made way for them with silent disapproval. She cooked, she ate, she washed her dishes and prepared betel leaves, quite leisurely. She was in no hurry about anything and did not seem to mind her strange abode. She looked as comfortable here, as she would be in her old home.

After a while, I saw old Rahman, with his grand-child, advancing. He sat down near her improvised kitchen, though at a respectful distance. He began to ask questions too. I could not see whether he got any answer. After him appeared Abu, the hackney carriage man. He wanted to while away the time, in pleasant chat, as long as no fare appeared. But the woman gave them no encouragement. She remained busy with her cooking, turning her back on them. But the men were not to be turned off so easily.

The clouds had been lowering and muttering for a while, and suddenly it started raining. Rahman ran off with his grand-child, as fast as his short legs could carry him. Abu jumped inside the coach and thus took cover. But the woman did not budge an inch. She sat there tending her fire. Her bundle of clothing got soaked through and through.

My servants ran in and closed the window,

thus shutting out the rain and all view. As soon as the rain was over, I ordered them to open the window and saw the white ganders brushing their wet feathers with their bills and my neighbour of the road, taking out wet clothing from her bundle and wringing and spreading them out on the grass. A few crows hopped across to her kitchen to see if they could have anything. The woman at once left her clothing and rushed over with a stick to chase away these greedy birds.

All day long, clouds and sunshine played over the earth alternately. The woman dried her wet clothings and again they became wet. The damp weather made my fever worse. I forgot all about her, in the agony of headache and fever.

After the fever had subsided, I suddenly had a desire to look at the cocoanut grove, under the cloudy sky, and opened the window. I saw a small party sitting under the gold mohur tree. Abu Sekh, old Rahman, Chidam, Panu and many others had gathered round the roadside abode of the unknown woman. They all looked very eager and interested, perhaps they were listening to something entertaining. All day long, I could see one or two persons sitting there. The woman was never alone, but she did not neglect her work for that. She went to and fro, bought rice or pulse whenever necessary, collected firewood and tended to the cooking. But the look in her large eyes had become a bit furtive. She did not appear quite as much at ease as she hitherto had.

My servants now appeared to know a lot about her. Perhaps they too had joined the roadside club, during their leisure. The old maidservant came in with my evening milk and fruit and said, "She is a very unfortunate creature, Madam. She comes of a good Kayastha family, but she might be reduced to beggary on the streets. She had acted very foolishly."

"Has she got a husband?" I asked. "Yes, Madam," the old woman answered. "Not only a husband, but four children as well. She comes from Midnapur, and has a good homestead there. Now look at her condition!"

"Then why is she here at all?" I asked in surprise. "People don't come all the way from Midnapur to Calcutta, paying railway fare and all that to live under a tree during the rains."

"I don't know, Madam, I am sure," said my maid. "The woman says she had been suffering from bowel complaints for a long time. No one cared about it, and she had no sort of medical treatment. Suddenly her husband evinced great concern, and brought her straight here to a hospital."

"A very good arrangement," I said with a laugh. "She is having the best of treatments, an open air treatment. She might be cured of all earthly evils and ills."

The maidservant went on, scarcely heeding

me. "Her husband went away, after putting her in the hospital. But the doctor of the hospital said, 'You are suffering only from acidity. We don't keep such patients here. Come and take medicine everyday from the outdoor. Now where could the poor woman go? Was it not silly of her husband to go away in such a hurry? He should have waited on a bit.'"

"But I don't think they could behave like that in a hospital. Once they admit a patient, they have got to treat her."

"Oh Madam, these gentlefolks!" gasped my maid. "They don't care at all about the lives of the poor."

I got fed up. "Then why doesn't she go back to her husband?" I asked. "And why on earth doesn't he come for her?"

"Yes, Madam, he will come. Certainly he will come from Midnapur and take her away. But it is very far off. Now the woman goes and sleeps at the closed verandah of Panu's shop. During the daytime, it is occupied by a *bidi* vendor, so she has to stay under the tree. She is expecting her husband within a week."

"The husband does not appear to be an over-dutiful one. She should not expect too much of him," I said. "If he had any sense, he would not run off from the door of the hospital. He could pay the train fare, yet he could not spare two pice for a postcard. He should have written and enquired. Even poor people have hearts."

"The Lord knows, Madam," the maidservant answered. "I am only repeating what she told me." Saying this she left the room.

The thunderstorm outside broke out afresh, with renewed violence. The cocoanut grove seemed likely to be levelled to the ground. In a few minutes the green field was converted into a miniature lake, the ducks got out of the wayside pond and advanced towards this new sporting place. The woman arranged her pots and pans under the tree and taking up her bundle, she ran to take shelter under our staircase. It was impossible for any human being to stay out in that storm. The branches of the gold mohur tree seemed to shriek aloud in agony.

"Madam," said my maidservant coming in, "that woman is standing under our stairs; come and see."

I was a bit better that day and there was no one to check me. So I got up and advanced at the head of the stairs. The woman was not bad looking. Her eyes were large and fearless, she had a mass of wind-blown hair and two dimples in her cheeks, whenever she smiled. But she had cast behind her the light joyousness of youth, the dignity of motherhood had taken its place. She was standing within the threshold. So I called to her and said, "Why are you living in the fields in this stormy weather? Have you no relatives?"

She bit her tongue in consternation. "Certain-

ly I have, Mother," she said. "I have a home and I have everybody living. I had to come here on account of illness, and have fallen in distress. Before this, I had never set my foot outdoor."

"Why don't you write to your husband?" I asked.

"I don't know how to write, Mother," she said. "I had a letter written by the people here, but I don't think he got it. He might have got it and might have answered too but the letter had probably miscarried."

"Why don't you come and stay in our outhouse for a day or two?" I asked. "Then I shall write your letter for you, so that he may come and take you home."

The woman lifted her large eyes to my face and asked, "What caste are you, Madam? I am a Kayastha and cannot live under the roof of any and every one."

I felt enraged at her insolence. A homeless stray creature, she dared to ask my caste. "We are *Muchis* (cobblers)" I said angrily. "But as we won't invite you to dinner, you need not mind it. You should consider it luck that I invite you to stay in a decent house. Instead of that you begin enquiring about caste."

The anger and sarcasm was lost on the woman. "But my husband won't take me back, Madam," she said. "If I stay in the house of low-caste people. It is better to stay out in the fields for a few days."

"Will your husband be delighted to know that all the riff-raffs of the quarter call on you and gossip and laugh?" I asked, still angry.

"What can I do, Madam?" she asked. "I don't ask them to call or laugh. I have no desire to hear anybody laughing, since my own husband had not smiled at me for ten years. But I must put up with everything, since I am here."

My anger wore off. "Stay in the outhouse," I said with a laugh. "We are not really cobblers. You won't lose caste by staying here."

She looked at me rather suspiciously. "No, Mother," she said at last. "You have got lots of servants here, I won't be able to pull on with them. It is better to live on the verandah of the shop. There I can shut myself in."

I was feeling rather tired, so I ended the conversation, saying, "Do whatever pleases you," and retreated to my room.

Two or three days after, I noticed that the woman's possessions seemed to have increased. A naked child was playing about amongst her things. It had only a string round its waist. The lady of the roadside was very busy, her calm was disturbed. The child pulled down her waterpot and scattered her stores at its own sweet will. The woman was trying to bribe it into stillness, with the offer of some fried rice, but the child resisted all her efforts. It insisted on playing with forbidden things. Both of them laughed inordinately at the failure of the

woman's attempts. Abu Sekh, Panu and Chidam approached to enjoy a share of her smiles. They all had votive offerings. One gave some firewood, another some rice and the third some molasses.

My old maidservant was peeping through the window. "Shame on the hussy," she cried. "And she pretends to be a good woman! She has left her own children at home and has brought another's child to play with. It is the child of that good-for-nothing Chidam."

I beckoned to the woman, who approached at once, with the child in her arms. "Where did you get this child?" I asked.

"I had gone to Chidam's house, Mother," the woman replied. "His wife calls me mother. So I brought along this child to play with. In a strange land, it is well to have some women as friends. Otherwise there may be unpleasant rumours soon enough. Then my husband would never take me back. Besides, a woman feels lonely without a child."

"He does not seem much eager to take you back, as it is," I said. "He must have brought you here to get rid of you. Otherwise he would have stayed and made better arrangements for you."

"No, Mother," said she in mild protest. "He was severe with me and sometimes even beat me, but he would not leave me to die in the streets. He probably thinks that I am all right in the hospital, and so, is in no hurry. He had to look after the children too, so could not stay long."

I got a postcard and wrote to her husband. "Put this in the post box," I said. "If he is a man, he will come and take you home."

Five days passed off. How long would this woman live in the open field? And in the rainy season too? But no reply came to the letter and nobody came for her either.

I called the woman and said, "Try to take shelter in someone's house. How can a human being live on like this?"

"Mother, I am a Hindu woman," she said. "I cannot live with these people, nearly all of them are Christians or Muhammadans."

"Then why don't you go away to a Hindu quarter?" I asked, rather irritated. "Who asked you to come here and die on the road?"

"I don't know this city at all, Mother," she said rather frightened. "If I once lose caste, nobody will see my face any longer. I have come to know these people here and so don't feel much nervous. I am afraid to go anywhere else. People may take advantage of me."

"Then put your pride away," I said, "and put up in my outhouse. It does not matter, if I am a Christian."

She thought for a moment, then said, "I shall come tomorrow, Mother, let me have a look at the room."

I showed her the room. It was full of all sorts of junk and a heap of gunny. There was

an old wooden bedstead too. The woman took a good look around, then said, "The door does not fasten well." Then she left.

Next day it started drizzling from the morning. But the woman had begun cooking as usual. I could not see her face plainly from the window. The fine spray of rain drops swayed like a muslin curtain between us. She was continually wiping her eyes. At first I thought it was the rain, she was wiping off, then I saw that she was wiping away her tears. Up to this, I had never seen her cry. Had she then given up all hope? She was really weeping, with her head bowed down between her knees.

Suddenly Panu appeared on the scene with an umbrella. He was very anxious to present it to her, but she seemed very reluctant to accept it. Panu finally went off, leaving the umbrella behind him.

Another gallant soon drove over, his face wreathed with smiles and his mouth full of betel leaves. The woman looked up with frightened eyes, then smiled a little through her tears. It was Abu, the hackney carriage driver. He had brought four bamboo posts and a piece of old canvas, which he took out of his carriage. He drove the posts in, and tied the canvass to them, thus erecting a shed over her head. Old Rahman was passing by with his grandson. He looked at Abu and remarked, "Fine, very fine indeed!" I felt rather pleased with these men today. They were trying their best to ameliorate her hard lot a bit. They were not mere summer weather friends.

My maidservant had come in with my breakfast. She took a look from behind me and cried out, "Oh, is n't she a sly one! She could not stay here, she was so orthodox. But she does not seem to be above contracting roadside friendships."

"Shut up," I said sternly. "You scent scandal in everything. It is only human to help her in her misery."

But the old woman was not to be daunted so easily. "Oh, the creature is not at all miserable," she said. "That coachman fellow has told me himself that he takes her out driving. And did n't he and Panu have a serious quarrel about her? Didn't he threaten to break Panu's head if he gave her anything more? She is a shameless hussy, I tell you, Madam, else she would never behaved like thus."

"The men are scoundrels and they want a scandal about her," I said. "But you are old enough to know better. Why do you go about gossiping in the streets? If you go on like this, I shall dismiss you."

The old woman at once flopped down at my feet. "I never gossip, Madam," she wailed. "I had gone out to buy cowdung cakes, when these people began their silly talk. I only wanted to help her, so I went and said to her, 'don't go about with any and everyone. You will be ruined.' But you wouldn't believe, Madam, she

pretended she did not understand a word of what I meant. As if she had never heard of driving. You don't know these low-caste people, Madam. Just the other day, they forcibly lifted a *Mem Sahib* in a motor car, and tried to run away. She was a *Mem Sahib*, so she was saved. She called in the police and everything. But this one is a simple village woman, she would not know how to protect herself."

"Go away," I said to the old woman. "I am in no mood to listen to your silly stories now. I want to sleep."

In the evening, I found many people collecting under the gold mohur tree. I had never seen so many before. Seven or eight people, who had the faces of ruffians, had joined in quite recently. They were absolute strangers to me. They appeared to be day labourers of some sort, as they had brought spades, baskets, ropes, etc. with them. All were laughing and talking together. This made me very angry with the woman. It was well that I had not brought her inside my home. I felt too angry even to look at her. Besides, it would have been impossible to see her face, she was surrounded by too many people.

Next day, even more new people appeared. Many quarrels and altercations were constantly taking place. But the woman went on performing her daily duties. I could not understand the woman. Her establishment was looking richer by a shed over her head, a wooden seat for her, and a chopper for cutting up vegetables. But her quiet calm was disturbed. She had lost her old interest in her work. These people around her had raised a storm, which had disturbed her serenity.

It was nearly dark, when the woman again approached my house. Those people were still waiting under the tree. "She wants to speak to you," said my maidservant coming in.

I went to the head of the stairs, still displeased. "What do you want?" I asked. She folded her hands and said, "Mother, will you let me sleep in your outhouse to-night? But I want a good bolt for the door."

"I asked you before, but you did not come," I said. "Now you have got many friends, what's the use of coming here?" She did not answer, but remained standing with folded hands. "Very well, come, if you want to," I said and went back to my room. The people were still waiting for her. They talked on for a long time.

I awoke very early. After many days of rain and storm, the morning had broken on a dazzling blue sky. Billowy masses of fleecy white cloud raced across it. It was already autumn. Two upcountry women, in dirty pink saris, were

sitting under the gold mohur tree, with baskets of mango. That woman was not there. She had not come to sleep in our outhouse, as she had said. Her things too were no longer there; only two bricks and two blackened earthen pots were scattered on the ground. Why was she so late in beginning her day's work in such a fine morning? She had been alert enough in rain and storm. Perhaps she had gone away somewhere else. It was likely enough.

The sun rose higher and higher, but she did not appear. My old maidservant had gone on a visit to her daughter. So I had no means of getting information either.

The maidservant returned in the evening and rushed at once inside. "Have not you heard Madam?" she cried. "Such goings on!"

"What's the matter?" I asked.

"That woman, Madam, she had been arrested by the police," the maidservant gasped. "She had stolen a lot of things from Chidam's shop. Panu was her friend and had allowed her to sleep in his shop, so she spared him and stole Chidam's things. A huge gunny bag full, Madam! And Chidam's wife calls her mother too. Chidam is so mad, he threatens to put her in gaol for a year. Panu and her other friends want to get her out, saying she was driven to it through poverty. But I don't think Chidam would spare her. She is a real devil. She pretended friendship, then victimized the poor fool."

I could scarcely believe her. The young woman led such an exemplary life up to this that I could not really believe she would steal. Perhaps those rascals had made her do it. They had some motives of their own. So now they were pretending to stand behind her out of charity.

A few days later, I heard that the case had been heard. Panu and others had arranged to get her out. They had managed to bring Chidam over to their side. But the woman refused to come out of gaol. She had said in court that she had stolen Chidam's things with the deliberate purpose of going to gaol. If she was let out now, she did not know where to go. She had lost all hopes of being taken back by her husband, and she could not pay the price that these friends of hers demanded from her. She could have stolen easily from Panu's shop, but she knew he would not try to get her punished. So she went and stole at Chidam's shop.

"Don't surrender me to them," she had said and wept bitterly.

So the woman is in the lock-up still. Warrants of arrest had been issued against some of her "friends."

Translated by Sita Devi

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE GERMAN SCHOOL SYSTEM. By Syed Ali Akbar. M. A. (Cantab). Longmans Green and Co. Ltd.

The author is a Divisional Inspector of Schools Hyderabad, Deccan and was twice deputed by the Government to visit the educational institutions abroad, once as a delegate to the Imperial Educational Conference held in London in 1927 and once in 1931. On both occasions he visited Germany. He had thus unique opportunities of acquiring first hand informations on the very complicated school systems that prevail in Germany. Having a mind eager for knowledge and being thoroughly conversant with the various school systems that are current

in India the author has, it must be admitted, utilized his opportunities to the fullest extent. The different types of schools, beginning from the Mother—and Infant Schools up to the highest leading the University, have all been minutely studied, their syllabus given, and the scientific methods that are followed in giving instructions in different subjects, e.g., History, Elementary Science, etc., have been described with a thoroughness that deserves credit. The book is full of useful information and will certainly be consulted by anyone who wishes to see profitable changes introduced in the method of curriculum of studies in our schools here. We hope that the author will in his next book deal with more definite and concrete proposals as to how one of the systems, e.g., of adult education, can be suitably modified and introduced in our country.

SUHRIT CHANDRA MITRA

INDIAN ECONOMICS : By Profs. G. B. Jathar and S. G. Beri, 2 vols, (Oxford University Press, 1931, 2nd edition).

This is a comprehensive study of the chief economic problems of modern India. The mere fact that the

book has passed through three editions in the course of a few years proves its utility. The general plan remains much the same as in the previous editions, but new matter has been added, to bring it up to date.

There is a certain school of writers who do not find anything good in the various economic measures adopted by the present Government. At the other end, are official apologists, who do not hesitate to twist economic facts and to distort economic theories, to justify every Government measure. The present writers do not belong to either of these groups. They are to be congratulated on their fair and impartial statements of present-day economic problems and policies in India.

It is true that the usefulness and impartiality of the book are highly commendable, but one feels that the treatment is somewhat unsatisfactory. One has a lurking suspicion that the authors have simply reproduced their note books, and not given us a systematic treatise after a careful selection, revision and rearrangement of the abundant materials garnered by them.

Perhaps this is not a serious blemish in a text-book, except this that the size may become too large, and out of proportion to the real value of the book. But one has no hesitation in saying that books like the present one, should be free from all errors and misleading statements. It is exactly here that the reviewer feels most distressed. The space available does not permit the mention of all, but a few may be pointed out.

For example, on p. 54, vol. II, the authors tell us that the Cotton Industry Protection Act of 1930 raised the general *ad valorem* duty to 15 per cent in the case of British goods. "In addition to this.....a minimum duty of 3½ annas per lb. is to be levied on plain grey goods." As a matter of fact, the import duty on British plain grey goods is 15 per cent *ad valorem* or 3½ annas per lb., whichever is higher.

Again, on p. 79 of the same volume, the authors write that the Tariff Board on the Coal Industry reported in 1926 "that there was no case for general protection, but that a duty at the rate of Re. 1-8 per ton would be justifiable." But neither the Majority

Report nor the Minority Report of the Tariff Board recommended any such general duty on *all* imported coal. The majority no doubt admitted that "an additional duty of Re. 1-8 per ton on South African coal would suffice to give the Indian coal industry all the benefit it could derive from a duty of this kind" (Report of the Tariff Board, p. 48) but they were definitely opposed to the imposition of any such duty. It was Mr. Ginvāla who, in his Minority Report, advocated a *countervailing* duty of Re. 1-8 per ton on *South African coal*.

In the chapter on Banking and Credit (Vol. 2, p. 421) the authors describe the Bank of Hindostan as "the first purely banking institution on European lines" and distinguish it from firms like Grindlay & Co. which carry on trade as well as banking. But as the researches of Dr. H. Sinha show, the Bank of Hindostan was a mere department, "the counting house, so to say, of Messrs. Alexander & Co." On p. 462 (foot-note) of the same chapter, the authors hold the view that "industrial banks take part in the management of the actual business." So far as the reviewer is aware, industrial banking concerns do not take part in the management of the companies they finance. It is true that the members of the banking syndicate in Germany are represented on the directorate of the companies financed. But, as Whale points out, "the functions of the *Aufsichtsrat* are not those of an English Board of Directors." "It is not in conformity with the spirit of the German *Aufsichtsrat*," writes Dr. Goldschmidt, "for the banker to act as the responsible leader or manager of an industrial concern."

There are several inaccuracies in the authors' account of the Indian income tax. In the following foot-note to p. 483, vol. 2, where the authors describe the income tax on tea companies, there are no less than five inaccurate, or at any rate, misleading statements:

"By the Income Tax Act of 1927, the tea companies were assessed to 50 per cent (later reduced to 40 per cent) of their total income, subject to the proviso that, where there is a market for green tea and the non-agricultural profits can be exactly ascertained, income tax should be assessed on the total of such non-agricultural profits. Till this Act was passed, only 25 per cent of the total profits was assessed to the income, the rest being regarded as agricultural income and therefore exempt from Income Tax."

The Indian Income Tax (Amendment) Act XXVIII of 1927 does not specially deal with the assessment of tea companies, but generally with all mixed occupations of agriculture and manufacture; e. g., sugar, indigo. Neither this Act nor any other Act of the legislature fixed the income tax assessment of such companies at any particular percentage of their total income. This has always been done by rules framed by the executive under statutory rule-making power. Such power existed even under the Income Tax Acts of 1918 and of 1922. No rule fixing a percentage was, however, framed before 3rd October 1922, when a new Rule No. 24 was issued fixing a percentage of 25 in the case of tea companies alone. The percentage has now been raised to 40 by amendment of the rule. So far as the reviewer is aware, it has not been reduced to 40 from 50 per cent. This percentage is not, as suggested by the author's, subject to any proviso, in the case of tea companies. The authors' remark that till the passing of the Act of 1927, 25 per cent of the total profits of

tea companies was assessed to income tax, is also misleading. Before 1920, tea companies were not assessed to income tax at all. In a test case, taken up to the Calcutta High Court in that year, the non-agricultural part of their income was for the first time held liable to assessment.

There may be misapprehension in the minds of students on reading the following sentences on p. 485, Vol 2:

"A general income-tax (from which agricultural incomes were not exempt) was first levied to meet the financial burdens of the Mutiny, for five years, at the end of which it ceased to operate in 1865. In 1867 another Act was passed imposing a license tax on professions and trades, excluding agriculture, which continued to be levied till the end of 1872-73."

The Acts of 1867 and 1868 (Licence Tax Act and Certificate Tax Act) no doubt excluded agricultural incomes but such incomes were not excluded from taxes during 1869-73. Any student is bound to fall into a serious error if he is led to believe on going through this chapter that agricultural incomes continued to be exempt till 1872-73.

Again, at p. 489 (Vol. 2) top, it is stated: "In the year 1922, the flat rate (of super tax of companies) was raised to 1½ annas in the rupee, whatever the total income in excess of Rs. 50,000." This is inaccurate. The Super Tax Act, 1920 was repealed by the Income Tax Act of 1922, which itself contained provisions for levying the super tax. The scheme of the Income Tax Act of 1922 is not to fix any rate by the Act itself, but leave it to be done by the annual Finance Act. The Finance Act of 1922 did not raise the rate of super tax to 1½ annas—it continued the old rate of one anna.

All these inaccuracies are pointed out, not in a fault-finding spirit but in the hope that these and others not mentioned here, would be corrected in the next edition. Writers in this country should be particularly careful in avoiding misleading or inaccurate statements in books intended for students, for, it is difficult to convince Indian students that anything in print may be wrong.

A few years ago, an English lady, a graduate of the Cambridge University, took a class on economic theory in a college in Central India. The students did not give her a patient hearing, because she did not repeat in her lecture the mistakes of a printed hand-book which the students used to read! Similar has been the unfortunate experience of the present reviewer also. He had much trouble in convincing some of his students that what he had said in the class was right in spite of the remarks of Profs. Jathar and Beri to the contrary.

J. C. SINHA

SCHOPENHAUER: HIS LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY: By Helen Zimmern. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Pp. 186.

In this book the author presents the story of Schopenhauer's life within a small compass and in a very readable form. Schopenhauer has special interest for Indian readers. He was a "European Buddhist," as the author of this book calls him, and did much, though with indifferent success, to present to the European mind the ideas and wisdom of the East in European garb.

Helen Zimmern is no Boswell to Schopenhauer. The story of the Philosopher's life is told in a

needless exaggeration of virtues and unwarranted suppression of unpalatable truths. The fact is not overlooked, for instance, that "Schopenhauer led no saintly ascetic life, nor did he pretend to this eminence" (p. 84); "but," we are also reminded, "he was not licentious" (p. 85). At the same time, of faults in Schopenhauer's character, such as, his arrogance and suspiciousness, an explanation is sought and found in the circumstances and antecedents of his life (p. 76, etc.). A philosopher's life is generally eventless, and Schopenhauer's was no exception to this rule. Nevertheless the author has given us a judicious selection of anecdotes to illustrate the growth and development of the philosopher's mind. We would have welcomed, however, a more generous use of such illustrative incidents.

In a book of this dimension, not much can be expected of the philosophy of the man. Yet, as far as the limits of the book have permitted, the author has given a fair and succinct account of Schopenhauer's general metaphysical principles and also his ethics and aesthetics. It seems, however, that the biographer of the Philosopher is not quite as well up in Indian thought as might be expected. She has not recognized Schopenhauer's similarity to Sankhya. And the use of terms like '*The Vedic Upanishad*' (p. 130) betrays an absence of accurate knowledge of the literature on the subject.

Still, the story of the life has been told in an attractive manner. We commend the book to the attention of those who are interested in the 'lives of great men.'

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES: AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION FROM THE SPANISH: By Jose Ortega Y. Gasset. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 8-6d. net.

The author is a Professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid, and one of the intellectual leaders of the new republic of Spain. The burden of the author's song is the accession of the masses to complete social power, and their predominance over the select minorities who by their culture, intellect and special knowledge have carried forward the torch of civilization and have laid the material results thereof before the average man, who enjoys their benefit without trying to equip himself for maintaining that civilization at its present high level, and pushing its boundaries further forward and upward. In this uprising of the masses the author sees signs of decadence and rebarbarization—Fascism and Bolshevism are naturally his strongest aversions. The "Youth" movement and the apotheosis of the young merely as such, the mania for games, excessive specialization in science and its narrowness of outlook, and similar subjects come in for severe handling. The highest point of European humanity, according to the learned Professor, is the man of science. But he has no illusions about the claims of the scientific specialist. To quote his own words: "Experimental science has progressed, thanks in great part to the work of men astoundingly mediocre and even less than mediocre...A fair amount of the things that have to be done in physics or in biology is mechanical work of the mind which can be done by anyone, or almost anyone. For the purpose of innumerable investigations it is possible to divide science into small sections, to enclose oneself in one

of these, and to leave out of consideration all the rest...The specialist "knows" very well his own tiny corner of the universe; he is radically ignorant of all the rest...he is a learned ignoramus..." The author's hope for the salvation of Europe lies in the unification of the various national states of Europe into one international State. "Does it not seem more worthy and more fruitful to oppose to that slavonic code [of communism], a new European code, the inspiration towards a new programme of life?" finally asks the author. The warning of the learned Professor against enthroning the ignorant and inefficient masses in the seat of the mighty is certainly not without its value, but the treatment of the subject is more or less one-sided and far from exhaustive.

GREAT CHARACTERS IN ENGLISH LITERATURE: Edited by G. R. Hammond. George G. Horrap & Co., London, 2s.

This is a suitable text-book for secondary schools. The idea of the compiler is a very happy one, and not only school and college students but their fathers, will be glad to go through for the first time or renew their acquaintance with, characters like Sir Roger de Coverly, Pickwick and Sam Weller, Peppys, Micawber, Jeanie Deans, Dugald Dalgetty, Sir John Falstaff, and Mrs. Malaprop. The book consists of about 225 pages, and is nicely printed and the get-up is excellent. We hope a second volume containing characteristic sketches of some more of these imaginary but well-known personages from English literature will not be long in seeing the light of day.

POLITICUS

CO-OPERATION IN INDIA: Edited by Prof. H. L. Kaji. Published by the All-India Co-operative Institutes' Association, Bombay.

The Standing Committee of the All-India Co-operative Institutes' Association decided in 1929 to compile a Directory of Co-operative work in India and this book is an outcome of the efforts directed towards that end. The present book forms the first volume of the Indian Co-operative series. The two other volumes of this series are, we understand, expected to be published very soon.

The book contains much valuable information from the pen of eminent persons in the field of Co-operation in India, and the subjects are grouped together under five broad heads, namely, Co-operative Finance, Non-Credit Co-operation, Propaganda and Education, Co-operative Law, and General Problems. Amongst the contributors are to be found the names of such experts as Prof. S. K. Yegnanarayanaier, M.A., Editor, *Madras Journal of Co-operation*, Mr. V. L. Mehta, Managing Director, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank, Mr. H. K. Sanyal, M.A., of City College, Calcutta, Mr. Golam Haider, Assistant Registrar, Industrial Co-operative Society, Punjab, Rao Sahib T. K. Hanuman Rao, Madras, Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu, Prof. B. G. Bhatnagar, M.A., Head of the Commerce Department, University of Allahabad and Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, Hony. Secretary, Bombay Provincial Co-operative Institute.

The co-operative movement is one of the most important forces in the world today, and is looked up to by some people as the only power that can save the modern economic organization of society. The poverty of the Indian masses, and their chronic indebtedness and want of self-reliance, call for measures of

stupendous potentiality. The break-up of the present socio-economic order has become almost inevitable, and what will be the organization for the future will be decided by the progress of the co-operative movement on the one hand and the spread of communism on the other.

The present volume shows how much has been done in this country already to steer the people along the lines of peaceful elimination of the present-day maladies of our society.

The book contains a series of articles on different aspects of the co-operative movement in various parts of India, written by different experts. Although there is much valuable data collected in this book, unfortunately there is much lack of continuity, logical sequence of thought, and co-ordination between the chapters. The printing and get-up of the book also are not very convincing.

On the whole, however, the book must be regarded as an useful addition to the stock of literature on co-operation in India and should be of considerable use both to students at universities as well as to all classes of co-operators. Prof. H. L. Kaji deserves our thanks for the great pains he has taken to compile this valuable book of reference.

NALINAKSHA SANYAL

THE INNER SIDE OF THE CHURCH WORSHIP: *By Geoffrey Hodson. 1930. Pages 82.*

THE INNER GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD: *By Annie Besant. 1930. Pages 82.*

EDUCATION AS SERVICE: *By J. Krishnamurti. 1930. Pages 75. Adyar, Madras.*

The first of these pamphlets is an attempt to describe the place that a church, as an organized body both of doctrine and liturgy, holds in the Liberal Catholic Church known popularly as Theosophy.

The account is as fascinating as all *dilettanti* studies are. It is all so charming, but so unsatisfying. Phrases and even prayers from orthodox Christianity are borrowed but the content is so different. Members of the *Liberal Catholic Church* sign themselves with the sign of the cross, but it is in order to open, or to release, a force-centre at the throat. "The sign of the cross, made in the way prescribed at this part of the ceremony, and with intention, temporarily opens the force-centre at the throat." All liturgy is surcharged in similar way with power to develop the occult power in man. But Christianity is not that.

Mrs. Besant's pamphlet is a reprint of Lectures delivered at the North Indian Convention held at Benares in 1920. The usual exposition of Theosophical tenets is repeated in the style which the public is accustomed to expect from Mrs. Besant.

In *Education as Service*, Mr. Krishnamurti set forth some ethical ideals for the guidance of the teacher. There is nothing new in the exposition except the theosophical jargon.

P. G. BRIDGE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE BRAHMA SUTRAS: *Edited with short and easy Sanskrit annotations and an English commentary, giving an expository and critical summary of the contents, by Sitanath Tattvabhushan,*

Editor of the twelve principal Upanishads and the Bhagavadgita. The Sutras and the annotations translated into English by the Editor and Satischandra Chakravarti, M.A., Minister and Missionary of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. Printed at and published by the Brahma Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Rs. 4.

The *Brahma Sutras*, called also the *Vedanta Sutras*, the *Sariraka Mimansa*, the *Uttara Mimansa*, etc., consist of a number of aphorisms expounding and systematizing the teachings of the *Upanishads* and combating systems of philosophy opposed to them. The *Upanishads* are taken to embody the experiences of the *Rishis*, a body of men who are said to have had first-hand knowledge of truths. If the right procedure of philosophy be the systematization of experiences and not mere speculation, then the method adopted in the *Sutras* would be unexceptionable, the only problem that would then remain to be solved would be whether the *Upanishads* contain only spiritual experiences and nothing else. It must be *inter alia* remarked that mere tradition is no proof, and that a collection of experiences of about three thousand years ago cannot be the repository of all human experiences. In spite of such shortcomings that strike our modern mind, the *Sutras* are a philosophical treatise of high eminence ascribed to Badarayana, the supposed compiler of the *Vedas* and therefore held in high esteem by all schools of Hindu religious thought. It is one of the three institutes of Vedic Theism and therefore all *Acharyas*, including Raja Ram Mohun Roy, wrote commentaries on it.

The commentary is called *Ramamohana Bhashya*, "Out of reverence, for Raja Ram Mohun Roy," as the author points out. But we are of opinion that there are more than one intrinsic reasons to name the *Bhashya* after the inaugurator of the new era. In spirit the *Bhashya* under review is an elaboration and amplification of the *Vedantasara* or the Abridgement of the *Vedanta* of Acharya Ram Mohun. Without the spirit of independence with which Ram Mohun handled the *Sastras*, Tattvabhushan could not achieve the success which is to his credit in all his *Sastric* endeavours. And the continuity is not in the abstract spirit only. But in important particulars too—in such topics as, whether God is merely transcendent or both transcendent and immanent; whether or not moral principle is needed after liberation; whether or not worship continues after liberation; whether Brahman is the only object of worship,—giving his answers in the affirmative—the Pandit is with Ram Mohun even against the *Sutrakara*, where necessary, and against the latter-day Vedantists. He is with Ram Mohun as to the question of the relation between God and man and God and the world of which the Mayavadins have made a mess and to which falsehood most of the so-called Vedantists of today are victims. Concerning by far the most important topic of *Samuchchaya*, constant union of knowledge and action in the same life, and *Sannyasa*, mere knowledge without any obligation to work, Ram Mohun moved heaven and earth in favour of the former, and Tattvabhushan has continued the fight. And also as to the question whether *Sannyasa* is a necessary equipment for the knowledge of Brahman, Ram Mohun has given an interpretation, all his own, to *Sutra* 52 section 3, chap. 3, namely that love of God and love of man and good acts based on that love together form the

primary mode of divine worship. This is *Yugadharmā* or the religion of the age, and for it Pandit Tattvabhushan has wielded his powerful pen not only here but everywhere.

And in method also Tattvabhushan has followed in the footsteps of Ram Mohun. Ram Mohun also translated the whole of the *Sutras*, in some cases giving his own independent interpretations interspersed with his own view of the topic, as Tattvabhushan has done more elaborately. Ram Mohun's Abridgement taking exactly the place of Tattvabhushan's *Bhashya*. In one respect Ram Mohun's method was a novel experiment in the field. He did not stick to the original arrangement of the chapters and sections. He took an *adhikarana* or topic and collected all the *Sutras* from all sections and chapters and brought them together to bear upon the subject, thereby making the arrangement logical and eliminating obsolete themes, such as, whether or not *devas* are entitled to Vedic knowledge. With reference to the *Panchagnividya* our author also calls it "extremely crude and even meaningless."

In some *Upanishadic* stories a Kshatriya is teacher and a Brahmin is the taught and taught in the subject for the first time. Pandit Tattvabhushan thinks it to be an "extreme assertion." We do not think so. We have been accustomed to think and also find the Brahmana to be superior to other castes. But that has not been the case always. In Buddhistic literature and tradition the Brahmana is second to the Kshatriya in the social order of merit.

Pandit Tattvabhushan's commentary has been made most up-to-date, inasmuch as his is not only an interpretation but also an examination of the *Sutrakara's* views in the light of modern methods of philosophy. In some cases the Pandit has demanded elaboration which we are not justified in demanding from a bookless, perhaps manuscriptless world. We do not mean that the *Sutrakara* had no real deficiency when judged from our vantage ground, but his shortcoming may be due to some handicap from which we are free, at least in some cases.

Now to conclude. Within the limited space of a short review it is not possible to do justice to the original and excellent way in which the Pandit has illumined some dull subjects treated of in the *Sutras*. One of them pertains to the *Devayana* and *Pitriyana* Paths. He observes: "The *Pitriyana* is really the blind following of rites and customs promulgated by our ancestors, and the *Devayana* the method of *Sadhana* discovered by the direct experience of *devas*, enlightened souls,—an experience to be repeated in every *Sadhana*." The author has here given us a glimpse into the world where these subjects were originally discussed. Buddhadeva also meant enlightened souls by the term *devas*. In conclusion we must say that Pandit Tattvabhushan has made a most important and real contribution to Vedantic literature.

DHIRENDRANATH VEDANTAVAGIS

BENGALI

SAMBAD-PATRE SEKALER KATHA, PART I, 1818-1830, compiled and edited with an introduction and index by Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya. Sahitya Parisad Granthavali, No. 82. 243-1, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta, B. S. 1339 (=1932 A. D.)

The Bangiya Sahitya Parisad is to be congratulated on the publication of this highly interesting and use-

ful work, the object of which is to give us glimpses into the Bengal of the early nineteenth century, by means of a judicious selection and arrangement of materials gleaned from one of the leading Bengali periodicals of the day. The first part, which is under review, deals with the period 1818-1830 and compiles, chiefly from the *Samachar Darpan* of the Serampore Baptist Mission, various informations regarding the literary, educational, social and religious movements, with which the period is so fruitful. The object of the work is modest indeed, but its importance to students interested in the period cannot be questioned. It purports only to be a selection and models itself on such works as Seton Karr's well-known *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*, but, like the latter work, it embodies a great deal of patient and laborious research, and no one can deny its documentary value and interest. This value and interest are enhanced by the fact that much of these records are fast vanishing and in a few years will perhaps be irretrievably lost. The compiler very rightly points out that the records of the period have been very scantily and carelessly preserved, and the materials scattered throughout the newspapers of the day are becoming unavailable because of the extreme scarcity of the old files of these periodicals. Government has, no doubt, taken care to preserve such historical records as it has thought fit and prudent for its own political or administrative purposes; but it has never made any serious attempt to preserve the records which bear witness to the cultural progress of the people or their everyday life and thought. Nor had there been any library or institution, private or national, which ever made such an effort on an extensive scale, until the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad was established with this purpose in view. But even the efforts of the Parisad have been slow and considerably hampered by the difficulties peculiar to the people and the country. Whatever records are still existing are, therefore, widely scattered and in most cases extremely scarce and inaccessible. Much, again, is lost partly through apathy and partly through the difficulties of preservation in a country subject to erratic climatic and other conditions. Mr. Banerji's love of old records and his diligent search for them have rescued much of these valuable documents from loss or oblivion, and he has already very considerably enriched our knowledge of the period by his painstaking studies in them. He has now conceived the happy idea of selecting and preserving from old Bengali periodicals of the last century whatever there is of interest and importance, and his idea has borne fruit in the volume, the publication of which has now been made possible through the generous encouragement of the Parisad.

It is not necessary to emphasize the importance of the nineteenth century in the history of the modern culture of Bengal. It is the period which witnessed the growth and building up of the Bengal of today, and the significance of the various currents of modern Bengali life and thought cannot be properly understood without a reference to the sources from which they spring. It is possible to write complacent accounts of the period and indulge in sweeping generalizations and bird's-eye views, but very few scholars in the field have, so far, devoted themselves to a patient and industrious compilation of facts and data, without which no proper history of the period can be written. The chain of historical summary can never be forged without the links supplied by concrete facts. In the present state of

our meagre and indefinite knowledge of the period, accumulation of materials is a greater, if a harder, task than the writing of facile sketches. It is, therefore, fortunate that Mr. Banerji has forsaken the more attractive path of writing brilliant but fruitless essays, and taken to the more unassuming but extremely useful process of laboriously investigating the original documents, which alone form the sound and sufficient basis of the proper historical study of the period.

There is no dearth of people who possess great faith in the infallibility of published records, but there are others, who drawing their inferences from the indications given by the modern propagandist Press, are sceptical with regard to the value of such materials as can be gathered from current periodicals. It is for the critical historian to weigh and judge, and we are persuaded that Mr. Banerji has ably discharged that task; but it is probable, as Mr. Banerji points out, that the Press of the last century was comparatively free from the later tendency of distorting facts to suit particular views, or to promote the interests of parties or individuals. At least, we can with some amount of confidence depend upon these old-time records for the definite indication of contemporary dates and events. In this way Mr. Banerji has been able, from a study of these records, to throw new light upon many an obscure point and settle many a disputed date. The most outstanding events in the social and literary history of the period are those connected with the movements associated with Raja Ram Mohun Roy, with the establishment of schools and colleges and spread of Western education, and with the beginnings of Bengali journalism. Much material will be found collected on these subjects in Mr. Banerji's work, as well as much miscellaneous information which would have otherwise remained entombed in the musty files of the half-forgotten old periodicals. Mr. Banerji deserves thanks for bringing them to light, and all students interested in the cultural history of Bengal during last century will be eagerly looking forward to the continuation of these studies in his projected second volume of the work.

S. K. DE

SANSKRIT

ADVAITASIDDEHI—PARTS I & II.

The *Advaitasiddhi* is the last polemical work in the field of *Advaita* philosophy, being a refutation of the *Nyayamrita* of Vyasarajaswamin of Madhva school. The latter work traversed the *Advaita* dialectic as expounded by the followers of Sankara with such consummate skill and mastery that the prestige of *Advaitism* seemed to be smashed for ever. Madhvananda came to the rescue and by his effective replies saved *Advaitism* and proved the hollowness of the charges. The result has been that a scholar who aspires to be an expert in *Advaita* philosophy must cultivate first-hand acquaintance with the *Advaitasiddhi*. But the task is an uphill one. The book is often in the dialectic of *Navyanyaya* and the equipment, it demands, requires years of hard labour. The sequence has been that the *Advaitasiddhi* has become a nightmare for scholars and the despair even aspiring students. But this tangle has been cleared by Mahamahopadhyaya Yogendranath Parkashantatirtha, who has written an original commentary in Sanskrit and elaborate exposition in Bengalee.

The commentary is written in very simple Sanskrit and the technicalities have been thoroughly explained. We have no doubt that a scholar with tolerable knowledge of Sanskrit will understand the text. The learned introduction of the editor, Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh, has traced the course of development of the *Advaita* school *pari passu* with the rival schools of thought and has thoroughly expounded the *Nyaya* and *Mimamsa* technicalities and this would be a fitting preparation for the understanding of the original text. We hope that scholars interested in *Advaita* philosophy will begin to study the *Advaitasiddhi*, as the question of difficulty has been solved once for all. The public have a duty in this respect. The publication of these classical texts is not a paying business and unless it receives financial support such venture will become a thing of the past. Our thanks are due to Babu Ksetrapal Ghosh, the publisher of the book, for his love of old classics and philosophical literature. No other publisher would have undertaken the venture, as such books can cater only for a limited circle of readers. We request the editor, the publisher and the Mahamahopadhyaya that they would not stop short with this instalment. We request Professor Yogendranath to finish his commentary and when published it would be a great achievement. Madhusudana was a Bengalee *Sannyasin* and it is in the fitness of things that a Bengalee Pandit has written an original commentary on it for the first time. We wish Godspeed to the enterprise.

SATKORI MUKHERJEE

DANDAVIVEKA OF VARDHAMANA. Critically edited with an introduction and index by Mahamahopadhyaya Kamala Krishna Smrititirtha, Bhatpara, Bengal. Gachwad's Oriental Series No. III. Price Rupees 8-8-0.

This is a Digest of Hindu Law dealing with punishments compiled some time about the sixteenth century by Vardhamana of the court of King Bhairava of Mithila. Works of this type are highly interesting inasmuch as they supply us with valuable materials for the study of the growth and development of social and ethical ideas among the people. Their importance from the standpoint of the literary history of India is also not negligible. Not infrequently do they preserve quotations from texts which are rare or in some cases inaccessible. So, a good deal of care must needs be taken in editing these works. An attempt should be made to identify the quotations—at least those that are from works already published. It would also be good if in an appendix or in the foot-notes the special features of the work under edition in comparison with those of other similar works are indicated in brief. But it must be confessed that few works have followed these ideals. And the present work only follows the usual and beaten track. We, however, extend our hearty welcome to the edition as it brings to light a valuable work that was little known. An important feature of the work is the English Introduction in which the topics of the work are summarized in brief, but not in a quite sympathetic manner. The work, according to the editor, is based on 'primitive ideas' and 'the classification of offences' in it is neither so exhaustive nor so scientific as that in the Indian Penal Code. Such unsympathetic tone is, however, curiously absent from the Sanskrit Introduction though it

years, like the English Introduction, the signature of the editor.

The text is edited on the basis of five manuscripts. The confusion between *v* and *b* as also the occasional non-observance of some of the minute rules of *Sandhi* are defects that are noticed here and there. Several valuable appendices (e.g., of the authors and works as also the first lines of the verses quoted) have been given at the end. In these *Vatsyayanayah* p. 40, l. 12) has inadvertently been left out.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTY

THE MAHABHARATA : *Adiparvan, fascicule 6.*
Edited by Dr. Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph. D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (1932)

With the publication of the sixth fascicule, the Bhandarkar Institute completes the *Adiparvan* of the Mahabharata. The first fascicule was published in 1927 with a short Foreword from Dr. Sukthankar, the learned editor, who drew our attention for the first time to the epic character of the complications confronting any scholar or group of scholars who would attempt textual criticism. The manuscript materials utilized for this unique edition are as variegated as they are judiciously chosen. Of the Northern recensions : The Kashmiri Maithili, Bengali, Devanagari ; and of the Southern recensions, the Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam versions of diverse dates and documentary eccentricities, naturally presented to the editor problems of a bewildering character. There are "fluctuations inherited from a period of purely oral transmission," as well as a vast number of "secondary variants brought in through corruption and emendation during the period of mainly written transmission" of the Epic. Still, in spite of the resultant difficulties the editor has succeeded in demonstrating that "a considerable portion of the inherited text can be incontestably proved to be authentic and unimpeachable." For this positive affirmation, nay this substantial discovery, we are grateful to the learned editor and his colleagues, who worked ceaselessly for the last five years, as we have seen, examining a veritable *mandala* of manuscripts, each competing with its rivals from the north and south or east and west of India, for the final award of the Sampadaka-Chakravartin, as to the priority, the authenticity and pristine purity of form and matter, as preserved by these documents jealously guarded through centuries. For the first time in the history of Mahabharata studies and possibly in that of textual criticism in India, every *adhyaya*, *sloka*, nay even fragments of a *sloka* of the *Vulgate* or several *vulgates* of the Epic, have been submitted to the closest scrutiny and objective criticism. A special technique, as we see, has been evolved by the resourceful editor who shows remarkable success in getting sound results through happy blending of the statistical and stratigraphical methods each controlling and complementing the other. Quantitative computation of the "*Sata Sahasri*" Book of 100,000 *slokas*) itself is an achievement. But to add to the same the elements of qualitative valuation of a mind as ripe in western methods as it is loyal to Eastern idealism, means that the editor has given to lovers of Indian lore all the world over, an edition of abiding worth for years to come. From the foot-notes which form the bulk of the printed fascicules, we feel that the editor has spared no pains to lend to the

text all the thoroughness of a *variorum* edition and at the same time has striven his level best to steer clear of all *provincial* favouritism with regard to particular versions or manuscripts and to give us a central *reconstituted text*, so far as possible, of the original version of *Vyasa*.

But the antithesis of the *central* and the *provincial* in Mahabharata criticism seems to be more real than academic. For, just when the Bhandarkar Institute has completed the *Adiparvan*, a special Southern recension of the epic has begun to be published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu of Madras, critically edited by Dr. P. P. S. Sastri, B. A. (honours), a specialist in manuscript research in the archives of Southern India. As against Dr. Sukthankar's method of selective pruning so that we may not miss the parent tree in the forest, Dr. Sastri attempts to represent the self-same tree in its organic (although bewildering) context of the forest. He has chosen "one thoroughly reliable and representative manuscript as the principal text" and added, by way of critical apparatus, the more important variations of reading, as may be found in "four other different MSS. which are also undisputed representatives of the Southern recension." Of the five MSS. utilized by Dr. Sastri the first three (Burnell's Cat. Nos. 11860, 11838 and 11851) correspond to G6 G4 and G5 of the MSS. critically used by Dr. Sukthankar. But while the latter reaches the modest figure of 7984 *slokas* constituting the whole *Adiparvan*, the *vulgate* gives 8384 and the Kumbhakonam edition is not satisfied with less than 10889 *slokas*. The discrepancies in the number of *slokas* as well as in the treatment of episodes, even in these published critical editions of the North and the South would certainly provoke general interest. And pending the publication of the other *parvans* and of the critical notes of the two editors, we urge the public to come forward to help this noble work of Mahabharata publication, which will vindicate as much the cause of Indian scholarship as our claim to preserve our ancestral legacies through all the trials of centuries. Without adequate financial support such a colossal work can never be accomplished and we hope that the whole nation would respond to the call.

KALIDAS NAG

GUJRATI

SWARAJ NA GITO : *Compiled by Sgt. Kalyanji Mehta, published by Gujar Granth Ratnamala : As. 10.*

This book of patriotic songs is divided into 7 parts, such as, Prabhat Pheri Songs, Songs for meetings, processions, National Songs, *Ras* and songs for "Vanars." Poets Meghani, Khabardar, Snehrashmi, Jagatram, Mrs. Shukla, Dr. Desai and others are amongst those whose songs have been included in the selection. The book presents at least one aspect of the renaissance that we are passing through and will be a good seller.

AKHARE-FEUSLO, PART I & II : *Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.*

Akhari Feusla is a collection of Mahatmaji's speeches delivered at different places in Gujarat at which he and his valiant band of pilgrims halted during his historic march to Dandi and after till the time of his arrest. The book takes its name from Mahatmaji's assertion so repeatedly made in course of those speeches that that was to be their last fight.

The second part includes all the speeches and writings since his release from Yervada and also the correspondence relating to the memorable Gandhi-Irwin Pact. They make a very valuable addition to the political literature of our time and ought to find place on the library shelf in every house.

KHEDUT-NO-SHIKARI: *Publishers as above. Price As. 3.*

This is a little brochure containing two plays by Jagatram Dave. The plays are very well written and are a typical production of the masterly pen of the playwright. They are bound to help the propaganda for prohibition in the villages, as the language is so simple. The first is, it seems, taken from Tolstoy's "First Distiller." Such brochures must be printed in thousands and broadcasted by Prohibition Societies and Social Welfare Associations.

BENGAL BEHAL: *By Gopaldas Patel. Publishers as above. Price As. 6.*

This is a narration of conditions in Bengal under Clive and serves as a companion volume to an earlier publication, *Battle of Plassey*. It is a harrowing tale of how the indigenous industries were ruined in Bengal, how artisans were crushed and Bengal's tremendous wealth steadily drained away. The author has made a very good attempt to do full justice to the subject.

DHUMRA SHIKHA: *Rammiklal Dalal, B. A., LL. B., Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2.*

This delightful collection of short stories, if not an exact translation of, is a creditable adaptation of the stories of Srimati Seeta Devi, the talented Bengalee short-story writer who has been very popular in Gujarat. It is in her powerful portraiture and character-drawing that she excels many a writer of short-stories, not only in Gujarati but also in other Indian languages. Her stories in *The Modern Review* are read with admiration by all who happen to get it. The stories presented in this beautifully got-up volume are very delightful and do much credit to the pen that has written them.

JIRANNI ZANKHI: *Keshavprasad C. Desai, B. A., LL. B., Editor, the Stribodh. Published by Jivanlal Amarsi Mehta.*

Mr. Desai has secured a high place in Gujarati literature as a writer of short stories, which are all written in a lucid simple style and pictures of Gujarati life are very vividly portrayed therein.

KALAPI NO KEKARAO: *By the late Poet Kalapi alias Sursinghi Gohil. Price Rs. 5.*

The late poet Prince Thakore Saheb Sursinghi of Lathi is the most popular of the Gujarati poets dead

or living, or to put it more accurately, is a mass poet. The first edition of the collected works of Kalapi, the popular *nom-de-plume* by which the poet was known, was published in 1902 and it has since then run into six more editions. The seventh edition is much enlarged and revised. Besides, a long introduction and explanatory notes enhance the value of the work. A good selection of photographs are also inserted in this edition.

KALAPINI PATRA DHARA: *Published by Jivanlal Amarsi. Price Rs. 3.*

This is a companion volume to *Kalapi No Kekarao*. The poet's epistles throw a flood of light on his life and supply a clue to a real understanding of his poetry and ethics. The publisher has, therefore, done a great service by bringing all these letters together under one cover, and placing them at the disposal of the public.

R. M. K.

MARATHI

बालक (THE CHILD) *By the late Mr. V. G. Apte. Price Re. one only.* This is the first publication of Mr. Yande in the Sayaji Sahitya Mala. Major portion of this is a translation of the English book, "The child his nature and nurture," which book is one of the series of Temple Cyclopaedic Primers. Mr. Apte has very skilfully but hastily introduced it in Marathi. Oriental customs have been incorporated in this book instead of the western ones.

It would be very beneficial to all the Indian parents to read this book and bring their children up accordingly.

संघ-व्यायाम (Indian drill) *by Prof. Manikrao of Baroda. Published by Mr. Mahabal of Nasik. Price 12 annas.*

This book is most useful and instructive to the young people of India to whom the selfless and obliging writer has dedicated his whole life by taking a vow of celibacy in this life. He has authoritatively proved in this book that the Indian exercises can be effectively practised in a drill. This is the result of our contact with the West. Along with other beneficial arts we have picked up from the West public education, nationality, monogamy, etc. The lack of some of these was felt and severely criticized as early as in the eighteenth century by the well-known Anandibai, wife of Raghoba. (*Vide Peshva Daftar Selection No. 4*), though we could neither discover simultaneously nor follow the foot-steps of the discoverers immediately. The book under review contains other useful items and pencil sketches. Everybody will be glad to know Prof. Manikrao's further views on this useful subject.

V. S. WAKASKAR



RE-FOUNDERS OF THE IMPERIAL HINDU THRONE

By K. P. JAYASWAL

"DASASVAMEDHAVABHRITHA-SNANANAM
BHARA-SIVANAM"

Of the *BHARASIVAS* who had performed *Ten Asvamedhas* followed by baths of completion.

—*Vakataka* Royal Copper-plate Deeds.

PERIOD REGARDED AS BLANK

DR. Vincent A. Smith in the last edition (1924), as well as in the earlier editions, of his *Early History of India* declared:

A. "So much, however, is clear, that Vasudeva was the last Kushan king who continued to hold extensive territories in India. After his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in Northern India" (page 290);

B. "Probably numerous Rajas asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states. . . . but historical materials for the third century is so completely lacking that it is impossible to say what or how many those states were" (page 290);

C. "The period between the extinction of the Kushan and Andhra dynasties about A. D. 220 or 230, and the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history" (page 292).

Or, in other words, the period is a "blank" in the history of India as he put it on page 291. This hopelessness has been tacitly acquiesced in up to this time. After working at the materials available I find that none of the three statements cited above can be accepted and need be repeated in future. The materials are copious as we shall see below, and for two sections of the period, scientifically arranged for us by Hindu historians.

REVIVAL OF IMPERIAL POWER

2. The statement that there was no paramount power before the imperial Guptas is thoroughly incorrect and cannot be maintained for a moment. The history of the imperial Hindu revival is not to be dated in the fourth century with Samudra Gupta, not even with the Vakatakas nearly a century earlier, but with the Bhara-Sivas half a century earlier still. There is not a line about the Vakatakas in the history of Dr. Vincent A. Smith, nor a line about the Bhara-Sivas in any text-book. About the latter I have not seen even a paper written upon in any of the historical or archaeological journals, although the main history of both these dynasties is contained in well-attested documents on copper or stone, and as we

shall see, fully set out in the Puranas, which is supported by coins. The miss and neglect is due to the fact that the editors of those records, Fleet and others, did not read the facts contained in the inscriptions though they read the inscriptions. And as Vincent A. Smith, who surveyed the history of India, missed the period, following the lead of Fleet and Keilhorn, the period was declared to be blank. But as a matter of fact it is unusually full as compared with many periods of Indian history. Dr. Fleet while translating the *Vakataka* inscriptions even missed the prominent expression *Samrat*, Emperor of all India, the title of *Pravarasena I* who assumed it after performing as many as four sacrifices of imperial sovereignty, that is, four *asvamedhas*.

VAKATAKA EMPEROR AND THE PRECEDING POWER

3 The Emperor Pravarasena I of the dynasty of the Vakatakas who flourished, as we shall presently see, a generation before the Emperor Samudra Gupta was the Emperor of Aryavarta and also a large portion of the South, if not of the whole of the South, immediately before Samudra Gupta. And it was the position of that Brahmin Emperor, Pravarasena the Vakataka, which Samudra Gupta took over from his son Rudrasena I, described as Rudra Deva the leading sovereign of Aryavarta in the list given in the political biography of Samudra Gupta published on the Allahabad pillar.

4. It was a continuation by Samudra Gupta of that imperial rule and paramount sovereignty which had been in the hands and the keeping of the Vakatakas for sixty years before Samudra Gupta, as is evident from the Vakataka inscriptions and the Puranas. I say advisedly "in the hands and the keeping" of the Vakatakas, for they had inherited that paramountcy from the Bharsivas whose dynasty had performed no less than ten *asvamedhas* on the Ganges—a repeated assertion of their imperial position in Aryavarta. It is needless to state that the *asvamedhas* were at the cost of the Kushan empire. That history written in the orthodox Hindu fashion of these imperial functions sums up the breaking-up of the Kushan empire and the driving of the Kushans further and further north-west towards the confines of the Salt Range.

THE BHARASIVAS

The Emperor Pravarasena got his son Gautamiputra married to the daughter of the

Bharasiva King Maharaja Bhava Naga. This event was so important in the history of the Vakataka dynasty that it was incorporated in their dynastic history and repeated in all the official deeds of the Vakatakas. There it is recorded that before this political marriage, the *rajavamsa* (dynasty) of the Bharasivas had performed Ten Horse-sacrifices on the Ganges which they had acquired by valour. With the holy water of the Ganges they were crowned kings. The Bharasivas adopted *Siva* as the presiding deity of their empire. The site of the *dasasvamedha* of the Bharasivas, performed on the bank of the Ganges, seems to me to be the sacred site come down to us as *Dasasvamedha* at Benares, the earthly home of Lord Siva. The Bharasivas issuing from Baghelkhand must have reached the Ganges through what we call now the Ancient Deccan Road terminating in the town of the Goddess Vindhya-vasini. The district of Benares was at one end of the Kushan empire. It was far removed from its western seat. If a new power arising from the Vindhya hills was to reach the plains and if it went, not through Baghelkhand, but through any part of Bundelkhand, it would reach the Jumna and not the Ganges. The site of the home of the Vakatakas also gives an indication—the ancient town of Vagat (Vakata) from which the Vakataka family derived its name, I have discovered in the northern part of the Orchha State in Bundelkhand; and the Vakatakas were evidently the neighbours of the Bharasivas. There are other indications which I shall discuss in their proper places, in the shape of monuments, place-names, and coins which fix the seat of the Bharasivas between Kausambi and Benares.

BEGINNING OF THE BHARASIVAS

6. To perform ten *asvamedhas* before or up to the time of Pravarasena I and his *asvamedhas*, the dynasty of the Bharasivas must have been in existence for about at least a century. To put it roughly here, their rise is to be dated about 180 A. D.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE BHARASIVAS

7. The real contribution of the Bharasivas is the foundation of a new tradition—or rather a revival of an old tradition—the tradition of Hindu freedom and sovereignty. The national law-book, the *Manava Dharma Sastra*, had laid down that Aryavarta was the God-given land of the Aryas and that the Mlechchhas must live beyond that and outside. This was their political and international birthright prescribed by the sacred law of the land. It was to be vindicated. The tradition initiated by the Bharasivas was kept up by the Vakatakas and was taken over by the Guptas and fully maintained by their successive emperors from Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya to Baladitya. If there had been no Bharasivas there would not

have come into existence a Gupta empire and the Gupta Vikramadityas.

MINIATURED BHARASIVA HISTORY

8. The history of those Bharasivas is set in lapidary in the Vakataka historiography. Never so shortly, yet so pregnantly was a history in miniature set in, as in these three lines of the copper-plate.*

aṁsabbāra-sannivēṣita-Siva-līṅgōdvahana-Siva-suparitushta-samutpadita-rājavamśānām=parākram=ādhi-gata-Bhāgirathy=āmala-jala-mūrdh=ābhishiktānām=daśāsvamēdh=āvabhṛitha-snānānām-Bhāraśivānām.

"Of the [dynasty of] Bharasivas whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Siva on account of their carrying the load of the symbol of Siva on their shoulders—the Bharasivas who were anointed to sovereignty with the holy water of the Bhagirathi which had been obtained by their valour—the Bharasivas who performed their sacred bath on the completion of their Ten *Asvamedhas*.

END OF KUSHAN POWER

9. The last Kushan emperor was Vasudeva who was ruling up to the year 98 of the Kushan era as evident from a Mathura inscription.† Either in the last years of Vasudeva (c. 176-180 A. D.) or on his death the imperial rule of the Kushans came to an end. The end of the Kushan rule synchronizes with the rise of the *Asvamedhin* Bharasivas. When they rose, the power they had to face and break was the imperial Kushan.

II

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE BHARASIVAS

THE BHARASIVAS AND PURANIC CHRONICLES

10. After a century of Kushan domination, a Hindu king in the person of the Bharasiva king was consecrated to Hindu sovereignty with the holy waters of the Ganges. The significance of this statement is that after an interregnum of hundred years he became the first legal king. In this connection we may recall the Puranic statement about the foreign kings in India in those days that they were not consecrated kings:

NAIVA MURDHABHISHIKTAS TE

Now, is it possible that the Puranas will fail to record these *Murdhabhishikta* kings, consecrated to the throne with Vedic hymns and Vedic rites, a line of lawful kings, who performed not one or two but ten *asvamedhas* in the sacred land of the Aryas—an achievement which was not to the credit of any of the ancient dynasties

* Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 245, 236.

† Luder's List, No 76 (E. I. X Supplement).

of the *Kali* Age whom the Puranas have described? The Sungas performed two and the Sungas are in the Puranic list of Emperors. The Satavahanas performed two, and the Satavahanas have been recorded. The Bharasivas who performed ten, could not have been left out. And in fact, they have not been left out.

BHARASIVAS WERE NAGAS

11. We have in the Vakataka inscriptions one of the Bharasivas named, and we have in that name that he was a Naga king—"of the Bharasivas (*i.e.*, of the dynasty of the Bharasivas)—Maharaja Sri Bhava Naga." The Puranas describe after mentioning the fall of the Andhras and their contemporaries the Tukhara-Murunda dynasty, *i.e.*, the dynasty we now call the imperial Kushan, the rise of Vindhyaśakti on the Kilakila that is the Vakataka dynasty in Bundelkhand, 'Kilakila' being a river near Panna.* The Puranas in explaining the importance of the rule of the son of Vindhyaśakti begin to describe the Naga dynasty. The Naga dynasty arose at Vidisa, the well-known seat of viceroyalty of the Sungas.

THE NAGAS OF VIDISA

12. The Puranas divide the Naga dynasty of Vidisa into two parts :

- (a) those kings who flourished *before* the end of the Sungas, and
- (b) those kings who flourished *after* their end.

We must recall here the Matsya and the Bhagavata chronicle :†

Suśarmāṇaḥ prasahya (or pragrahya) taṁ
Sungāṇaṁ ch-aiva yach chheshāṁ kshapitvā tu
balaṁ tadā.

[The Andhra king] "having taken Susarman (the Kanva king) a prisoner and having destroyed whatever had been left of the Sunga power at that time."

This statement would refer to the Sunga power which had been left in Vidisa, their ancestral home. And as the Puranas here are dealing with the Vaidisa kings, the statement about the Vaidisa Nagas coming into power before and after the Sungas must refer to the Andhra or Satavahana period when the Satavahanas became the emperors of Aryavarta

* To Rai Bahadur Hiralal I am indebted for the information that the Kilakila is a small river near Panna. I have since ascertained through the kind offices of Mr. Sarada Prasad of Sutna (Rewah) that the Kilakila flows through Ajaigarh and Panna, and one crosses it on the road between Sutna to Panna about 4 miles east of Panna; the river enters the town of Panna. Evidently it makes a curve between the states of Ajaigarh and Panna. It still bears its original name.

† Pargiter, Purana Text. p. 38.

in addition to their being the emperors of Dakshinapatha, *i.e.*, about 31 B. C.*

13. The kings before 31 B. C. in the Naga dynasty according to the Puranic chronicles were :

(1) *Sesha*, 'king of the Nagas,' 'conqueror of his enemy's capital'† (Surapura according to the Brahmanda).

(2) *Bhogin*, son of king Sesha.

(3) *Ramachandra* chandramsu\$ as the second descendant, *i.e.*, a grandson of Sesha.

(4) *Nakhavan* (or *Nakhapana*) *i.e.*, *Nahapana*. It is noteworthy that the *Vishnu Purana* omits this name from the list, evidently for the reason that it was not to be read in the line of the Nagas.

(5) *Dhana-*, or, *Dharma-* *Varman* (*Dharma*, according to the Vishnu.)

(6) *Vangara***. The Vayu and the Brahmanda without naming him call him the fourth descendant, *i.e.*, he was the fourth descendant from Sesha, and consequently Dharma would be the third descendant of Sesha.

The Puranas after this make the definite division from the next king, the Bhagvata omitting the previous names altogether and the Vayu and the Brahmanda stating that the next kings flourished "after the end of the Sunga dynasty" that is, after the conquest by the Satavahanas of Nahapana, and their arrival in Central India and their conquest of the Kanvas and Sungas. These post-Sunga Nagas were :

(7) *Bhuta Nandi*, or *Bhuti Nandi*.

(8) *Sisu Nandi*.

(9) *Yosa Nandi* (younger brother of Sisu Nandi); other kings left unnamed.

THE VRISHA OR NANDI NAGAS

14. Before proceeding further we should notice here that the Vayu calls these Vaidisa Nagas *Vrishā*,†† Siva's bull, *i.e.*, "Nandi," with which the names of the kings coming after the close of the Sunga dynasty end. It seems that the title Bharasiva which was taken up later is connected conceptually with the *Vrishā* of the Vayu and the "Nandi" of the names.

* J.B.O.R.S., I, p. 116. Pushyamitra: acc. 188 B.C.
Sungas : 112 years | 157

Kanvas : 45 years | 31 B.C.

† Surapura may be Indrapura, now Indor Khara in Buland-shahr district where a number of the so-called Mathura coins have been found. See A.S.R. XII, p. 36 ff.

§ I do not read Chandramsu separately, as the *Vishnu Purana* does not read it so.

** This name as a name is traceable in a village name Vangara (near Nogaud) in the Khoh copper-plate of Maharaja Hastin. G. I, page 105.

†† वृषाण वैदिशकाञ्चापि भविष्यांश्च निबोधत (37, 360)

भूति [भूत] नन्दि स्तत्तश्चापि वैदिशेतु भविष्यति शुङ्गान्तु कुलस्यान्ते [Pargiter, Pt., p. 49, n. 15]

A NAGA INSCRIPTION

15. There is a positive confirmation of the existence of these post-Sungan Nagas in the first century A. D. At Padmapawaya which is the site of Padmavati, a statue of Yaksha Manibhadra was dedicated by some members of the public in the fourth year of the reign of "King, Svamin Siva Nandi."* The script of the inscription is earlier than that of the early Kushans. The "i" vowel marks do not curve and are straight; seriph is not developed. The style of the Yaksha image is also early. The script will place the record in the first century A. D. Siva Nandi would be one of the unnamed kings coming after Yasah Nandi. As the Puranas generally omit the names when a dynasty comes under an overlordship, Siva Nandi was probably the king superseded by Kanishka. It is stated in the Puranas that Padmavati passed under a ruler named Vinvaspham who is to be identified with the Viceroy of Kanishka, Mahakshatrapa Vanaspara. Siva Nandi up to his fourth year was an independent king, for the inscription is dated in his regnal years and not in the Kushan era. Under the Kushans, the dating was universally in their imperial era. The royal style *svami* is exactly after the fashion of the earlier Satavahanas. It was a term denoting 'Sovereign' which was borrowed from Hindu politics and which was adopted by the early Saka rulers of Mathura, for instance, the Amohini inscriptions of Samvat 42 of the reign of 'Svami'† Mahakshatrapa Sodasa—a style which went out of use at Mathura since the rule of Kanishka.

PADMAVATI

16. It seems that from the time of Bhuta Nandi when the dynasty was re-established as treated by Bhagavata, they made Padmavati their capital. A famous Sivalingam called Svarnabindu was established there, and seven centuries later in the time of Bhavabhuti it was popularly alleged (*akhyaqate*) that it had no human origin. The platform of the Svarnabindu Siva has been discovered by Mr. Garde at Pavaya.‡ An

* *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, 1915-1916, p. 106, pl. LVI.

† *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 199.

‡ *A. S. R.* 1915-1916, p. 100 ff. On the description of Padmavati, see Khajuraho inscription, *E. I.*, Vol. I, page 149. The description (1000-1 A. D.) is worth quoting. It runs: "There was on the surface of the earth, a matchless (town), decorated with lofty palaces, which is recorded to have been founded here between the golden and silver ages by some ruler of the earth, a lord of the people, who was of the Padma dynasty, (a town which is) read of in histories (and) called Padmavati by people versed in the Puranas. This most excellent (town) named Padmavati built in an unprecedented manner, was crowded with lofty rows of streets of palaces, in which tall horses were curvetting: with its shining white high-topped walls which grazed the clouds, it irradiated the sky;

image of Nandi with human body and bull's-head has also been found there, and also a number of sculptures in the Gupta style.

NAGA COINS

17. Let us take a series of coins which in my opinion belongs to this early Naga dynasty. Some of the coins are generally assigned to Mathura. In the British Museum there are coins of Seshadata, Ramadata* and Sisu chandradata. The script of the Seshadata coin is the oldest and belongs to the first century B. C. In the same series there are coins of Ramadata. These three kings, in my opinion, are identical with Sesha Naga, Ramachandra and Sisu Nandi of this dynasty. Amongst themselves they are connected by their coinage—a fact already recognized.† I may point out an important symbol on the coins of Sesha, namely, the symbol of wheel which recurs on the coins of the Later Nagas found at Padmavati, Marwar, Mathura, Ahichhatra, etc. e.g., of Deva Naga, Vyaghra Naga, and Achyuta (or Achyuta Nandi, as in the Allahabad inscription). The same symbol is found in the Vakataka inscriptions at Nachna and on a Sivalingam at Jasso.§ I shall show later that the Vakatakas inherited by marriage the dominions of the main branch of the Nagas or Bharasivas and the Nagas came under the Vakataka suzerainty.** The coins of Sesha and Sisu are intimately connected with those of Virasena, as already pointed out by Prof. Rapson (*J.R.A.S.*, 1900, page 115). Virasena's coin reproduced by Prof. Rapson has a serpent rising over the throne on which is seated a female figure holding a jar in her upraised right hand, the figure being evidently that of Ganga. Another coin of Virasena, reproduced by General Cunningham, has a *naga* standing by a male figure. The Naga figure there on the analogy of the coins of Bhava Naga (§ 20) completes the name as Virasena Naga. The Vrisha or Nandi, serpent and *trisula* are prominent on the Naga coins.

18. The word *data* in Sisu cham data†† and Sesha data, Ramadata, etc. may not correspond to "datta" as hitherto held but to *datri* or *datva*, which is evident in Sisuchandra data—meaning 'liberal,' 'sacrificer,' 'protector,' 'donor.' This is further evident from the legend "Ramasa"—without "data"—on some coins of the series.§§

19. There are also coins of Uttama data and (and) it was full of bright palatial dwellings that resembled the peaks of the snowy mountain.

* Mr. Carleyle found at Indor Khera a coin of "Rama" (Ramasa), without addition of "data." *A. S. R.*, vol. XII, p. 43.

† Rapson: *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 109.

‡ Cunningham: *A. S. R.*, XXI, p. 99, pl. 27.

** 23 ff

†† *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, pl. opposite p. 97, fig. no. 14.

§§ *A. S. I.*, vol. XII, p. 43.

Purusha data,* Kama data and Siva data (mentioned by Prof. Rapson as Kamadatta and Siva datta I, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 111), and also of Bhava data (illustrated in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 97, pl. fig. No. 13) which was read with doubt as of Bhima data but which really reads as Bhava data. Against these there are unnamed kings of the line in the Puranas amongst whom figures *Siva Nandi* of the Pavaya inscription who can now be easily identified with *Siva data* of the coins.

20. We have a coin of the Kausambi mint which is reproduced by Vincent A. Smith in the *Catalogue of Indian Museum*, page 206, plates XXIII, 15 and 16. With this coin there begins a new series, which, as we shall see later, belonged to the 'Nava Nagas'. The first letter has not been read with confidence up till now. I have compared this letter with the letters occurring in the scripts of the third century A. D. and I read it as "Na." The coin legend is *Navasa* ('of Nava') and above *Navasa* there is a figure of a *naga* (serpent) with raised hood. It stands for the dynastic name—'Naga' which is expressly given on other coins of the dynastic series. I read it as the coin of Nava Naga. The palm tree occurring here and on the palm-leaf capital found at Padam Pavaya† are symbols of the Naga Ananta.§

21. Thus we have the following names of the dynasty against which we have coins of this connected series :

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| (1) Sesa, Nagaraja—(coins) | Sehsa data |
| (2) Rama chandra— | Rama data |
| (3) Sisu Nandi— | Sisu chandra data |
| (4) Siva Nandi (from inscription as one of the unnamed kings of the Puranas) | Siva data.* |
| (5) Bhava (Nandi?) | Bhava data. |

INDRAPURA AND MATHURA

22. Whether the early Naga princes, Sisu Naga and others, ruled at Mathura or not we cannot say. For, Mathura was the mart where coins from adjoining territories, *e. g.*, Padmavati, Vidisa, Ahichhatra, etc. came. We have, however, the Puranic datum that they ruled at Vidisa and that the first king Sesha was the conqueror of his enemy's capital. In view of the fact that the Brahmanda gives Surapura as the description of the town conquered, we would be authorized in assuming that he took Indrapura, now in the Buland-shahr district, a very important town in those days†† where a number of coins of these

early Nagas are found. We do find Siva Nandi's rule extending up to Padmavati. In any case the political connection of Mathura with Vidisa had been very old, and it was again firmly established in the later Naga history. The presumption that the earlier Nagas played a part in ousting the Mathura satraps, is not discounted by the fact that we have a line of kings at Mathura with "Mitra"—ending names in coins found there in the period succeeding the satraps as these coins seem to be later.*

III

THE SENIOR NAGA DYNASTY AND THE VAKATAKAS

MAIN VIDISA NAGA LINE MERGED INTO A DAUGHTER'S SON

23. The Senior Naga dynasty merges into the Vakatakas by a marriage, according to the Puranas which is confirmed as we shall see by the Vakataka inscriptions. After Yasah Nandi, say the Puranas, there will be kings there, *i. e.*, in the line of Yasah Nandi or in the Vidisa line.

tasyānvayē bhavisyanti rājānas tatrāyas tu vai
dauhitrāḥ Siṣuko nāma Purikāyām pripo 'bhavati

"In his line there will be kings there, and a daughter's son popularly called the Infant, became king at Purika.§ In place of *rajanas tatra yas tu* (*dauhitrāḥ*), some manuscripts read *rajanas tam* (*or, te*) *trāyas tu vai*, which is a clear misreading, because the article "te" before "trayah" would not be needed, and *tam* would give no meaning. If the reading "trayah" (three) be there, it will have to be interpreted as three lines of kings arising from Yasah Nandi and not three kings, in view of what Vishnu says later, that the *Nava Nagas*,** *i. e.*, the Later Nagas beginning with Nava Naga ruled from three capitals, Padmavati, Mathura and Kantipura. The dynasty of Yasah Nandi, or at least one line of it, lapsed and got merged into the daughter's son—popularly known as the "Infant." The Nagas had, under the evident pressure of the Kushans, left Padmavati. We have the definite statement in the Puranas that Vinvasphani ruled at Padmavati and ruled up to Magadha. Therefore, we may take it that about 80-100 A. D. the Naga dynasty takes shelter, away from the

* Vincent A. Smith: *C. I. M.*, p. 190.

† *P. I.*, p. 49, n 23.

§ On Purika, see Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 262, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, 445. The location answers Hoshangabad.

** "*Nava-Naga ... Padmavatyam Kantipuram Mathurayam, Anu-Ganga-Prayagam...magadha Guptascha bhokshyanti*:" as the Guptas are qualified with "*magadha*," so the Nagas are qualified with the word "*Nava*." In both cases the Purana does not give any number.

* V. A. Smith—*C. I. M.*, pp. 190-192.

† *A. S. R.*, 1915-16, page 107, plate LVII D.

§ Hopkins—*Epic Mythology*, p. 23. "*Dhvaja* or standard in India" by Mr. Achyuta Kumar Mitra in the *Morning Star*, May-June, 1932, page 131.

** Described by Prof. Rapson as Siva datta in *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 111.

†† *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIII, p. 36 ff.

trunk road between Mathura and Vidisa into the inaccessible jungles of the Central Provinces.

NAGA-DAUHITRA AND PRAVIRA-PRAVARASENA
AT PURIKA AND CHANAKA

24. The Puranas, when they reach the Infant in the Naga line, again take up the line of Vindhyaśakti in the person of Vindhyaśakti's son, about whom they say that he was popularly known* as Pravira, 'the Great Hero.' The Vishnu expressly states that the two, i. e., the Infant and the Great Hero, ruled together: "Sisuka-Pravirau," the Vayu applies to them a plural verb, "bhokshyanti"—a Prakritism for the dual.† The *Bhagavata* omits the Infant altogether and only gives Pravira. It is thus evident that the Puranic historians are signifying here that the Infant succeeded to the territories of the Naga king, his maternal grandfather, and that in the name of his grandson, the Infant, Pravira, son of Vindhyaśakti ruled. The joint rule is emphasized by the word *ch-api* "*Vindhyaśakti-sutaschapi*" of the Vayu and Brahmanda. The Vishnu places the Infant first while the Vayu and the Brahmanda imply it. The Vayu and the Brahmanda give a rule of 60 years to Pravira, at 'Purika' *chanaka(m)* or at "Purika and chanaka" the latter reading being, more likely, correct, owing to the presence of 'and' [*cha*].‡ All this is fully confirmed by, and fully tallies with, the known details of the Bharasiva and Vakataka history contained in inscriptions.

PURANAS CORROBORATED BY INSCRIPTIONS

25. According to the Vakataka inscriptions** Gautamiputra, son of Emperor Pravarsena and father

प्रवीर नाम ब्रह्मपुत्रः

† Pargiter, *P. T.*, p. 50, n. 31.

§ "bhokshyanti cha sama shashtim purim kan-
chanakancha vai" where, it is possibly to read,
following the Prakrit forms *Pulaka* and *Chalaka* of
the e Vayu, Purika-cha-kan-cha vai. Was *Chanaka*
the same as Nachna? Such transposition of syllables are
common phonetic phenomenon. Nachna is an ancient
capital in the Ajaigarh State where Vakataka inscrip-
tions and monuments have been found:—[*A. S. R.*,
XXI, p. 95]. The name Cānakapura is known to
the Jaina literature as the older name of Rajagriha
[*Abhidhana Rajendra*] '*Chanaka*' will mean 'celebrated.'

** Fleet, *G. I.* pp. 237, 245; "भट्टशिवानाम महाराज

of Rudrasena I did not succeed, but Rudrasena I succeeded both as the grandson of the Emperor Pravarsena and as the grandson of the Bharasiva Maharaja Bhaya Naga, and with this marked distinction that he comes in as the maternal grandson of the Bharasiva first and then as a Vakataka—quite unlike Samudra Gupta—who comes in the inscriptions as a Gupta king first and as a Lichchavi grandson next. In one of the Vakataka copper-plates (Balaghat, *E. I.* IX, 262) Rudrasena I is expressly described as a Bharasiva Maharaja [Bharasivanam Maharaja Sri Rudrasenasya.] The *Vishnu Purana* is here thus fully supported by the Vakataka dynastic inscriptions. Then, the Vakataka inscriptions mark off the period at the death of Rudrasena I, and separate it from the next Vakataka period commencing with Prithivishena I, his son and successor. This is, as we shall see later, because of the extinction of the imperial position of the Vakatakas with the defeat and death of Rudrasena at the hands of Samudra Gupta, who calls him Rudradeva, just as in the Nepal inscriptions. Vasantasena is Vasantadeva.* At the accession of Prithivishena the dynasty had completed 100 years with which the inscriptions mark off the previous period which is the period of independence: "*Varshasatam-abhivardhamana kosa-danda-sadhana*."† There is 96 years; given to the dynasty of Vindhyaśakti in the Vayu and the Brahmanda.‡ The 100 years of the inscription stands for what we will say to-day—'well-nigh a century.' The result is that the identity of the Bharasivas with the family of Bhuta-Nandi Naga is established.**

श्रीभवनगौतमपुत्रस्य-पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम
महाराजश्रीवर्द्धसेनस्य

* Fleet, *G. I.*, *Introduction*, pages 186 to 191.

† [who belonged to an uninterrupted succession of sons and sons' sons,] whose treasure and means of government had been accumulating for a hundred years, [Fleet].

§ समाः षड्विंशति भूत्वा [ज्ञात्वा] पृथिवी तु गमिष्यति ।

P. T., p. 48, n. 86, 88.

'On completion of 96 years, the Empire (Part III below) will pass away.'

** This is the Introductory Chapter of Mr. Jayswal's "*History of India from 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.*" (in the press).



THE INDO-BRITISH TRADE AGREEMENT

By PROF. KRISHNA KUMAR SHARMA, M. A., B. Com.

THE agreement concluded at Ottawa between Great Britain and India will, if endorsed by India's so-called Parliament, enable England to recover her lost ground in the Indian market. Mr. Baldwin's strongest argument for protectionism in England has all along been that protective tariffs could be effectively used for purposes of bargaining with other countries. That he was able to utilize them to achieve this object will become clear to any one who scrutinizes carefully the long list of British goods which will receive preference in the Indian market under the agreement. The Indo-British agreement is a one-sided affair and the fact that it lays down the principle of reciprocity and also concedes the right to India of denouncing it in case it works injuriously to her interests, does not at all prove its utility to India. It is just possible that the result would have been less disappointing than now if the Indian delegation had carried with them the necessary expert assistance and had been fully equipped with facts. The agreement was a foregone conclusion and the way in which the Indian delegation had been appointed by the Government had led Indians to believe that the agreement would be concluded at Ottawa on behalf of India.

The Indian delegates were apparently so frightened by the possibility of Great Britain subjecting Indian goods to its general tariff of ten per cent that they were only too willing to grant substantial preferences on almost all articles of British imports without much deliberation over the consequences. This is abundantly clear from the statement of Mr. Chetty, one of the Indian delegates to the conference, which he recently made to the representative of the Associated Press. He said :

"I may, however, say that one aspect of the problem which has been overlooked in every criticism...is this... Under the Import Duties Act which is now in operation almost all goods imported into the United Kingdom with the

exception of a few raw materials and articles of food are subject to duties varying from 10 to 33 p. c. All the goods coming from the Empire countries, however, will be exempt from this duty until November 15. The attitude of the British Government is that if any of the British Empire countries do not come to a satisfactory tariff arrangement with them, they will, after November 15, extend the operation of these duties to such Empire countries also. . . . Suppose we had failed to come to an agreement with the British Government at Ottawa with the consequent result that all these duties were made to operate against us, how much India would stand to lose by such a step which the British Government were bound to take and against which we have no reason to complain."

This betrays the nervousness of the Indian delegation. For a large number of commodities which India supplies to Great Britain, we practically hold the monopoly of the British market and Britain could not have taken up this step without serious injury to her own industries also. Supposing she did so, it was also open to India to act in economic self-defence. But granted that Britain took such a step against India and Indian exports to her would have been curtailed considerably, then it was also likely that British imports would have fallen to the same extent for she would have received no preference on them. Probably they would have fallen to a greater extent because demand for manufactured goods is very elastic as compared with the demand for raw materials. But what will happen now? Non-Empire countries may retaliate and sixty per cent of our foreign trade is with non-Empire countries. There is, therefore, the prospect of a larger loss to India in case these other countries retaliate against us. On this very ground Mr. Chetty had protested very vehemently in the Assembly in September 1931 against the action of the Secretary of State in linking the rupee to the sterling and he had regarded this action as against the larger interests of India. It is difficult to see the changed circumstances which induced Mr. Chetty himself at Ottawa to endorse the

Imperial Preference Policy on behalf of India.

There is inconsistency in the statement of Mr. Chetty when he says that foreigners are not likely to retaliate. What is there to prevent them from retaliatory action if England could take similar action against India in case our delegates had not endorsed the agreement? If Britain could do so with some injury to India, non-Empire countries can do it with greater injury to our foreign trade.

From the point of view of Great Britain there is no doubt that the agreement will be of immense advantage to her. Her share of the Indian import trade which was about sixty-three per cent before the War has now gone down to about thirty-seven per cent and her position would be much better if she could recover a large part of this lost ground. From the point of view of India there is little reason to hope for any considerable increase in her export trade with Great Britain. The English and the Empire markets have been purchasing India's exports practically at a uniformly constant or even a diminishing rate for years past and the total value of our foreign trade with them has actually gone down. India cannot have an expanding market in Great Britain even if the demand of the latter should increase because the advantage which the scheme extends to India will also go to the Dominions whose exports will compete with Indian exports in the British market. India's export trade is widely distributed and in view of the fact that Great Britain is not an expanding market, the utility of the Indo-British agreement is at best doubtful from India's point of view, specially when there is the possibility of retaliation on the part of our non-Empire customers. The fact that these countries might retaliate is quite possible because except in case of commodities like jute, India does no longer hold the monopoly of the foreign markets. Agricultural improvements have made it possible for other countries to produce raw materials as effectively as India does and they also stand in need of markets. Markets are not expanding in proportion to the increased production of raw materials and

consequently Indian goods have to meet with increased competition in foreign markets. In his statement to the Associated Press, Mr. Chetty evaded the question of retaliation on the part of non-Empire countries. He said that that aspect of the Ottawa agreement applied not only to India, but to Britain and other Empire countries for the volume of export trade of Britain with the foreign countries was much greater than her trade with the Empire countries and that if foreign countries retaliated against all parties to the Ottawa Agreement, England, probably, would be the one country that would suffer most by such a step. This comparison between India and England is irrelevant and England can easily do in her own economic interests what India cannot do. The nature of the two countries is different and England can find an expanding market in India for her goods, but the share of India's export trade which England can purchase is not likely to increase. Unless there was a decisive advantage in India's favour, this serious step should not have been taken by the Indian delegation. A careful examination will show that the gain of Great Britain is very considerable, but that of India is insignificant.

First, let us examine what India has to gain by the preference. The commodities on which we get preference are tea, manufactured jute, tanned hides and skins, ground-nuts, linseeds and other seeds, rice, and other food grains, manures, coffee, tobacco, spices, shellac, linseed oil, vegetable oils, sandal oil, oil cakes, cotton manufactures, coir manufactures, carpets, and rugs, pig lead and pig iron, etc. These commodities roughly amount to forty crores of rupees and we thus get preference on our exports to the extent of about Rs. forty crores. Nearly the same amount is represented on the imports side on which we allow preference to Great Britain. Apparently, therefore, the transaction seems to be fair and equitable. But a careful scrutiny will show that concessions to India are illusory, but those allowed by India to Great Britain are substantial.

The largest item on which we get pre-

ference is tea which represents about twenty crores. The value of the preference is discounted by the fact that Ceylon, our competitor, enjoys an equal preference. India and Ceylon put together supply about eighty-five per cent of the tea imports into England. In the words of the Indian Fiscal Commission, 'when such a large percentage of the total supply is entitled to the preferential rate, it may be assumed in accordance with the general economic principles... that the price to the British consumer will be regulated by the preferential and not by the general rate of duty,' no direct advantage will, therefore, flow to India by preference on tea. Further Java and other foreign tea driven out of the British market will seriously compete with Indian tea in American and other foreign markets. There is also the other side to the question and it is this : that more than ninety per cent of the tea industry in India is controlled, financed and managed by non-Indians and preference on tea will benefit the Europeans and can hardly be called a compensation for the preferences which shall be compelled to allow on British manufactured goods.

Hides and skins and jute are the other two important items on which we get preference. Put together, these two commodities represent about eleven crores. In 1930-31 out of about seven crores worth of hides exports, we sent about six crores to England and we are thus having the monopoly of the British market even without preference in this commodity and preference is not likely to give us any more advantage. India is a big exporter of hides and skins and we levy a duty of five per cent on the export of raw hides and skins without injuring the export trade. No other country would be prepared to levy duties on her exports unless she is sure of her monopoly of the foreign markets. Even in tanned hides and skins we enjoy a privileged position. With regard to jute, we do not stand in need of preference as we enjoy the monopoly of jute supply and Britain absorbs only a small portion of our jute goods; our chief markets being, U. S. A., Argentine and Canada. Shellac stands on more or less the same footing. In case of items like carpets and rugs, spices, goatskin and mica,

preference will not give us any benefit because we have no serious competitor in these commodities in the British market. With regard to cotton manufactures, it is a commonplace fact that Britain purchases only a very insignificant portion of our cotton goods and this is but natural and cannot be otherwise. No amount of preference will increase our exports of cotton goods to England. Our chief markets for cotton manufactures are Ceylon, Persia and Africa, etc.

We get preference on linseed and groundnut and the preference on the former commodity will, no doubt, be of advantage to us. But the Seed Traders' Association of Bombay pointed out that linseed is a very insignificant item in our seed exports, the main item being groundnuts which are exported to the continental countries and they form about three-fourths of the total exports of seeds. Great Britain can never become an expanding market for groundnuts and cannot replace these foreign countries.

If thus we eliminate from our list commodities so far considered—they amount to about thirty-three crores—we are left with a balance of about seven crores on which alone we get preference and against this we allow preference to England on her exports to us to the extent of forty crores. We could get real benefit by preference on raw cotton as we export a large quantity of it to foreign countries and England mainly gets her supplies of raw cotton from America and Egypt. But England has only expressed pious hopes and good wishes alone and raw cotton has not been put on the 'preference list.'

To come to the other side and to consider Britain's gain, one will be struck by the wide range of commodities on which we give preference and the extent of the benefit going to England. We get preference on goods which do not compete with British goods, but the articles on which we give preference will cause a direct competition with our own indigenous products. We grant preference on cotton piece-goods which alone constitute about sixteen crores. Iron and steel are already on the preference list and hardware and building materials will also

compete with indigenous products. Chemicals and drugs and paper and stationery come in direct competition with our home-made goods and preference on soap and toilet manufactures will hit our cottage industry very hard. These commodities amount to about twenty-seven crores and in them we shall feel direct competition. Thus preference seems to have been granted indiscriminately without keeping in view the fact that it should have been limited to those commodities alone which cannot be easily and profitably produced in India and on which preference would not impose too great a burden on the consumer.

PROTECTION IMPAIRED

It is not just and wise to select commodities for preference which are protected in India, whatever may be the care taken to see that protection is not impaired. The consumer will bear the burden of preference and protection both without any ultimate advantage to his future interests. Preference on iron and steel goods, cotton goods, silk and artificial silk goods cannot be justified for this reason. The Government *communiqué* lays down that preference is subject to the general observation that it does not extend to commodities to which protection is applicable. If this principle were followed the items mentioned above should never have been put on the 'preference list.' Thus preference will make protection inadequate, but the consumer will have to bear the full burden of protection without any hope of ultimate advantage which would otherwise flow from the development of home industries.

Again, preference should have been limited to a small number of articles. The Fiscal Commission rightly remarked :

"The commodities selected must be as far as possible those in which British manufacturers already hold an important part of the market and in which the grant of preference is likely to develop rapidly the portion of the market that they will command, so that the burden on the consumer will be removed at an early date."

The agreement does not satisfy this test also so wisely laid down by the Fiscal Commission.

To sum up then, British market for Indian

goods on which preference is allowed is limited and cannot expand appreciably, our exports put on the 'preference list' will not compete with British goods, whereas preference on British goods will directly interfere with our protectionist policy, will involve a permanent burden on Indian consumers without any hope of ultimate relief and this preference is granted indiscriminately on a very wide range of commodities. The agreement is thus one-sided and unjust. The least that should be done is to refer the case to public opinion or to an impartial examination by the Tariff Board.

BRITAIN vs. DOMINIONS

Britain has not got the same terms from the Dominions which she has got from India. The resignations of the British Ministers and the views of important persons like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Ramsay Muir, the Chairman of the National Liberal Federation in England, and of traders there, bear out this contention. Mr. Ramsay Muir in a statement to the press said :

"Finally, the Dominions are all to be secured a free market in all circumstances for virtually the whole of their products, but there is no suggestion that a free market is to be granted in return for British products. There are only vague assurances of the most indefinite kind which cannot have binding force that the Dominions will reduce various duties. It is quite clear that many of our principal manufactures...will still be effectively debarred from the Dominion markets. As a piece of bargaining this arrangement seems to be extremely inefficient, but it is also a proof that bargaining of this sort is an extraordinarily bad way of cementing the Empire as it must inevitably lead to all sorts of friction and recrimination."

The *Manchester Guardian* published the views of one of the traders interested in the Lancashire industry as below :

"We who have had much to do with Canada are not expecting anything at all that will be of any use to us. The Canadian manufacturers have already shown in their discussions with the British Cotton Delegation that what they have they intend to hold, and it is pretty certain that the Canadian Government will give nothing away."

The paper referred to above wrote :

"The Ottawa Agreements will be looked back upon as one of the most disastrous episodes in British economic policy, disastrous not merely because of their one-sidedness but, mainly perhaps because of their preventing a general reduction of Tariffs."

Lord Arnold said :

'The Ottawa Conference marked the beginning of the end of the British Empire.'

Mr. Lloyd George in an article contributed by him to *The Manchester Guardian* summed up the position as follows :

"There is little prospect of any marked addition to British prosperity as a result of the closefisted huckstering and haggling of the Conference. The Commerce of Britain, imports and exports with the U. S. A., the Argentine, Holland and Russia will sustain serious impediments. That may do some damage to the trade of these countries. But Britain, the international trader, must be hit much harder . . . Ottawa will not help world trade to recover its resilience. It might well constitute an additional hindrance in the way of such recovery. It will not remove existing restrictions but will add many . . . Those whom the Gods wish to destroy they first make mad. The world has been bitten with the rabies of national exclusiveness and Ottawa has proved to be the Pasteur Institute."

The Liberal Ministers have resigned on five main objections to the Ottawa Agreement. First, that the whole policy of hard bargaining on trade matters is wrong. Secondly, that the agreements include an undertaking that the British Parliament will not reduce certain duties on articles imported from foreign countries during a term of years without the consent of the Dominion Governments. They say that apart from the question of whether any Government is entitled to give such an undertaking, Parliament itself cannot properly enact a

statute of this nature. Thirdly, that the World Economic Conference is about to meet and it is essential that Britain should be free to enter into any agreements that are practicable and advantageous for the expansion of trade with foreign countries. Fourthly, that the Tariff concessions to be made by Dominions and India will undoubtedly benefit some branches of 'our trade' but these advantages will not make a substantial difference to the number of unemployed. Moreover, most of the reductions are hedged round with conditions and qualifications that make them very problematical. Fifthly, that a series of taxes and quota restrictions on a long range of foodstuffs and raw materials are to be imposed or made permanent and the freedom of these commodities from taxation and restrictions is vital to the welfare of the working classes.

The above views show that Britain did not get adequate concessions from the Dominions and that the Ottawa Agreements are disadvantageous for her. But the Indian delegation at least cannot be accused of that 'policy of hard bargaining on trade matters' of which the Dominion delegates have been blamed by some well-known persons in England. The Indian delegates were very accommodating and extremely willing to endorse the proposals of the British delegation at Ottawa.

THE CONQUERED NATION

A conquered nation is like a man with cancer: he can think of nothing else, and is forced to place himself, to the exclusion of all better company, in the hands of quacks who profess to treat or cure cancer . . . A healthy nation is as unconscious of its nationality as a healthy man of his bones. But if you

break a nation's nationality, it will think of nothing else but getting it set again. It will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until the demand of the Nationalist is granted.—George Bernard Shaw, in *John Bull's Other Island*, 1907.

MY FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND EXPERIENCES IN GERMANY

BY PROF. SURES CHANDRA SEN, M. SC., A. F. R. A. S. (LOND.)

It was on the night of the 4th November, 1931, that I first set my foot on European soil. From my boyhood Europe had a charm for me which with growing years developed into a strong attraction. In pursuit of my scientific studies my mind travelled from one European country to another as I dwelt on the wonderful researches of the western savants that have made science what it is today. To an Indian scientist, who combines in himself the critical faculty of the West, with the traditional reverence of the East, a visit to Europe is of the nature of an intellectual pilgrimage.

It was now my time to compare my mental picture with the realities of European life. But I did not come to Europe with any pre-conceived notions. I had kept an open mind and wanted to study at first-hand the life of the West. I wanted to expose myself to all the winds that blew without being blown off my feet.

I left Marseilles on the 5th November at 1-30 P. M. by train for Munich. The agent of Thomas Cook & Sons met me on board the *SS. Margha* and made all arrangements for my train journey. At his instance I purchased a second class ticket but I found afterwards that the third class would have been quite convenient. My route lay through Lyons, Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Bregenz and Lindau. I do not find words to describe adequately the wonderful mountain scenery of Switzerland that greeted my eyes on both sides of the railway line and I shall not attempt to do it here. On the next day I reached the Haupt-Bahnhof, Munich, at 3 P.M. after a journey of about 26 hours. My good friend Dr. Triguna Sen, whom I had so far known only by reputation, was kindly present at the station. Naturally enough we easily found out each other. We had some difficulty in obtaining delivery of my registered baggage which I did not present for customs examination at the frontier stations. From the

station we drove to a Pension where a nice room had been engaged for me by Dr. Sen. As we drove through the city I found the streets to be scrupulously clean and I learnt afterwards that a penalty of two marks is imposed on anyone found throwing any refuse, like small pieces of paper, on the street. The same evening I had the pleasure of making acquaintance of almost all the Indian students in Munich, who had assembled at the Studentenheim for their evening recreation.

The second day of my life in Munich was the day for fixing my plans. I wanted to carry on experimental research in the Munich University under the celebrated Professor, Dr. W. Gerlach, but I was informed just before leaving India that there was absolutely no accommodation available in his laboratory. This discouraging news had naturally depressed me and I was hesitating whether I should join this university at all under such circumstances. When Dr. Sen came to me after breakfast we decided to see Dr. Thierfelder, Secretary of the Deutsche Akademie with whom I had been in correspondence regarding my admission. From him I got the most welcome news that, through his efforts, the Ministry of Education had been pleased to make special arrangements for me and had provided an additional room and apparatus in the university for enabling me to begin research work in my very first semester.

Dr. Thierfelder, I may mention here, is the friend, philosopher and guide of the Indian students in Germany. He receives every Indian student with a warmth and cordiality which a new-comer cannot usually expect in a strange land.

More than this, he helps them to obtain admission in the German Universities or Works. Indian students are fortunate in having a benefactor of his type in Germany.

The admission to the University is a tedious, formal process. Fortunately I had the permission of the Rector to join the University before leaving India. Armed with this and guided by Dr. Sen at every step I was able to complete the formalities in a few days' time. From this time onward my knowledge of German was put to the severest test and I would like to emphasize here that unless a student has a good knowledge of German he cannot expect to make any progress in his studies here and the first few months of his stay are likely to be entirely unprofitable and monotonously dull.

On the 9th November, Dr. Sen made an appointment with Prof. Gerlach by telephone and on the same afternoon we saw him at the Institute of Experimental Physics. He received us with rare courtesy and his radiant face was lit up with a kindly smile as he greeted us. We talked for some time and decided upon the subject of my work. Realizing that I was a stranger in a strange land, he asked me to spend one week in sightseeing before beginning my work.

My next interview in the University was with Prof. Sommerfeld. I was seeking an opportunity to meet him when I received his card inviting me to see him. I had always thought of him with reverential awe, inspired perhaps by his notable contributions in theoretical physics. The simplicity, sincerity and the affectionate solicitude with which he received me will always remain deeply impressed upon my mind. I soon found out that he had an abundant fund of the milk of human kindness and was always accessible for advice and help.

A few days after, I saw Dr. Schmauss, Professor of Meteorology, and was very well received. He is extremely generous-hearted and possesses the traditional virtues of a true Indian *Guru* (preceptor). It is perhaps for this reason that he has quite a number of Indian students in his class.

I may add here that all other Professors of mine have also been similarly kind and generous to me. Even while taking practical training in Aeronautics in the workshop and Aerodromé of the Deutsche Luft Hausa, where I am the only foreigner under training, I have found that the Director and

the Engineer-in-charge have always given me special facilities and their special attention.

The atmosphere in the weekly Physical seminars and colloquium is extremely stimulating. Prof. Gerlach, here, as well as in his class lectures, speaks with a force and an eloquence, rarely to be found in others. His earnestness and erudition almost bewitch his audience and extort the admiration of all. Prof. Sommerfeld speaks slowly but with inspiring earnestness and penetrating conviction which invests his personality with a halo of reverence. Sometimes such is the inspiration of these gatherings that every difficult problem becomes luminously clear under the influence of the environment.

In the research laboratory the nature of the work makes a demand on the intellect as well as on the mechanical skill of a student. Every little thing that goes to the making up of an experimental arrangement has to be done by the student himself. The workshop will not do anything for him unless it is an extremely difficult job and as a result the student has an all-round training which not only makes him a good experimenter but also an excellent glass blower, a skilled workman and an expert designer. To a new-comer the difficulty of his task is considerably lightened by the assistance of his fellow-workers. The friendliness and the courtesy of the German students at once touches your heart and makes you, or at least it makes me, feel happy and quite at home. There is a sort of unspoken welcome, wherever you go in your laboratory, which I do not think I can explain.

The university life in Munich is extremely pleasant and enjoyable but the life outside has its attractions, too. The city is beautifully situated on the Swabian-Bavarian plateau, at a distance of only 25 miles from the Alps, on either bank of the Isar. The scenery round about Munich is picturesque and fascinating and a number of pleasant excursions may be made to the Alps or the valley of the Isar. Within a month of my arrival here I visited the chief places of interest which are the Deutsches Museum, the largest scientific museum in the world,

the Army Museum, the Residenz Museum, the National Museum, the Museum of Ethnography, the famous Old and the New Pinakothek, the English Garden, the Nymphenburg Castle, the Frauenkirche, the State Library, the Hofbrauhaus (one of the largest beer halls where the famous Munich beer is served), the Bavaria Monument and Hall of Fame, and several others. During the last Christmas in company with Mr. Asoke Bose I travelled up to Zugspitze (9,720 ft.), the summit of Germany's highest mountain, which can be reached from the beautiful valley Garmish-Partenkirchen, by the new electric mountain railway and cableway, which have been completed in 1930 at a total cost of about twenty million marks.

The temperature shows a very marked variation at this place, varying between 20 degrees C and 10 degrees C in winter. We have heavy showers of snow followed by bright intervals lasting for days together. Even on sunny days the day temperature in winter may be as low as 12 degrees C or less. In summer, however, the temperature may be as high as 30 degrees C or even higher. Munich is the cultural centre of South Germany and its fame as a home of art and learning has spread far and wide. The University with the faculties of Philosophy, Theology, Law, Music, Medicine, and Natural Sciences and the Technische Hochschule with the faculties of Natural and Applied Sciences and Technic attract a large number of foreign students drawn from all countries of the world.

The city is universally celebrated for its music and dramatic art which culminate in the annual festive plays when the works of Wagner and Mozart are performed in new and picturesque settings in the Residenz and the Prinzregenten theatres. The social life

is characterized by the natural simplicity and courtesy of the Bavarians, their sense of enjoyment of existence, their love of gay colours and of beer, and above all, their cordiality towards foreigners, which invites one to cultivate their friendship. It has been truly said that he who has not experienced Munich with heart and mind does not know Germany.

Of the student activities, specially remarkable is the student self-help organization, which has made provisions for the supply of meals and other daily necessities to the students at cheap rates. Closely connected with it is the International Students' Club, which besides helping the foreigners in every possible way, endeavours to bring about a closer understanding between the German and the foreign students. The cheap week-end excursions and the weekly social evenings organized by the club tend to make student-life in Munich all the more lively and enjoyable.

It is surprising to find how much the German students know about India and how much more they desire to know. An Indian student finds here an ample scope to demonstrate his talents in the realm of Indian philosophy, music, painting or architecture. Every Indian becomes a virtual interpreter of Indian culture, an ambassador of his country sent to Europe. There is noticeable in the West a distinct effort to establish a closer understanding with the East and a marked tendency to cultivate international relationship and to develop an international outlook. Perhaps the day is not far distant when the world will see the realization of the idea which Tennyson has given expression to in the following beautiful lines:

"Let the East and the West without a breath
Mix their dim lights like life and death
To broaden into boundless day."



INDIAN PERIODICALS

Prof. Ewing on Modern Science

Sir Alfred Ewing, F.R.S., the President of the British Association for 1932, delivered the annual address at York, which gives an indication of the trend of thought of scientists. *The Theosophist* quotes portions of the address and offers comments on them. We make no apology for reproducing both in part:

Professor Ewing draws attention to the wholesome change which has come about among the scientists today, in that they are much more cautious in their conclusions:

'I am old enough to remember a time when some of the spokesmen of science (never, indeed, the greatest) displayed a cocksureness that was curiously out of keeping with the spirit of today. Among contemporary leaders nothing is more general than the frank admission that they are groping in a half-light, tentatively grasping what at best are only half-truths.'

Then further he points out what every scientist has known, and that is the difficulty of knowing today what really science has to say. Specialization is so marked that it is impossible for any worker in science to get abreast of the main trend.

'It is true that the sciences included in our purview have become specialized and differentiated to a degree that would make ridiculous any claim to the qualified omniscience which was possible in our early days. It is also true that each department of science now has its own society of votaries who meet, as it were, in a masonic temple and converse in a jargon that has little if any meaning for the general ear.'

But more important than these is his pointing out what science has *not* achieved. Professor Ewing shows us how great a change has been brought about in man's environment by the plethora of mechanical inventions. Most graphically he says:

'The cornucopia of the engineer has been shaken over all the earth, scattering everywhere an endowment of previously unpossessed and unimagined capacities and powers.'

At last we have a man of Professor Ewing's eminence beginning to see the problem, for Professor Ewing notes that:

'Man was ethically unprepared for so great a bounty. In the slow evolution of morals he is still unfit for the tremendous responsibility it entails. The command of Nature has been put into his hands before he knows how to command himself.'

No wonder, therefore, that one who believes in science and its message, as he does, yet should look somewhat aghast at what is happening today with the enormous mass of output from machinery.

'We invent the machinery of mass-production, and for the sake of cheaping the unit we develop output on a gigantic scale. Almost automatically the

machine delivers a stream of articles in the creation of which the workman has had little part. He has lost the joy of craftsmanship, the old satisfaction in something accomplished through the conscientious exercise of care and skill. In many cases unemployment is thrust upon him, an unemployment that is more saddening than any drudgery. And the world finds itself glutted with competitive commodities, produced in a quantity too great to be absorbed, though every nation strives to secure at least a home market by erecting tariff walls.

'An old exponent of applied mechanics may be forgiven if he expresses something of the disillusion with which, now standing aside, he watches the sweeping pageant of discovery and invention in which he used to take unbounded delight. It is impossible not to ask, whither does this tremendous procession tend? What, after all, is its goal? What its probable influence upon the future of the human race?'

Co-education in India

Co-education is still an experiment in the sphere of education. It has a wider meaning than is generally understood, and renders the solution of the sex problem easier. Dr. J. H. Gray, M.D., M.P.E., makes it clear in an article in *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*. He says:

It is very suggestive to find co-education having the second place of interest in the list of the social aspects of sex to be discussed. What perhaps is the real problem is the one of the friendly commingling of the sexes before and after marriage of which co-education is one.

To one who has been familiar with co-education for a lifetime it seems to present no problems that are not understood and cannot be overcome, but it is easy to see that such is not the case for those who have never been in a co-educational institution or seen them.

Co-education, so far as sex is concerned, is not an unmixed evil or blessing. It has its values and its dangers and to eliminate as far as possible the one and enhance the other is the problem. For the sexes to meet and learn to understand each other and become familiar with the ways and mannerisms of one another is certainly a wise and good thing. True at times it may lead to disaster but all life has them unfortunately and fear of them should not hold one back in doing what is good. I believe that co-education leads infinitely more often to a wholesome understanding and respect for the opposite sex than to a lowering of standards between them. Sad is the family where there is only one child or children of only one sex, for the wholesome comradeship of the family is what is aimed at in a co-educational institution.

That India should suddenly adopt such a measure would seem unwise perhaps; but that she should see to it that young people of both sexes do meet under proper conditions would certainly help to meet what seems to be a lack in Indian life generally. In addition the adoption of a co-educational policy covering a generation or two of students could then be inaugurated and would seem to me to be both wise and helpful. If there is a danger to-day it is that the change will come too abruptly.

Some of the most delightful homes, I have had the privilege of entering in India, have been those in which this wholesome commingling takes place. To have it in schools, colleges and the life of India generally would, I believe, enrich Indian life wonderfully.

Agricultural Co-Operation in Russia

In "Co-operation in Action" in *The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* Mr. Harold H. Mann dilates on the progress that Bolshevik Russia has made in various spheres of activity through co-operation. India, being an agricultural country, may benefit from the knowledge of Russia's activity in agricultural co-operation. Mr. Mann says:

But when we turn to the other striking development of co-operative effort, namely, the organization of agricultural production on a co-operative basis, we get something which is more new and yet whose progress is phenomenal in the last two or three years. The future of agriculture in Russia lies with the collective farm. Of these there are several types but the prevalent one is termed the 'artel.'

Such a collective farm consists of a village or group of villages who agree to work their land as a common unit. The area involved may be 1000 acres or it may be many times this amount. The collective farms have the advantages of State credits, of the use of Government supplies of tractors, machinery, seeds, fertilizers, and technical advice and help. In the last matter, the Government usually supply a manager of the collective farm, if this is desired.

On such a collective farm, the wage system may or may not be in force, but the value of the whole produce is divided among the peasant members, after making deductions for such expenses, for the value of hire of machinery, seeds and fodder, taxes and insurance, while a reserve fund is set up for the purchase of new machinery. Contributions not to exceed 5 per cent are allowed for educational purposes, etc. and for debt payments and administrative expenses which are supposed not to exceed 2 to 3 per cent of the total income.

To speed up the conversion of Russian agriculture to the large-scale farming of the collective farms, the Government has established tractor and machinery stations in very large numbers almost all over the country, and there is no doubt that the idea of large-scale farming with wonderful new machinery has captured the imagination of the peasantry in a large part of the country.

Whether the collective farm system will persist will depend on whether, under this method, a larger return of produce can be obtained than was previously obtained under the system of individual cultivation. So far this has been generally the case, and it is

quite clear that a collective farm which gives its members at the end of the year a bigger income than they would have obtained on their own, will be a tremendous advertisement of the system. Failures, relatively few in number, owing to bad management, have occurred and are still occurring, and they are the greatest hindrances, to the further development of the system.

I want to make it quite clear that the development of collective agriculture is very largely due to the fact that it is given great advantages by Government. An individual peasant who stands out from the scheme will have none of the tractors, machinery, seed and fertilizers that the collectives will get. To this extent, the increase in the area under them is not, in the first instance at any rate, entirely the result of their intrinsic advantages. But it is felt that this artificial help will no longer be wanted, if only they show better results than the privately conducted farms. And everything in Russia aims at convincing the people of the advantage of common and co-operative effort in the conducting of the affairs of everyday life.

So far, the greatest success of the collective farm movement has been in the great wheat producing areas of south central Russia. But it is intended that it should be the dominant form,—if not the only form, of agriculture in the greater part of the country. In the tea areas, with which I was chiefly concerned, more than two-thirds of the area of tea that is being planted out will be run on the collective system,—representing a kind of tea planting different from any I have seen elsewhere. In the same district, also, fruit, such as, oranges, is being similarly planted out on a collective basis, and the same may be said of other products whose cultivation is now being largely extended.

Insurance in India, 1929-30

The following table is taken from *Insurance World*:

1. No. of Companies	1929	1930
(a) Indian	108	130
(b) Non-Indian	149	147
(c) Total	257	277
2. New Life Assurance Business		
(I) No. of Policies		
(a) Indian	103,079	105,686
(b) Non-Indian	39,598	39,523
(c) Total	142,677	145,209
(II) Sum Assured	Rupees	
	Crores	Crores
(a) Indian	16½	15½
(b) Non-Indian	12¼	11¾
(c) Total	28½	27½
3. Total Life Assurance Business		
(I) No. of Policies		
(a) Indian	471,056	513,955
(b) Non-Indian	183,640	202,703
(c) Total	654,696	720,658
(II) Sum Assured	Rupees	
	Crores	Crores
(a) Indian	78	84½
(b) Non-Indian	64	69½
(c) Total	142	154½

4. Life Assurance Fund

	Crores	Crores
Indian Companies	18½	20½
	(62 Co.'s)	(68 Co.'s)

The Cinema in National Life

Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, has recently published a report issued by the committee appointed in England to enquire into the educational and cultural films and the service which the cinematograph renders to education and social progress. *The Educational Review* summarizes the recommendations contained in the report as follows:

It is interesting to note that the committee has recommended the establishment of a Film Institute for Great Britain financed in part by public funds and incorporated by Royal Charter. It is recommended that its aims should be:

(1) To act as a national clearing-house for information on all matters affecting the production and distribution of educational and cultural films, including information as to research which is being undertaken abroad;

(2) to influence public opinion to appreciate and demand films which, as entertainments, are really good of their kind or have more than entertainment value by the publication of a review or of press articles or by lectures and meetings at important centres such as universities;

(3) to advise teachers and institutions who want to use films, as to sources and conditions of supply, types of film, and the apparatus and conditions of projection; to secure the services of expert teachers to co-operate with the trade in the production of teaching films made expressly for schools and to organize their distribution;

(4) to act as the means of liaison between the trade, producers, distributors, cultural interests and educators;

(5) to undertake continuous research into various uses of the film and of allied visual and auditory apparatus;

(6) to be responsible for film records, and to maintain a national repository of films of permanent value; to compile and maintain, with the aid of expert advisory panels, who might be paid for their services, a descriptive and critical catalogue of educational films;

(7) to act as an advisory body to all government departments concerned with the use and control of films;

(8) to undertake for the Government any task of certifying films as educational, cultural or scientific, whether national or international, for import or export, which the government sponsors;

(9) to undertake such duties in relation to the Dominions, Colonies and Protectorates as may be allotted to it, *e.g.*, the approval of films as suitable for backward races; and

(10) generally to undertake such duties as may be assigned to it under conditions not inconsistent with the terms of its Royal Charter.

It then adds:

It is time efforts were made in India also to study the bearings of the cinema on national life.

The Cinema Commission appointed some years ago in India made some valuable recommendations somewhat similar to these, but we regret it has not been possible for the Government of India to take up these for consideration, largely because of the conditions of financial depression.

Care of the Nerves

In an instructive paper in *The Oriental Watchman*, Dr. D. A. R. Aufranc lucidly explains the marvels of the brain and nervous system. To retain a healthy physique one must always take care of the nerves. Let us quote the Doctor:

By careful attention to the laws of health it is not a difficult matter to avoid nerve troubles. It is certainly much easier to avoid than to cure them.

Rest is absolutely essential to keep the nerves healthy. The moment we encroach upon the natural periods of rest and sleep we begin to sap nerve force and pave the way for trouble. Sleep alone even may not be sufficient. We must have relaxation and change. Keeping the brain, and through it the whole system in a state of constant tension expands too much energy and runs the human battery down. Worry entails the greatest expenditure of energy of all forms of mental activity. We need periods of rest and peace to manufacture and store up new energy.

Lack of self-control is another most important point. Once the brain is allowed to lose control, co-ordination and harmony are lost and chaos reigns in the body. This soon brings disease. Thousands of people are today suffering from complaints which could be cured by nothing more than a firm exercise of will power. The simple fact of having hope and something to live for has saved many a soul not only from disease, but from despair and an early grave. In this respect religion offers something which nothing else can supply.

Then there is also the question of injurious substances. The nervous system is very susceptible to poisons. The regular taking of alcohol, tea, coffee, tobacco, and even the toxins in flesh-foods weakens and irritates the nerve fibres and cells. In many cases, deposits and inflammatory changes occur in the sheaths of the fibres, producing neuritis. In other cases the cells become partly paralysed or destroyed. All the above-named poisons, therefore, should be avoided.

Poisons from septic foci, such as, diseased teeth, gums, tonsils, and chronic constipation, are very deadly to the delicate nerve tissue, and should receive prompt attention.

Other factors which react indirectly upon the nerves are diet, exercise, fresh air, and in fact all the things which help to build up sound healthy bodies.

Attention to the above factors in the hygiene of the nervous system will keep the nerves in good trim. In cases where these are already at fault, attention to the same points will prove the quickest, and in fact the only way, whereby health and happiness may once more be regained.

Secondary Education in India

The following table shows a comparative study of secondary education in different provinces of India in 1929-30. We take it from *The Teachers' Journal* :

	Madras	Bombay	Bengal	U. P.	Panjab	Behar & Orissa	C.P.
1. No. of High Schools for boys	363	201	1066	176	318	153	61
2. No. of Scholars	150,544	76,893	271,492	73,024	125,178	46,957	7,272
3. No. (average) in each School	414	382	254	477	393	307	116
4. No. of High Schools for Girls	61	60	57	28	33	6	10
5. No. of Scholars	26,266	14,111	13,987	5,171	9,292	1,460	255
6. Average No. of Girls per School	266	234	245	184	281	243	25

Aspirations of Indian Women

Women of India, like their sisters in other lands, are taking an active part in all the progressive movements of the day. Mrs. Padmini Sathianadhan has given an estimate of Indian women's aspirations in *The Young Builder*. She says :

There can be no doubt that the chief aspiration of Indian women today, is to help their country to become a nation. Women, who have been lethargic and apathetic all these years, have suddenly been galvanized into life at the thought of working for India, chiefly by making the Swadeshi movement a success. Even sacrificing their homes, they have willingly become political leaders. Today, in order to make the "Buy Indian" League a success, we see them working hard in shops, and encouraging the sale of Indian goods everywhere.

There are the women who genuinely work for the social uplift of the country, and who strive to educate the lower classes and raise the standard of the nation to a higher plane. They are indefatigable brave women, and their aspirations soar high indeed. There is no doubt that the latter are good, and it is to be hoped that the results will be as great. There is no more difficult problem than the education of the masses, and every woman should strive to improve the conditions around her.

The next great aspiration of the modern Indian women, is the emancipation of their own sex. They are longing to be rid of their inferiority complex, and be thought equal to men. To raise themselves to the level of men seems to be their great ambition. What they can find in this blind imitation of the masculine sex it is hard to understand. Perhaps they have been spurred on too much by their long suppression that they have endured ; but the fact remains that they are up in arms, willing to put away most of the customs and habits that have hitherto hampered and jeopardized their freedom and happiness. They wish to prove to the world that they have as much right to enjoy life, as men. And therefore, they demand franchise and the vote, and ask for all occupations to be opened to them.

The aspirations of some Indian women are towards the aesthetic side, and they wish to become great artists, writers or musicians. They wish to awaken India to a new sense of beauty, and to revive all the

old arts that our ancient civilization could boast of. There is no doubt that there is a spirit of renaissance prevalent in India at the present time, and women are contributing not a little towards it. The dance and the drama are being popularized to such an extent, that it need no longer be degrading for a woman to appear on the stage. They are doing well also in

other artistic vocations. It is a pity, therefore, that more of our ladies are not devoting their lives to the arts, instead of taking up public work.

Some of the resolutions passed at the All-Indian Women's Conference last year clearly place before us the kind of aspirations of the Indian women of to-day. Some of them are :—Compulsory Primary education for girls as well as boys of every community ; adult education for the masses ; to work in amity and harmony for the common welfare of the country ; to popularize the Sarda Act ; to abolish Devadasi service in temples ; to encourage and support indigenous industries ; to abolish the evil practice of untouchability and to help to better the depressed and backward classes.

The Cultural Mission of the Modern Merchant

A merchant's profession is to make money. He has also other, and perhaps nobler, missions to fulfil. His contribution to the cultural progress of society cannot be ignored. *All India Trade Magazine* expatiates on this aspect of the merchant's mission :

Let us begin with the merchant's most elementary tools, with his notepaper and other printed matter. It does not seem to me at all a matter of indifference, how these things look, things destined to enter the houses of business friends as representatives of the merchant himself. The form or character of a sheet of notepaper can recommend the firm using it or prejudice one against it at first sight. He who has the opportunity or the burden of daily considering a large budget of post and who is accustomed to run a critical eye over the outward form of this mail, will have established the fact that any number of faults, even crass faults, are still committed. It is even a relief to find printed matter which does not make any attempt at individual character, but is plainly and honestly printed as the printer himself saw fit. Fearful blunders are committed when a merchant becomes ambitious to find an original solution, something like 'effective propaganda' and thereby employs an adviser who understands even less about the matter than himself. I often cannot get away from the impression that the letter-writer, no doubt a worthy and respectable business man, is in the habit of putting on fancy-dress to write to his business friends.

On the contrary, when one is confronted with a letter-head which shows character, which betrays that the proprietor has taken a long and loving interest in such things, one is unconsciously inclined to regard the whole firm as conscientious and trustworthy. It is a fact that I have never known a merchant who was sincerely interested in these small matters and who at the same time neglected the more important details of his business.

I have used the expression "small matters", but when we remember that it is a question of millions of letters which are sent daily into the world by merchants, then we recognize that such a detail is by no means unimportant, on the contrary, it is in every way worth while to employ first-class graphic artists as collaborators, just as one would never think of building a house without enlisting the services of a good architect.

Mercantile propaganda is a special branch of education to good taste. So-called advertising has become a cultural factor, for it sets its stamp upon the countenance of the great cities and dominates the newspapers. It is the more to be regretted that our advertising is on such a low level, compared to the niveau maintained by English and American publicity. Bad taste, both as to artistic craftsmanship and subject-matter, is the rule, not the exception. Exaggerations such as would be unthinkable when spoken from man to man are not only considered permissible in advertising, but are even regarded as the purpose of advertisement. Advertising in its mercantile aspect is regarded among us as a fully unexplored territory, it is a matter of dispute whether the buyer does not react more readily to shouting than to gentle persuasion. To enter into detail upon this theme, which I have very much at heart, would be to trespass beyond the bounds of this lecture, but I must at least declare that practical experience has shown me that educative work in this sphere is by no means so difficult as is supposed. Advertising was formerly a hunting-ground of bad taste and banality. But once our rivals saw that our advertising in dignified mercantile tone was crowned with success, and that truth in advertising was more convincing than any exaggeration, then they gradually reverted to such objective and professional methods. Our publicity department is somewhat depressed over the fact that our style in advertising has awakened so much enthusiastic imitation; for our people are now once more confronted with the necessity of striking up a new route, perhaps of inventing an entirely new style.

Labour and the Award

The "Communal Decision" of His Majesty's Government has been subjected to criticism from various quarters. Mr. J. Ghose has presented very ably the labour point of view with regard to the decision in *B. N. R. Employees' Journal*:

Labour has been given in all 38 seats out of a total of 1513. The seats are to be divided as follows:

Bengal 8, Panjab 3, United Provinces 3, Madras 6, Bombay (including Sind) 8, Bihar and Orissa 4, Central Provinces (including Berar) 2, Assam 4, N.-W. F. Province nil. Seats allotted to Labour will be filled from non-communal constituencies.

"Electoral arrangements have still to be determined" runs the text of the Award, "but it is likely that in most provinces labour constituencies will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee."

Among Labour leaders Dewan Chamanlal in a statement to the Press and Mr. Joshi in the Legislative Assembly have had something to say about the Award. Both have presented the Labour view-point in their own light. They have pressed for acceptance of the Award, though they are extremely critical of some of its features. Dewan Chamanlal has made much of the fact that the seats allotted to Labour will be non-communal constituencies—"the only constituencies which will retain the seed of democracy." That is no doubt a good point. The Indian Labour movement which is still in its infancy would have suffered a terrible blow if representation was given to Labour on communal lines. But it is a matter of grave doubt whether the small Labour group in each provincial council, even though elected on non-communal lines, will be able to justify itself in provincial politics in the welter of communalism. It will be the duty of members who belong to this group, says Mr. Chamanlal, to attract candidates with the same outlook in order to capture seats in general, special and communal constituencies. This is making a tall demand. In the absence of adult franchise it can never be fulfilled. India's toiling millions for whom our alien rulers profess so much sympathy have been practically denied franchise, the right to raise their voice in determination, of the destiny of their country. Every one who counts in the Labour world in India has stood firmly for adult franchise. Mr. Chamanlal too professes to be a "firm believer in giving the vote to a man who works," which means adult franchise. By an amazing process of sophistry he has persuaded himself into believing that the Award is not unacceptable from the Labour standpoint. We for ourselves are firmly of opinion that if adult franchise was established Labour would have been able to capture ten times the number of seats allotted to it by His Majesty's Government.

The Award is not at all explicit as regards the electoral arrangements for the representation of Labour. It is very likely that these arrangements will be determined by the various provincial Governments. Labour constituencies, we are told, will be partly trade union and partly special constituencies as recommended by the Franchise Committee. There are only 34 registered trade unions in Bengal. The number of registered trade unions in other provinces are fewer still. It will be an easy affair for the employers to organize mushroom trade unions under their own patronage so as to return their own nominees to the councils as representatives of Labour. Already the air is thick with rumour that similar trade unions are in the process of formation.

All who wish well of Labour in India must be on their guard. It will be a calamity to the true interests of Labour and of Indian Nationalism as well if the Labour seats are filled in by self-seekers or employers' nominees.

The membership of the various provincial councils total 1513, out of which 38 only have been reserved for Labour. No Labour leader worth naming wanted this small mercy. Under a uniform system of joint electorate and adult franchise, Labour might have secured far more effective representation than what has been reserved for it. The growth of the Labour

movement will be for ever stunted if the reactionary and anti-national proposals embodied in the Award are allowed to be given effect to. It rests with Labour to make common with the nationalists of all communities in repudiating the Award.

A New Method in Soap-making

Dr. R. L. Datta, and Messrs. Tinkari Basu and P. K. Ghose have invented a new method in soap-making. They have contributed an article embodying their conclusions in *The Mysore Economic Journal*. The special advantages of the new method, in their opinion, are as follows :

(i) The saponification begins and ends in a strongly caustic medium which always keeps the soap separate from the lye. The impurities disengaged from the oil during boiling have, therefore, little chance of returning to the soap mass. The result is that more decolourization and deodorization take place than are practicable by the use of dilute caustic lyes according to the usual processes.

(ii) The process being a continuous one, the spent lye is not rejected until it has been made to give up all the caustic alkali contained in it. There is no wastage of caustic soda and the cost of production of the soap is, therefore, lowered.

(iii) The time taken to complete the saponification of any charge is considerably shortened, a saving in fuel and labour being the result.

(iv) Direct heated pans may be used, and of as large a size as desired, since no risk of overheating is involved and therefore no stirring arrangement is required, the soap getting no chance to touch the bottom of the pan. In fact, the entire daily charge for a soap factory, however big, can be saponified in a single pan of as large a size as required, the furnace being provided with a suitably large fire-place with as many fire-doors as necessary.

(v) The necessity of repeating again and again the tedious process of boiling on strength in the manufacture of superior soaps, as in the settled process, may be entirely dispensed with, the necessary completeness of saponification being obtained by one boil, or at the most two, in strong caustic lye.

By-products of Rice

India abounds in raw material. If our young men and young women make up their minds to manufacture goods out of it individually as well as collectively, the unemployment problem can be solved easily. Rice is our staple food, and very few of us know how many useful articles can be made out of it for our daily consumption. *Scientific Indian* summarizes an article on the by-products of rice in *The Rice Journal*. It says :

Rice by-products which are now used, are all excellent feeds, as rice bran, rice polish and brewers rice. Rice bran contains up to 14 per cent fat or oil which should be extracted and used as a salad oil similar to corn oil. Such treated bran would keep

much better. Every rice-miller knows about the rancidity of rice bran.

Brewers rice is the most valuable of all by-products. First, it is hog feed, *par excellence*, if supplemented with tankage. Brewers rice was formerly used in brewing beer and is still used in making alcohol free beer. It could be used in making commercial alcohol, which is an industry within itself. Brewers rice is also milled into rice flour, which is used for some special purposes as in the manufacture of pancake flour.

The most profitable business, however, is to convert brewers rice into the finest starch known, namely, rice starch granules are 24 times smaller than cornstarch granules and about 50 times smaller than potato starch granules. This fineness of the granules explains the easy digestibility of rice compared with corn or potatoes or any other cereal.

On account of the fineness of rice granules this starch is adapted for starching the finest fabrics, also for making the finest face powders known. It is superior to all talcum powders for the simple reason that talcum is a mineral, while rice starch is only a harmless vegetable product, which cannot irritate the most sensitive skin.

As an edible product, rice starch is mostly used in European countries for making custards and puddings in preference to any other starch.

From rice starch there is only one more step, or rather one step after the other in making rice dextrin, rice glucose, and rice fruit sugar. The making of dextrin is a roasting process of the starch, while the making of glucose and sugar is followed up exactly as nature does it when it converts the starchy food we eat into sugars in our body. Theoretically one pound of starch should give 1.2 lb. of glucose of 42°Be. but in practice it is pound per pound. Since the starch in its liquid state is used in the manufacture of glucose, the cost of production is only slightly higher than that of making finished starch. Rice glucose is made now by the Chinese and Japanese, and by stronger and longer boiling it is carried out to the making of sugar.

Glucose is used in the rice-milling industry itself, and the other by-products are used daily in the home. Since rice starch is the finest starch known, and since it is the mother product, from which most of the other by-products result it stands to reason that these by-products compare very favourably with the products obtained from other sources.

Rabindranath's Short Stories

Prof. N. K. Siddhanta discusses Rabindranath's short stories in an article in *India and the World*. We quote the following from it :

Rabindranath's activities in the domain of the short story extend over the whole of this last half century and embrace all spheres of this elusive type. Among these contributions, nearly a hundred in number, one comes across Comedies (including Farces), Tragedies, Fantasies, Parables. Some are short novels, others long short stories ; some merely note a critical situation in the lives of certain individuals while others study a group over a considerable period of time, introducing more than one generation within its purview. Here indeed we

have God's plenty and the display of a variety of qualities not usually associated with a single genius. It is not my purpose to offer a comprehensive survey of all his short stories and bring out the skill of the artist in all its fullness. One can only mention a few of those qualities which are found in great examples of this type, characteristics noticed in numerous stories from Tagore's pen.

One must mention at the very outset the vitality of his characters. Real and living the actors in a short story must be to attract the immediate attention of the readers: the creations in a novel may slowly unfold themselves and gather flesh and blood, but in the short story much greater economy of material is necessary. To appreciate Tagore's art as a storyteller one cannot do better than study and analyse the skill of workmanship in his "Private Tutor"—*Mastar Mahasaya*. The description of the young man returning home after a good dinner and undergoing some curious experiences, which may be partly explained by his mental condition but which at the same time seem to suggest something beyond the natural or the ordinary, supplies the excuse for the resurrection of the past and the unfolding of a significant chapter in the early life of this youth. In the delineation of the two main figures, the narration of the incidents and the over-mastering pathos of the catastrophe the story is fit to rank among the greatest....

In the short story, however, limited as it is in space, the creation of the atmosphere of a Forest of Arden or of "magic casements opening on the foam of perilous seas" is practically impossible and fantasy appears legitimate only for introducing a symbolism or pointing a moral. Tagore, in "Hungry Stones," has shown us the possibility of inducing such an atmosphere as would make the supernatural credible but one is not sure if the appeal of this can properly be described as of a story or of a prose poem. While there may be exceptions as in

"Foolish Hopes" (*Durasha*) or "Dalia," Tagore's stories generally deal with contemporary life in Bengal in its various phases of activity, in villages and in cities, within the circle of family life or in the world at large. Politics is rarely introduced in these stories though it may be present in the background of the comic "I crown the king" (*Raj-tika*) or the tragic "Clouds and Sunshine" (*Megh-o-Raudra*), social reform and propaganda may sometimes be vaguely evident, but usually the essence of these stories is in the tragedy, or comedy of individual life,—the tragedy more often than the comedy of it; for the poet with his discerning eyes sees the conflict of his character with circumstances, conflict with impulses or social laws or prejudices or conventions,—a conflict, this, which almost invariably ends with the crushing of the individual and the vindication of the strength of the opposing forces. One can think of so many of these weak men and women of the type of Kshiroda in "The Judge" *Bicharak* or Shashibala in "The Sister" *Didi* or Kalipada in "Rashmoni's Son" or Haralal in "The Private Tutor," truly tragic figures with all potentialities of goodness yet going under on account of certain errors and frailties or of the stress of external forces which prove too powerful for them. Many of them may be held to be responsible for that fate in a more or less indirect fashion, yet one cannot say how in the face of the adverse circumstances they could have acted otherwise and still retained our sympathies and respect. Thus many of these tales appear to be more pathetic than tragic and excite more of pity than of terror. Even if they do not impress us with a sense of injustice as the guiding principle of the world, they often suggest invisible forces and visible conventions which are unjust and tyrannical, responsible for the existence of so much of misery and pain as we see present round about us every moment of our lives.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Case for Filipino Independence

Political Science Quarterly of Columbia University, New York, contains the following among other passages relating to Senator Harry B. Hawes' book on "Philippine Uncertainty":

...his own personal contribution is the narrative of his six weeks' journey through the islands last summer, to investigate the attitude of the Filipinos on independence, and his attack on the anti-independence propaganda of those whom he calls the "Manila Americans."

The secretary of war, Patrick J. Hurley, also visited the Philippines last summer, likewise to investigate the attitude of the Filipinos on independence, and he returned with considerable evidence to support his contention that a great proportion of the Philippine people do not desire independence at least at the present time. Senator Hawes, on the other hand, was convinced by his experiences in the islands that the Filipinos practically without exception, Moro and Christian, young and old, rich and poor, all passionately desire independence for their country. I believe there is no question but that the unprejudiced reader will feel that the senator's evidence on this much controverted point is more convincing than the secretary's.

The only place where the author speaks with any particular rancor is in his criticism of the attitude and influence of the "Manila Americans." Especially dangerous, in his opinion, is their control over the press and the news sources of newspapers in the United States; he offers some rather damning evidence of the distortion of news.

Here, at any rate, is the case of the Filipinos, presented by a responsible American. Since the future status of the Philippine Islands is to be decided by the government of the United States, with Filipinos themselves having no voice in the matter, it is well that this side of the question, as well as the other, should be put before the American people by an American. It is especially timely just now when a determined effort is being made in Congress to set definitely the time at which independence shall be granted the Philippines, ending that uncertainty which according to Senator Hawes, who is joint author of the independence bill pending in the Senate, all interested parties agree in considering an unfortunate aspect of the present situation.

Two Eminent Japanese on Sino-Japanese Relations

The Rev. E. R. Hughes writes in *The International Review of Missions*:

...from January 28th onwards the question was in many minds both in China and abroad: what does Kagawa think of all this? Toyohika Kagawa was in America when the trouble started and only returned to Japan after some weeks. That what he learnt would distress him beyond measure was of course an accurate surmise. But he has said little. What he has said is:

Again I have become the child of an aching heart
Carrying the burden of Japan's crime,
Begging pardon of China and of the world
With a shattered soul,
Again I am a child of sadness.

Dr. Toyohika Kagawa is a famous Japanese pacifist.

The Rev. E. R. Hughes also prints the following poem to 'The Republic of China' by Motoichiro Takahashi:

When your country is overwhelmed with a great flood
And troubled by internal dissension,
We do not help you, but rather further the
Manchurian aggression.

Japan is indeed militarist!
If we do not reflect and repent,
We shall receive God's punishment.

Your country, now working out the problems of
your revolution,

Are we Japanese helping you?
Or rather disturbing you?
Deeply we are ashamed.

Whatever militarists and so-called men of
intelligence say,

Their will is not our will.
Their action is not our action.

We pacifists are weak yet,
But we are fighting against militarism and
imperialism,

And some day, casting them off,
We shall be able heartily to grasp your hands.
Let us unite, and from the whole world
Drive out all social evils,
And achieve a peaceful world—the Kingdom of God.
Militarists do whatever they please,
And so-called men of intelligence flatter them,
But the land of egoism which results is not the
true Japan.

I dream of the day of the Union of Asia,
Flags of China, Russia, India, and Japan floating
high,

And all Asiatic nations becoming sources of blessing,
Supplying each other's needs,
Helping and loving one another.
Let us bring in the rejoicing of Asia!
Is it not our mission?

The Survival of Slavery

Attention is being drawn in many journals to the continued existence of slavery in view of the fact that next year will be celebrated the first centenary of the Act declaring the manumission of all the negro slaves in the British dominions. We read in the October issue of *The Month*, published by Longmans :

...from information collected by the League of Nations, in its Slavery Commission of 1922, which has done much to foster and co-ordinate the movement, it appeared that slavery continues in seventeen political areas including some under British control. Lady Simon's recent book, "*Slavery*" (1929), not only describes the horrors of the slave-trade as it still persists, but estimates the number of slaves in the world as between four and six millions. Abyssinia alone contains two millions, but, happily, their ultimate emancipation has already been decreed by the present enlightened ruler of the country who hopes to accomplish it within ten or fifteen years. Catholics need not be reminded of the great work accomplished in Northern Africa by Cardinal Lavigerie and his White Fathers who were commissioned by Leo XIII. in 1888 to conduct a crusade against slavery in those regions. As for the rest the League of Nations, which is bound by a clause in the Covenant to put down slavery "in all its forms," resolved in 1928 to attempt "world abolition," and forthwith Great Britain secured the freedom of 215,000 "domestic slaves" in the Protectorate of Sierra Leone and 180,000 in Tanganyika.

The modern reason for the continuance of slavery is the desire for cheap labour in tropical countries,—a desire which the whites who seek their livelihood in such countries are naturally prone to conceive. Hence the constant necessity of supervision of "colonial" labour conditions, where something akin to slavery, *viz.*, "forced labour," is apt to be practised. The League of Nations holds an International Labour Conference every year wherein this question is constantly recurring...it is obvious that concerted action is necessary for the universal vindication of the rights of the "backward" peoples, and we may welcome the more gladly the assurance, conveyed in the late Report (September 22nd) of the League, that complete abolition of slavery is well in hand.

The German Claim to Equality in Arms

The same periodical observes thus, in part, on the German claim to equality in arms :

President Hoover tried in vain to persuade the Disarmament Conference to exchange discussion for action by his proposal last June that every nation should start forthwith to reduce its armaments by one-third. The Conference hesitated and was lost. Now the inevitable has happened. Anyone whose judgment was not blinded by nationalistic prepossessions could have foretold that the patience of the German people would break down and that no Government could hope to remain in power there, which did not make very clear that the time had come for the thorough implementing of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty, and that, unless

that were done, Germany would not hold herself bound by the terms of that Treaty to unilateral disarmament. The plain sense of the Treaty was that all the Powers should proceed to disarm, after the model of Germany, if not to the same extent. Now, thirteen years after that agreement, seven years after the Locarno Pact, six years after the admission of Germany as an equal into the League, there is no sign that the victorious nations have any idea of making Germany's international position less invidious by reducing their armed forces to a degree fairly comparable to hers, especially by abandoning the type and size of weapon forbidden to her as essentially "aggressive." Her protest cannot be said to be precipitate. Stresemann, most conciliatory of her statesmen, expressed the grievance long ago. Bruening, always very reasonable, called attention to it before the Junkers drove him from office. Von Papen, thought to be militaristic, has openly declared "Germany has no desire nor intention to arm, but she demands that other nations shall keep their promises to disarm." She only asks for that reconsideration, by the League of Nations, of the punitive clauses of the Treaty, which the Treaty itself allows her. It has come to this that, owing to the futilities of the "first phase" of the Disarmament Conference, Germany is able, with some show of justice, to accuse the Allies of having themselves already violated Versailles. And, if she chooses to act according to her warning—"Either you disarm or I shall re-arm"—who is to prevent her?

It seems almost incredible, but it is the fact that a great paper, *The Times*, rather than urge the former alternative, is actually disposed to give Germany a formal authorization to re-arm—to a certain extent! If she were allowed a small number of those offensive weapons at present denied her,—so runs the strange logic—and the other nations promised ultimately to approximate more closely to her level, she might be content! From the point of view of European peace, the proposition spells sheer lunacy, but to the war-trader's mind it is so calculated to bring renewed hope that it may well have come from that mind originally.

Japan's Defiance of the World

The People's Tribune of Shanghai observes :

Japan has now defied the whole world—the League of Nations, the Anti-War Pact, the Nine-Power Treaty and other international commitments ; and, finally, the public opinion of mankind. She is labouring under the fantastic idea that she could realize her dream of military conquest by rushing matters through and creating a *fait accompli* before the world pronounces its final judgment. But the enlightened nations of the world have already declared that they will not recognize a situation brought about by violence.

I want to take this opportunity to emphasize a few important points in the policy of the Chinese Government in respect of the present situation :

1. Neither the Chinese Government nor the Chinese people entertain the least anti-foreign feelings. However, in view of the present state of affairs produced by Japanese military aggression it would be absolutely impossible for the Chinese people to express the most cordial and friendly sentiments to the Japanese

people. It entirely rests with Japan herself to improve and restore the relations between the Chinese and the Japanese people.

2. China will never surrender one inch of her territory nor any of her sovereign rights under stress of military force, which she condemns and is determined to resist to the best of her ability.

3. China will never agree to any solution of the present situation which takes into account the puppet organization in the Three Eastern Provinces established, maintained and controlled by the Japanese military forces.

4. China is confident that any reasonable proposal for the settlement of the present situation must necessarily be compatible with the letter and spirit of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Anti-War Pact and the Nine-Power Treaty as well as with China's sovereign power and which will also effectively ensure permanent peace in the Far East.

Some Psychological Aspects of the Shanghai Warfare

We read in the same monthly :

There have been many discussions in the papers on the political, diplomatic and the human, or rather inhuman, sides of the Shanghai hostilities, but so far very few writers have dwelt on the various psychological aspects of the struggle. The present writer happened to be immediately behind the front lines during the campaign and was therefore favourably located to observe the mental poise and attitude of the men at the front. He has no conclusions to draw from their activities, but he has received very definite impressions from the Chinese and Japanese soldiers. The Japanese soldiers were orderly and well disciplined, but somehow they betrayed a sense of strained effort and worried vigilance, whereas the Chinese boys were perfectly calm and resigned, going about their business leisurely and cheerfully, for the very reason that they were mentally well prepared for their business, *viz.*, to resist the enemy to the bitter end.

From the Japanese point of view, the Shanghai incident may be regarded as a "face" saving affair. The easy success of their army in Manchuria had given their navy men an itch for meritorious service. The commander-in-charge of the Japanese Navy in Shanghai had fancied that the same act of international brigandage as committed in the Three Eastern Provinces could be perpetrated with equal ease at Shanghai, never dreaming how extremely hazardous the practice of freebooting would be in this part of China.

As the Japanese marines proved their uselessness from the very beginning, the Ministry of War in Tokyo had to send division after division as reinforcements, in order that the military prestige of the Island Empire be kept up unimpaired. Having made a move by resorting to violence the Japanese military had no choice but to go on with it, with the idea that future success might cover up past failures. As victory did not readily come in sight, however, there was always a fear that one mistake might be aggravated by another ; and, unless a decisive battle were speedily won, there would be the risk of domestic upheavals.

The Chinese soldier's feeling was quite otherwise. Like the toreador in a Spanish bull-fight, holding and

waving a little flag in front of the animal, he smilingly teases and tempts him to rush on and butt against whatever odds. The Japanese "bull" butts at anything, and when he rushes headlong blindly, the tempter sits calmly behind his machine gun and takes aim. As the French at Verdun set up an "impasse" to the Prussian aggressors, so the Chinese swore never to yield an inch to their adversaries. When one forgets self and rises above fear, calm reigns in the heart, the face beaming with good cheer.

The fact that we should not forget is that the 19th Route Army has never been driven back by the enemy. Orderly and quietly, in accordance with pre-arranged plans, they have carried out a strategic retreat. The successful landing at Liuho by the Japanese was a thing they could not help, and they had to avoid being attacked from the rear as well. So from the standpoint of actual military strength, the 19th Route Army has never been defeated nor has it, so to speak, surrendered one inch of ground to the invaders.

Chinese Heroism

From the above facts and circumstances the writer concludes that the psychology and attitude of the Chinese soldier has never been that of the vanquished.

A storm has torn asunder the sails and riggings of our gallant schooner, necessitating the seeking of a sheltered harbour. It has interrupted her voyage for the time being, but it has not defeated the seamanship of her captain or her sailors.—I can still recall his likeness in my memory, the Chinese trench boy. Donned in an old padded coat, soiled by the rain, shod in laceless rubber shoes, and with a hat slanting forward half covering his eyes, he reveals none of the savage ferocity of the fitted warrior. Indeed there is a happy, and even a kindly expression in his countenance, and a faint smile may often be detected at the corners of his open mouth, the retracted cheeks bringing his high molars into prominence. None could have taken him for a soldier. Yet with a rifle in his hands, and a distant look in his eyes, he stood ready to jump into the fray that was raging its fiercest only a few hundred yards ahead.

Many a soldier of this type have I seen, all cheerful, courageous, without betraying the least fear or worry. They seemed all willing to live while there was yet a chance to be alive, but equally willing were they to die the moment the defence of the country demanded their sacrifice.

One day I was sending a cartload of things to the Headquarters which was then situated at Chenju. It was not more than four miles from the front, yet the place was perfectly calm and normal. There were peddlers selling things, there were children playing together, there were soldiers moving along in groups of twos or threes. Twice was I stopped and questioned about my intentions but once an explanation was given I was allowed to go on. There didn't seem to be any war, nor the preparations for one. Yet the Japanese has failed to take the place after thirty-four days of eager and arduous bombardments.

Reasons why Japanese Cotton Industry is Successful

Mr. Arno S. Pearse, Advisor to the International Cotton Federation, Manchester and to the "Missr" Cotton Export Company, Alexandria, gave an address at Chatham House on July 7th last on the Cotton Industry of Japan, China and India. It has been published in *International Affairs*. Indian cotton industrialists and the Indian public in general ought to read the whole of it. We cull some passages from it relating to the cotton industry in Japan.

Factories and their Equipment. Factories cost about four times as much to build as in Lancashire owing largely to the cost of packing, freight and insurance of the machinery, and because besides the mill building proper there are more warehouses to be erected than here; practically the whole of the staff has to be housed; villages with schools, hospitals, theatres, playgrounds, dining-rooms, etc. have to be provided. There is only one country where similar outlays are undertaken, and that is in the Southern States of the United States. On account of the high cost of establishing a mill the Japanese work their machines very fast and concentrate on getting the largest output possible from each. They "sweat" the machinery, but they treat the operatives with consideration, as I hope to show shortly when dealing with labour.

The working of two shifts means a saving of almost half the capital spent in other countries on machinery and buildings. Further, the two-shift system of 8½ hours enables the Japanese to replace the machinery much quicker than in Lancashire. A machine ten years old in Japan will have worked 62,000 hours, whereas in Lancashire it will have worked only 24,000. As in ten years many new inventions are made, a machine often becomes almost obsolete, yet in countries where workpeople oppose double shifts, these obsolete machines have to be run for many years more before their condition becomes sufficiently impaired to justify a renewal.

I cannot lay sufficient stress on the fact that the two-shift system used in Japan, and in many other countries, does not interfere with the natural life as it provides for ample sleep in night-time. It is not night-shift and a day-shift, both shifts take place within the hours during which people are generally outside their beds.

Schooling and Special Characteristics of Japanese. Before entering on the labour question it must be stated that, contrary to the general ideas prevalent here, the Japanese labouring classes possess as good a school education as most European countries. Every female or male operative can read and write, they have been disciplined at home—the respect for the parents is considered one of the virtues held highest in the country. Education is modelled on the old German system, with hard work, and play in the form of gymnastic drills. School trips from remote villages to factories and other workshops are very frequent. In the middle and better class sections a university training is the recognized education and in every cotton mill there are quite a number of people occupying positions of inside managers even, who have had the advantage of this higher form of education. The foremen and female superintendents are specifically trained,

nothing is left to that haphazard evolution to which we have been accustomed. Business concerns, when it is realized that a young man is gifted with energy and perseverance above the average ability, send him at the expense of the business to other countries to widen his vision and knowledge. (I spoke with one young man who had been in 148 cotton mills in England, the United States, Germany, receiving for more than three years full pay.)

Japanese group or team instinct, generated by the ancient family system, is an asset of the nation as great as its thorough system of education, and the progress of the whole country, including that of the cotton industry, is largely due to it. The individual considers himself only as an atom in the body of the nation. The Emperor is still the personification of Deity and quite 90 per cent of the population regard him as the head of each family, with the result that the "self" of the worker stands in the background and the welfare of the country is of paramount importance, the whole working like a well-trained team.

Labour. Eighty per cent of all the workers in cotton factories are females, of the ages between 16 and 22 years. They are recruited from the agricultural farming classes, which have for many years, owing to overcrowding, had a very hard time. The towns did not possess the number of operatives required for the industry. As the Japanese has a predilection for his native health, it was impossible to attract entire families. The millowners, therefore, solved the difficulty by providing extensive dormitories for these girls and, of course, they had to take care of the physical, moral and mental welfare of this army of young girls....

As the girls get eight hours' sleep and have to work 8½ hours, there is a great deal of time on their hands, and generally the management insists upon two hours' daily attendance at the school of the mill, where reading, arithmetic, flower decoration, tea ceremony, fancy work and cooking are taught. Then considerable time is spent in the cinemas, theatres, tennis and even football fields of the mill. In some establishments gymnastic drills are undertaken every night.

The hospitals of the big concerns are fitted up with the latest instruments. In one mill I saw girls spending five minutes before meals over some inhalation apparatus in order to remove the dust from their throats. All the meals are cooked in scrupulously clean kitchens; the menu is scientifically drawn up by the medical staff according to the quantity of vitamins contained in the food. The operatives pay a trifle for the food, but the mills spend, according to accounts shown to me, something between 6d. and 7d. per head on this welfare work....

To my mind the great advantage resulting from this care of the operatives is that the management knows best what is good for their physical and mental well-being and that it can provide wholesome pleasure at much less cost for the whole community than the individual operative would be able to obtain....

Wages in Japan are about half what is paid in Lancashire, but, in consequence of the well-planned expenditure of the management on behalf of the operative, the individual in Japan has saved more at the end of the period of toil....

State subsidies to the cotton industry I could not trace. There is the usual subsidy to shipping lines for carrying mails; perhaps the assistance given to

some students for travelling abroad may be termed a subsidy.

I must confess that what I have seen and heard in the course of my forty mill visits in Japan has convinced me that the cotton industry has reached a very high place indeed, and one cannot but have the highest respect for a nation which has accomplished this task in so short a time. The frequently heard references to the underhand Japanese methods of obtaining manufacturing secrets are, today at all events, not justified. When they were in the learning stage they had to copy, just as a schoolboy has to do, but today they are masters, and even we in Europe could copy with advantage their organization in some respects.

The Collectivization of Agriculture in Soviet Russia

International Labour Review for September, published by the International Labour Office (League of Nations) has a highly informative and interesting article on the collectivization of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., which is thus introduced to the reader :

When the Five-Year Plan for national economic reconstruction was adopted, the authorities responsible for the economic policy of the U. S. S. R. quickly realized that the success of the Plan was endangered by the low standard of agricultural production, which had seriously declined since the Revolution. The policy adopted was a progressive collectivization of agricultural undertakings : it was proposed to reorganize the small peasant farms by grouping them in co-operative organizations or collective estates on such a scale that it would be possible to apply modern mechanical means of cultivation and eliminate the waste due to the cultivation of scattered individual holdings. It was at first intended that the process should be applied only to one-fifth of all agricultural undertakings ; but this proportion was soon exceeded and various changes were made in the details of the original scheme.

Spiritual Education

H. I H. Alexander writes in the *World Unity Magazine*, in part :

The time has come to understand that the education which is given to our children all over the world is wrong, that we are preparing young people for a purely material life, neglecting the most important part of the human being, the spiritual immortal side, which is the soul and its spirit.

We must not be astonished that peoples become restless, that the ugly sides of life are taking the upper hand over the beautiful ones, that immorality is growing and that no value is given to life itself. . . .

What could one expect, when people lost the sense of life, when every one's aim is to enrich himself materially, when peoples are spiritually poor, when material wealth is the goal to which all are aspiring ? . . .

If we want to stop humanity from following the way to total moral ruin, we have to introduce without losing time the spiritual education in all the

schools, beginning to prepare teachers of both sexes for that work. It is an easy task, because the elements of the spiritual education are alive in every human being, but we must call them to life and not to bury them under the masses of material notions which are indispensable, but not enlightened by spiritual notions, "lead human beings to an utterly false conception of what a human being" is, and what is the sense and the aim of life.

In large lines, the spiritual education consists of seven stages : (1) The call of the soul to life ; (2) the direction of the soul on to the path of truth or light, (the law of love) ; (3) self-knowledge and self-understanding ; (4) the sense and aim of life ; (5) the developments of spiritual powers ; (6) the history of the soul and its spirit ; and (7) the religion of love, (the sciences of life and the development of the human soul, in other words—how to adapt the law of love to all the sides of the human life : family, social, people's economical, etc.)

What India Lacks

In reviewing a book entitled "Modern India Thinks," *The China Journal* writes :

...After delving into the innumerable passages grouped under a dozen headings, such as civilization, culture, religion, character, nation-building and social service, one is bound to concede that the Indians are wonderful thinkers and have a marvellous gift of expression, and the thing that immediately strikes one is why they have not progressed further in their social development and world position.

In other words, they appear to have got the idea all right and are able to discuss it in the choicest of language, but the practice appears to be still beyond their attainment. They even seem to be fully aware of this, for one of the passages reproduced runs, "India has everything ; India lacks one thing today—concentrated will." This is attributed to Professor T. L. Vaswani. Another, attributed to Gandhi, runs, "The British are weak in numbers, we are weak in spite of numbers." The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri is quoted as saying, "It is easy to construct a good constitution, but it is very hard to live up to it unless you have developed in the individual citizen a highly trained civic faculty."

Surely this last hits upon the very keynote of the whole problem of developing amongst Asiatic peoples a civilization capable of holding its own with that of the West. After all, it is the character of the individual units of a nation that decide the character of that nation as a whole. The ineradicable tendency of every true Englishman to apply his country's laws to himself, that is to say, his inately law-abiding spirit, has unquestionably been the most potent factor in the ability of the English to rule other peoples with firmness and justice. They are born rulers and lawgivers because they respect the law.

Englishmen respect the law which they or their elected representatives have made.

In the Orient but a single nation has attained to anything like the power of Western nations, and that is Japan. . . .

If other Oriental nations are ever going to attain to the level of the great nations of the West their

people must emulate some such spirit of genuine patriotism and subservience to the state in violation, if necessary, of their individual interests....

There is no question that no nation can become great without genuine patriotism. As for subservience to the State, it makes for progress when the State identifies itself with the people.

Founder of Pan-European Movement on Ottawa Conference

Count Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of the Pan-European movement, argues in the Berlin daily *Vossische Zeitung* that the Ottawa Conference means a united Europe with Britain included if Ottawa fails, and with Britain out if Ottawa succeeds. Here are some of his observations as translated by the *Living Age*:

Two economic continents exist today—the United States of America and Soviet Russia. Both could survive an economic blockade on the part of the rest of the world for a century and not have to capitulate. For both are able within their own frontiers to produce nearly all the raw materials, nearly all the food-stuffs that they need to maintain life and to keep their economic systems going....

The Ottawa Conference will determine European as well as British history. For England's future relations with the Continent depend on the success or failure of the Conference....

If the British economic union comes into existence England automatically cuts herself loose from the Pan-European combination, for she cannot grant protective tariffs to both Rumanian and Canadian grain. It is impossible to favour British grain at the expense of European grain and at the same time to favour European grain at the expense of British grain....

For if England grants preferential treatment to the grain from her Dominions, then the European industrial nations must grant similar treatment to grain from Eastern Europe. In like manner, if the Dominions grant preferential treatment to English industrial goods, the agricultural states of Eastern Europe must grant similar preferential treatment to the products of the West European industrial states. Logic will relentlessly compel a European economic union to follow in the wake of a British economic union. Europe cannot sit still and watch its exports being excluded from overseas markets without adapting itself and organizing its own European markets, in conjunction with its own colonies, into a huge economic unit. But, in order to bring into existence this great economic unit, it is necessary to create the same political conditions that exist within the British economic union, namely, a condition in which war between the member states is out of the question. Hence the problem of a European economic union is identical with the problem of political understanding and reconciliation between the European states, especially between France and Germany.

Luxury and Morals

Ernst Robert Curtius, Germany's great humanist, discusses in the *Berliner Tageblatt* the question whether luxury is ever morally justified, and if so, under what circumstances and for what reasons. Some passages from his article are transcribed below from the translated version in the *Living Age*:

...Nowadays the rich are ashamed of themselves. They feel obliged to cut down their expenses so as not to attract attention. No very noble motive animates them, and those who have no property and who attack wealth are not always spotlessly moral themselves.

But I do not propose to waste any words discussing the two sides of the case. I merely want to discuss the moral problem of property as it presents itself today. Speaking practically, the question arises, is luxury permissible? Can it be tolerated in the face of the mass misery that now exists? Is it, as the most earnest moral critics ask, ever permissible? Here we encounter a mass of difficulties. I shall not attempt to solve them, but merely to explain them.

What is luxury? Is it everything that is not a bare necessity of life? In an absolute sense it is, but that does not get us anywhere, for such a definition would lead us back to a state of nature in which people lived on acorns. But there are cultural necessities, a civilized standard of living below which nobody should descend. Soap, sugar, coffee, heat were once luxuries, that is to say, privileges enjoyed by the few; now they have become necessities of life for all of us. At this point we encounter a sociological law. The thing that was once a luxury for a few can become a necessity for everybody. The spread of electric illumination and of public bathing facilities during the past few decades are cases in point. It is in this field that the most extraordinary changes have occurred.

It was certainly a luxury, in fact it was downright extravagance, for Louis XIV to spend a hundred million francs building the Palace of Versailles. Yet this magnificent structure was handed over to the nation by the bourgeois king, Louis Philippe. It has now become a museum for the most brilliant historical relics, and the Third Republic uses it as the setting for its presidential elections. The whole nation has come to regard this palace as a representation of its worth. Thus one can speak of a socialization of luxury. The same thing applies to private collections that are turned into public institutions, especially when private wealth is used to further universal culture, but the connections between luxury and culture are too numerous and too complicated to discuss in a few words....

Nor has the moral problem yet been solved. During recent centuries prophets have constantly arisen pleading with moral pathos for a Spartan or ascetic way of life, Savonarola and Rousseau, Tolstoi and Gandhi being typical in this respect. But the question still abides whether we are doing the human race a greater service by limiting our necessities or by increasing them. It depends ultimately on the value we attach to life in this world, on whether we accept or deny life, on whether we wish to build up culture or to destroy it.

Let me say in conclusion that anyone who flatly proclaims that all luxury is evil and therefore superfluous and useless, anyone who speaks in that

way reveals that, from his shortsighted, utilitarian point of view, music, the theatre, poetry, and philosophy are superfluous and that even nature encourages luxury when it creates beauty. The highest values that life offers cannot be judged from the utilitarian standpoint, for usefulness in itself never possesses any value. If it did, swindling and all successful, undetected thieving would be regarded as valuable.

Japan's Economic Condition

According to *The World Tomorrow*,

...Complete economic collapse is near at hand in Japan already, and the Japanese military are driving the country full tilt down the hill to economic ruin. Such a collapse would end the rule of the military, but it also would be a disaster for the Japanese people and seriously injure China as well as other countries. Before the end comes, moreover as a means of turning the minds of the people from their troubles at home, it is quite conceivable that the military will launch a grandiose campaign in the rest of China, or even so manoeuvre as to bring on a war with Russia. That is one way out—to leave Japan alone to its inevitable ruin, either before or after the military have wrought more havoc.

Another way is to persist, step by step, in the demand that Japan live up to her international obligations. Japan may withdraw from the League of Nations. But she already has put herself in the position of an international outlaw by the use of the outlawed weapon of force. Short of economic ruin, there is no way to break the hold of the military in Japan except by convincing the people that the actions of their leaders have put Japan in a position of intolerable international disgrace. When that is accomplished, the Japanese people will take their military in hand.

"Britain's Dual Policy in India"

Mr. H. N. Brailsford has contributed to the *New Republic* of New York an article on Britain's "Dual Policy" in India, in the course of which he says:

The recent history of India falls into two parts. One is the narrative of the repression, the other records the steps taken to realize the future Constitution. In the first chapter one is dealing with actual events in the physical world. So many tens of thousands of Indians have been removed from freedom to prison; a given number of tons of human substance has been carted successfully from one place to another, where it remains. One might go on to reckon, were full statistics available, the horse-power expended by the police in *lathi* blows as they dispersed meetings and broke up processions. A further account would show the numbers shot, or bombed from the air on similar occasions. These are physical facts: one is in the world of reality in recording them. When one turns to the reforms, it is otherwise. The material here is by comparison voluminous. To arrive at the physical facts one must hunt and question, and dodge the censor, relying

largely on letters that arrive by some underground channel. The news about the reforms, on the contrary, fills many columns in the daily press. But it is all hypothetical, shadowy, unreal. It is about a Constitution in which no one believes, which no one will accept, which no one will consent to work. The *lathi* blows, on the other hand, are beyond a doubt sincere. They convey to a nicety, in black and blue the exact sentiments of the Imperial Power.

The reader will feel no surprise, then, if I treat the repression as the more important half of Mr. MacDonald's "Dual Policy." I gather that its authors are satisfied with their work....

This considerable achievement in the realm of physical causation has not as yet had the results at which its authors aim. The National Congress party is not crushed. Its existence is indeed illegal: its funds have been rooted out of the banks; it has no visible habitat. And yet this entity which ought not to be, and has in a sense vanished, continues to act and move....

In some districts it is said that the peasants' passive revolt against rent and land tax has been broken, but on closer examination, one discovers that to cope with this movement the authorities were obliged to cut the burden by one-half. None the less this agrarian revolt seems still to break out in new and unexpected places, even in the hitherto tranquil south....

Sir Samuel Hoare has failed so far in his first object of crushing Congress. He has had to renew the Ordinances, including the restrictions on the press with the sole mitigation that certain districts are exempted from the severer provisions so long as their conduct gives satisfaction: they are, as it were, on parole....

Individual Indians may advise or criticize, but the plan of negotiation with collective India is dropped. We return to the procedure of the Simon Commission; as Mr. Churchill put it with his wonted realism, the Indian question has been rescued from "the hateful area of a negotiated treaty."...

Sir Samuel Hoare has said plaintively that he has been misunderstood. That may be a prelude to some concession: it is whispered that the Indian "witnesses" at Westminster may be given the proud title of "assessors." But would even that restore the roundness of the Table? One visualizes the British legislators sitting in a semicircle, while the Indian witnesses stand. Perhaps seats will be provided, but the fact remains that the legislators legislate, and the Indians only advise. The idea of a treaty between equals is dead.

"Is Peace Machinery an Adequate Substitute for War?"

The *New York Foreign Policy Reports* for September 14 discusses the above question.

It is believed that the success of peace machinery in abolishing war will depend upon its ability to provide other means of satisfying legitimate national interests. Although Japan declared that its intervention in Manchuria was due to a desire purely to enforce existing international rights, subsequent events led to the belief that Japan had really employed force to secure greater economic

privileges in Manchuria than it was entitled to under existing treaties and international law. One of the most over-populated countries in the world, Japan needs foreign markets where it may sell manufactures and buy raw materials. Had Japan placed this vital need before the League Council or the Permanent Court, neither body could have done anything effective to meet the need. Neither the League nor the Court is an international legislature. Can the League of Nations succeed in abolishing the right of self-help so long as it does nothing to bring about the international development of the world's resources to prevent some nations from starving while other nations are surfeited? If peace machinery merely protects the *status quo*, it may prove to be an instrument which assists the economically strong powers, many of whom secured their present territory by means of force before the days of the Anti-War Pact, in preserving their present wealth from attack by impoverished powers.

Against this line of argument, it may be urged that as in *intra*-national affairs theft and robbery are not permitted or tolerated on the ground that poverty has not been abolished or mitigated and equalization of property achieved, so in international affairs, national predatoriness ought not to be allowed.

While admitting that many international maladjustments still exist, other students declare that just as in municipal society the right of self-help disappeared long before individual and social justice (which is a changing conception) was achieved, so in international society the abolition of war cannot await the coming of an international millennium. In the present complicated international structure, the attempts of the great powers to solve their economic problems by forcibly seizing foreign territory will cause the collapse of the structure on which civilization now rests, thus injuring the interests of the great powers. Moreover, the possibility of using force creates a morbid and unrealistic psychology which prevents a nation from employing rational means in solving its economic difficulties....

"Electoralates for Depressed Classes" in England

Under the above heading *The Inquirer* of London prints the following letter:

SIR.—The proposal to introduce *special electoralates* for the depressed classes in India seems so well-intentioned and generous, that I fear we may acquiesce therein entirely uncritically, even unthinkingly. I wish therefore to point out that it involves quite a new method, even principle, in political affairs, one hitherto entirely unknown. And I would suggest that before we impose this political novelty upon a subject people, we try it out on our own "free" community.

There is abundant scope for experimentation. We have our own "depressed classes." There is the class so long known as "paupers," "tramps," "persons without fixed abode, or visible means of subsistence." They are obviously a most unhappy class. They tend also to become a dangerous and criminal class. Peaceful citizens cannot sleep o' nights for fear that

desperate wanderers, shut out of the casual ward, may burgle their homes. Surely here is a case for bestowal of a *second* vote, or there would be if they had a *first* one: being "without fixed abode" they do not possess even the ordinary franchise.

Again, there are the unemployed. Also a most unhappy class. Our newspapers tell us, not unfrequently, of members of this section of society who, overcome by hopelessness and misery, make away with their lives, and even with the lives of their children. And there are nearly *three millions* of them, the larger part with wives and families. Also they tend, by force of distress and demoralization, to sink down into the still lower class already described. These people already possess the ordinary franchise. But surely we might give them a "second vote"; we might enable them "to elect *representatives of their own class* to sit in Parliament, and specially voice their needs."

When we have experimented in this way, we shall better be able to assess the value of this new political method. Also the Indian people will then be able to appreciate the honesty of our new proposals on their behalf. Meanwhile, they will, perhaps, not be without reason if they suspect that behind this new move of the British Government there is the old, ignoble impulse; the desire of conquerors to weaken still further the conquered by encouraging divisions among them.—Yours, etc.,

Manchester.

FRANCIS WOOD.

India and the Labour Problem

Mr. A. A. Purcell writes in *The India Review* of London:

...Capitalism has created, and is increasingly creating, for the working people of India—industrial and agricultural—insistent needs which call for satisfaction. The workers require education. The illiteracy is appalling. The workers require vastly improved housing conditions.

The workers require, in every respect, a higher standard of living: higher wages, more food, better clothing, better dwellings. The towns and districts where the workers dwell are frightfully insanitary. There is a vital need for enlightened municipal organization. Then a whole body of laws and regulations is required to protect the health and safeguard the well-being of the Indian workers. With the quickly growing industrialization of India, and the inevitable introduction of mechanization into agriculture, these requirements will assume staggering dimensions unless infinite endeavours are immediately made to cope with them.

India's greatest need is a powerful organized force which will be able to ensure that the requirements of her growing proletariat are met. In other words, India's greatest need is a strong Trade Union Movement which will unceasingly battle for the rights of the working people by compelling the institution of educational services for the abolition of illiteracy, by raising wages and the general standard of living and by enforcing improved sanitation and municipal organization. The existence of such a movement will ensure that everything possible will be done for the welfare and happiness of the Indian proletariat.

INDIANS ABROAD

Creation of Greater India

By BENARSI DAS CHATURVEDI

By Greater India we mean those places outside India where Indians have settled in large numbers such as Mauritius, British Guiana and Fiji Islands etc. This modern Greater India has been created by economic forces and is therefore quite different from ancient Greater India, that was the result of cultural expansion of India. From time immemorial people have left their countries and have gone to distant lands in search of better food and shelter and there is nothing strange or bad about it; but to leave one's country to spread one's culture among less civilized people demands higher idealism on the part of the emigrant. Followers of Lord Buddha had that idealism in abundance and it was their invincible faith and tremendous sacrifice that enabled them to carry their message of peace and loving kindness to Java and Sumatra, Cambodia and Siam, China and Japan. Thanks to their efforts, a very large part of the world's population more than 450 millions—is Buddhist by faith. Why and how India was cut off from her spiritual children is a problem that has not been studied thoroughly and it is the duty of our historians to throw fullest possible light on it. Whatever the reasons may be but one thing is clear and certain and that is that we lost our vision on account of this severance of the connection between India and Greater India. Our mental horizon became much limited and to a certain extent at least our disruption into several sub-castes and creeds has been the inevitable result of this narrow vision. At a time when a great effort is being made in our country to gain our freedom we must guard against this narrow vision. Communalism, provincialism and racialism are the three great demons against which we have to fight and our task will become easier if our outlook is widened and this can be done by a vision of Greater India.

Far it be from us to think of Greater India in terms of imperialism. We who have suffered considerably and are still suffering many hardships and humiliations on account of foreign imperialism should never think of Indian imperialism. Greater India as has been conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore and Dinabandhu Andrews, who are the trinity of Modern Greater India, will be mainly cultural. Mahatma Gandhi,

when he started the Satyagrah movement in South Africa, had the vision of a Greater India and undoubtedly his work has raised the status of India in the eyes of the world as nothing else would have done. The Poet has been living for Greater India and his *Vishwabharati* has been established with this very purpose. In a letter to Mr. C. F. Andrews the Poet wrote from De Duinen on 25th September 1920:

"Now that I have come in touch with Holland it will be easy for us to visit Dutch Indies and study their ruins and their peoples. We shall be able to establish a bond of sympathy with them and through it shall be greatly benefited. Simplicity is the best casket for gems of truth and these Balianese people, who had their seclusion that saved their simplicity from all hurts of the present day have, I am sure, kept pure some beauty of truth that belonged to India...Let us build a small bungalow for ourselves in one of their villages by the sea and when we have our summer holidays of three months we can go there and carry back to our Ashram, in exchange, some touch of the same India which keeps some part of its precious past living and moving in beauty among the cocoanut groves of this island. Nandalall must go there, for there they have their tradition of art fresh and active, for they have the sentiments deep in their heart which expresses themselves in works of beauty. We must found a special chair in Vishwa Bharati for the study of Greater India. We must train teachers by sending them to these places and to China and Japan. The relics of the true history of India are outside India. For our history is the history of ideas, of how these, like ripe pods burst themselves and were carried across the seas and developed into magnificent fruitfulness. Therefore our history runs through the history of the civilization of Eastern Asia. To study a banyan tree you not only must know its main stem in its own soil, but also must trace the growth of its greatness in the further soil, for then you can know the true nature of its vitality. The civilization of India like the banyan tree has spread its beneficent shade away from its own birth-place. Let us acknowledge it, let us feel that India is not confined in the Geography of India—and then we shall find our message from our past. India can live and grow by spreading abroad—not the political India, but the ideal India. Our Shantiniketan is for this mission."

The Poet visited this Greater India along with Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and the readers of the *Modern Review* already know something about the result of his visit. The Greater India Society of Dr. Kalidas Nag owes a good deal to the

inspiration given by the ideas of the Poet.

Now the problem before the young men of India, who have some idealism in them, is how to create a modern Greater India inspired by the ideals of ancient Greater India about which the Poet and Dr. Nag have written so much and so well. Modern Greater India, as I have said, has been created by economic forces. To utilize it for cultural purposes should be our aim.

There are more than two millions of Indians living abroad in different parts of the world and their number is increasing rapidly. In some of these places like British Guiana and Trinidad our people have lost touch with India and there is a danger of their becoming complete strangers to ideas and ideals of the motherland. This danger has been pointed out many a time by Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has visited almost every place outside India where Indians have settled in large numbers. In fact, the best portions of the last twenty years of his life have been spent in solving their problems. No Indian has devoted so much of his time and his energies as Mr. Andrews to the cause of Greater India since the year 1913. It will be a real tragedy if no sustained effort is made to continue this work of linking India and Greater India.

What shall we do?

It will be quite unreasonable to expect our leaders to devote any portion of their time to this work for their hands are already overburdened with duties of great importance. Nor can the Indian public be expected to take much interest in external problems so long as the internal condition of India remains as it is. The only practical thing that can be done is that some of us, who are interested in the problems of Indians overseas, should devote ourselves to a close study of their conditions and keep the press regularly informed about them. This too is a difficult task. Our compatriots in the colonies have not yet learnt the usefulness of publicity and they cannot even manage to send regular information to us in India. Take, for example, our people in South Africa. They have passed a resolution for starting the Satyagrah movement there but they have made no effort to keep the Indian public at home fully informed about the state of affairs in their land. Our compatriots in East Africa show the same negligence towards the work of publicity in the Motherland. Deputations have no doubt come from East and South Africa but beyond delivering a few speeches in half a dozen important towns and meeting the high officials at Delhi they have done practically nothing to put this work of publicity on a firm basis. There are a number of rich Indians in the colonies who can very well afford to spare two or three hundred pounds annually for this work but they have got no vision. How one wishes these

millionaires of Greater India had even one hundredth of the vision of Cecil Rhodes, who established a larger number of scholarships in his University at Oxford to foster better relation between English speaking people all over the world. The following portion of his Will deserves to be read by all well-wishers of Greater India:

Whereas I consider the education of young Colonists at one of the Universities in the United Kingdom is of great advantage to them for giving breadth to their views, for their instruction in life and manners, and for instilling into their minds the advantage to the Colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire. And whereas in the case of young Colonists studying at a University in the United Kingdom I attach very great importance to the University having a residential system such as is in force at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge for without it those students are at the most critical period of their lives left without any supervision.... And whereas my own University, the University of Oxford has such a system... And whereas I also desire to encourage and foster an appreciation of the advantages which I implicitly believe will result from the union of the English-speaking peoples throughout the world and to encourage in the students from the United States of North America who will benefit from the American Scholarships to be established for the reason above given at the University of Oxford under this my Will an attachment to the country from which they have sprung but without I hope withdrawing them or their sympathies from the land of their adoption or birth. Now therefore I direct my Trustees as soon as may be after my death and either simultaneously or gradually as they shall find convenient and if gradually then in such order as they shall think fit to establish for male students the scholarships hereinafter directed to be established each of which shall be of the yearly value of £300 and be tenable at any college in the University of Oxford for three consecutive Academical years.

I direct my Trustees to establish certain Scholarships, and these Scholarships I sometimes hereinafter refer to as "the Colonial Scholarships."

Now is it impossible for people like Syt Nanjibhai Kalidas Mehta of Uganda and Mr. J. B. Pandya of Mombasa to spare a few hundred pounds to establish a few colonial scholarships in India? There is no place in India where we can get even books pertaining to colonies and colonial problems. No effort is being made by our colonial organizations to give an opportunity to their workers in India to study the problems on the spot. But we need not be disappointed. Sooner or later our countrymen at home and abroad will realize that problems of Indians overseas require a thorough study by a band of workers and they will make necessary arrangements for the same. Creation of Greater India is a noble work and those who have a vision of it must stick to it in spite of all difficulties and disappointments.

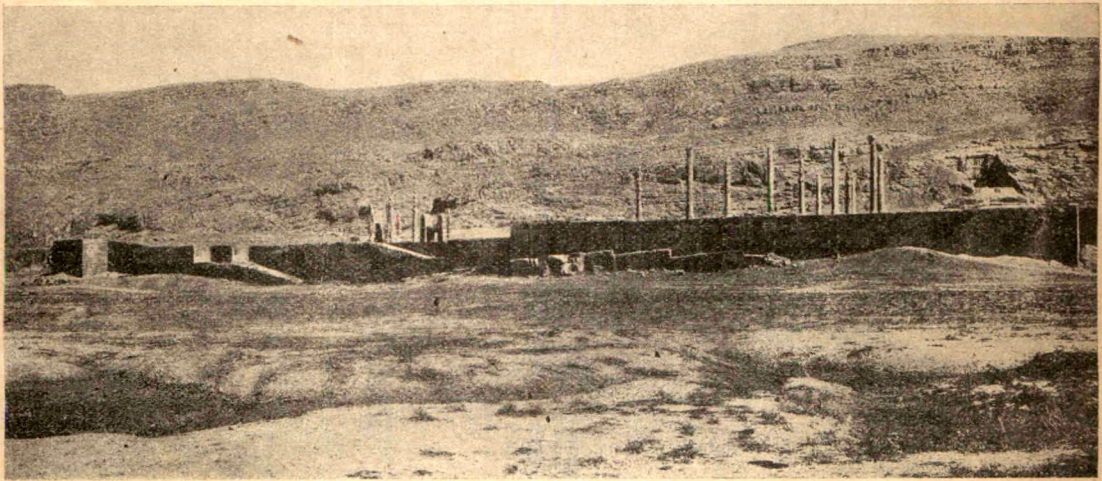
ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

22nd April: Left Shiraz, en route for Isfahan in two parties. The journey being difficult it was decided to do the same in two stages. An official of Shiraz accompanied us to supervise arrangements up to the first stage. He was a cheery young man with flaxen hair, blue eyes and a ruddy complexion. His face reminded me very much of an Irish

Teheran to bid us welcome in the name of the State and the Crown. There was besides Mr. Masani, a Parsi gentleman from Bombay who had come to investigate the trade and industrial possibilities of the country.

There has been considerable improvement in roads and communications during the present regime. Several thousand miles of



Persepolis. General view from front. Rock-tombs in the hills beyond

friend, of my college days. I wonder if there is any truth in the story that the Irish came from ancient Iran (hence Erin) and also whether it is a fact that their old Gaelic contains many words still in use in Persia. Anyway, Erin Ge Bragh! (I hope the spelling is right).

There was a halt outside the town for taking leave of our friends and hosts of Shiraz. We formed a big party. Besides ourselves there were Arbab Kaishosrow Shahrokh a high official and a very trusty member of the Shah's Court, Zoroastrian by faith, his youngest son Shahbahram, and Aqa Fouroughi, a very distinguished literateur (a brother of the Foreign Minister) and a savant. These gentlemen had come all the way from

roadways have been constructed and travelling made fairly safe through an efficient organization of armed road-guards. But still long journeys are very difficult, at least for strangers. The roads are as yet mostly unmetalled and breakdowns are serious affairs, skilled help being unobtainable excepting in the big towns. Wayside inns and caravan-serais are not quite up-to-date in the matters of accommodation, food and sanitation, but travelling by night being impossible in most cases, one has to put up at these hostelries. So arranging matters for our journey taxed to the extreme the powers of our hosts and specially those of Aqa Keyhan—our friend, philosopher and guide—who was officially in charge of us, and

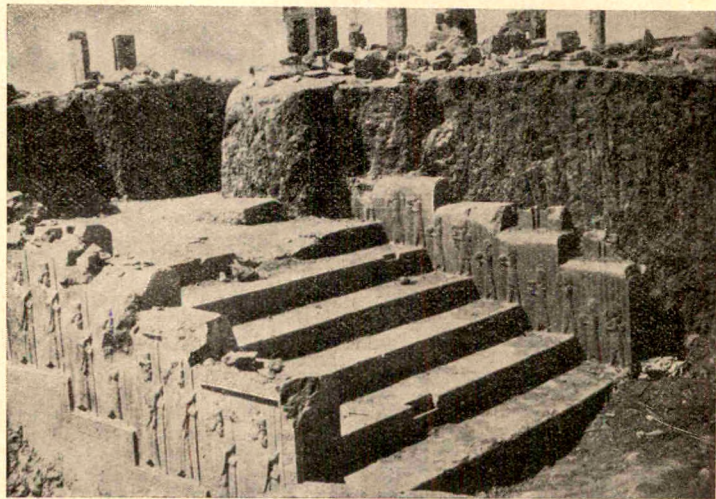


Persepolis. The Poet at the Portal of Xerxes

of Meherban, a young Parsi lad from Bombay, who was familiar with the terrain and so had been brought out by Mr. Irani. Aqa Keyhan had just returned from a five years stay in India as the Persian Consul-General at Bombay and had his wife and two little daughters with him. Madame Keyhan was an accomplished lady who had the rare art of keeping herself and others cheerful under trying circumstances. About Meherban all I can say that he was an acquisition to the party, and that he could yet be one of the first courier dragomen of the Near and Middle East if he went the right way about it.

* * * * *

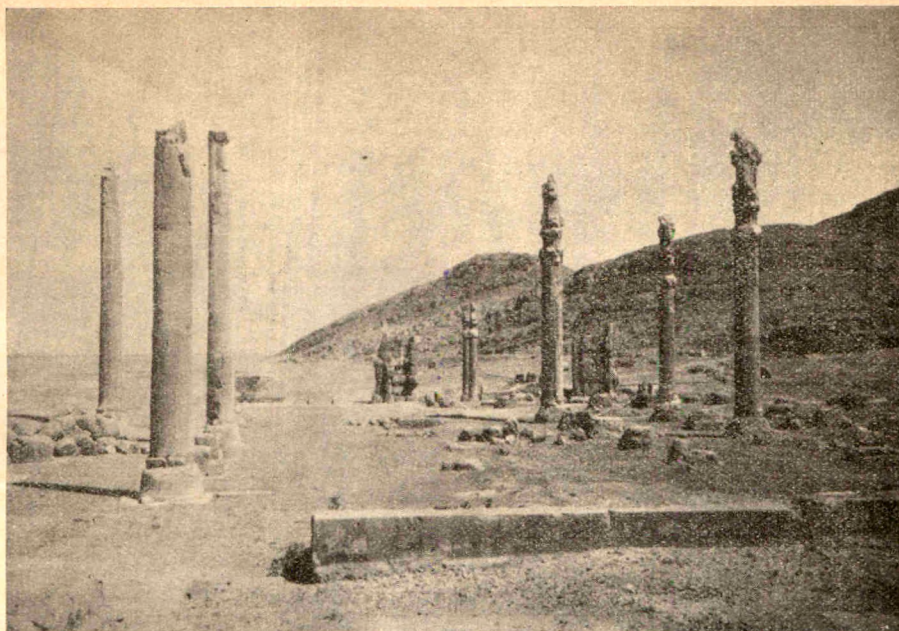
Shiraz-Isfahan! We were now treading on historical ground—the cradle and the seat of one of the most wonderful civilizations of the past. Unfortunately the Iran of to-day



Persepolis. Staircase near the Palace of Darius

does not seem to be fully aware of the exact nature and extent of its glory. What little it knows is mostly culled from that sublime collection of legend, folklore and tradition woven into an epic by the immortal Firdausi—I mean the *Shahnama*.

To the Persian unacquainted with Western research in the history of the



Persepolis. Hall of the Hundred Columns

Near East, most historical sites have a legendary significance. Thus the tomb and palaces of Kurush and Kambuja (Cyrus the Great and Cambyses) at Pasargadai are

and so on. But the new regime with its august head is out to change the view-point. The pride of the Shah in the ancient glory of his kingdom is evident in his title "Pahlavi"—



Persepolis. Palace of Darius

Meshed-Murgab, Persepolis is Takht-i-Jamshir (the throne of Jamshir) the Sassanian bas-reliefs in the Persian Valley of Kings—containing the graves of Darayavahaus (Darius) Artakhohayarsha (Artaxerxes) etc.—are Naksh-i-Rustam (the pictures of Rustam)

and most fittingly so, be it said. And followers of this new Aryan-Iran cult are not wanting, now that the lead has been given by the "Ala Hazrat" the Supreme and Most High,—an Aryan of the Aryans. Already cultured Iran is proudly talking about



Persepolis. Palace of Darius, interior

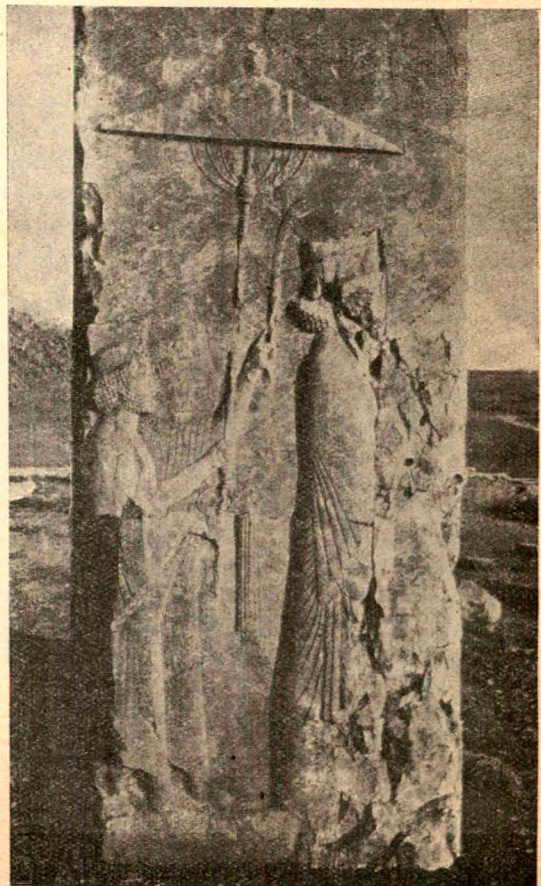
Aryan-Iran, Aryan-Islam and the supremacy of Aryan culture.

This new orientation in Persian thought has brought in its train many new departures such as cessation of the persecution of Persian Zoroastrians, an inclination to develop the relationship with the fugitive Zoroastrians (Parsis). The dawn of a feeling of kinship with the aryan-brethren of India is also in evidence, the first outcome of which was perhaps this Royal invitation which resulted in the Poet's tour.

* * * *

The terms "Aryan" and "Aryan Culture" are as yet indefinite ones. Where was the cradle of the peoples speaking the languages grouped under the classification "Aryan" and what was the genesis of their culture, has not been determined as yet. In Persia the first definite historical traces that we get are about the time of the fall and destruction of Ninevah in 606 B. C., by Babylonian king Nebu-Pal-Usur and his Median ally Huvakhshatra, king of the Medes of Northern Persia. Prior to this we have the campaigns of the Assyrian kings against the Medes, such as that of Tiglath Pileser in 1100 B. C., Shalmaneser II in 844 B. C., Adad Nirari III in 810 B. C., Tiglath Pileser IV in 744 B. C., Sargon II in 722 B. C. etc. But the establishment of a Median kingdom

was done by Huvakhshatra and it ended with his son Ishtavegu. Thus the rise and fall of the Aryan Medes really took place within the short space of less than a century, although their existence as a scattered group of warlike tribes in Northern Persia—which, according to De Morgan, they entered about 2000 B. C.—began over a millennium before. Meanwhile the Hakhmanishiya (Achæmenians) of Anshan had become powerful, and it was their fifth king Kurush (Cyrus) who defeated Ishtavegu and subjugated the



Persepolis. Bas-relief of the king. Palace of Xerxes



Persepolis. The king fighting a Lion-headed demon

Medes. It was this great and noble line of kings that first brought glory to Aryan-Iran and made it the cynosure of the civilized world, with the achievements of its great sons like Kambuja (Kambyzes) Kurusha (Cyrus the Great) Darayavahaus (Darius the Great) Khshayarsha (Xerxes) Artakhohayarsha (Artaxerxes) etc. The wiping out of this noble race of kings by the Macedonian Alexander, the establishment of the Greek Seleucids, the rise and fall of the Parthavas (Parthians), the destruc-

tion of the Parthavas by the Sassanians, the gradual expansion and development of the empire of this last ancient Aryan race of Iranian kings, their ascent to the zenith of glory, these are the subsequent events in the chronicle of the ancient and Golden Age of Iran. With the destruction of the Sassanian empire by the sword of Islam the chapter was closed.

* * * *

The ruins in the valley of Mervdasht, after standing pillage and senseless destruction followed by centuries of decay and spoliation, have had to undergo a fresh and organized form of looting in the name of History and Archaeology. Our own glorious



Persepolis. Saka-warriors. (Berlin Museum)

remnants are now going to face the same thing due to the passage of recent legislation, thanks to the general lack of culture and education—with a few exceptions—in the Assembly. This spoliation of the Iranian ruins have been stopped to a certain extent by the recent action of the new Government and Archaeological work of excavation and restoration is proceeding on approved lines under the guidance of savants like Dr. Herzfeld, Prof. Goddard and Dr. Schmidt,



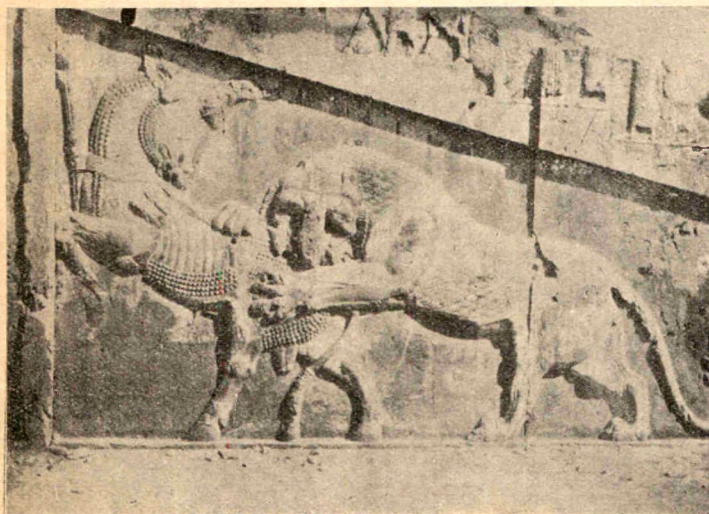
Persepolis. The Portals of Xerxes

with the financial help of American Universities and other foreign learned bodies.

The principal group of ruins are at "Persepolis" (real name unknown) bearing

and floored solidly on top with huge stone blocks, forming the great platform—locally known as "Takht-i-Jamshid" (the throne of Jamshid)—500 yards by 300 yards, which is

perhaps without an equal amongst ruins of that age. The ascent to the top of this mighty platform, which is 40 ft. high, is by means of a wide staircase with 106 shallow steps which were flanked on both sides by bas-reliefs of warriors, nobles and attendants, portrayed seemingly in the act of climbing step by step. This staircase is crowned by the Propylæa of Xerxes with its gigantic stone sentinels in the form of human-headed bulls, which here have attained a massive dignity absent in their Assyrian progenitors. The trilingual inscriptions of Xerxes, four times repeated,



Persepolis. Fight between a lion and a bull

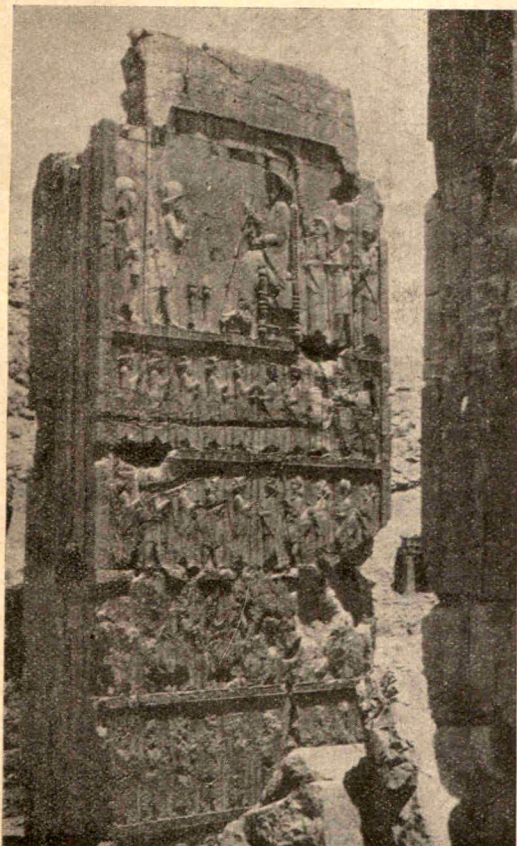
- the remnants of the palaces of the Achaemenians. The citadel was built on a natural eminence, which was lined on the sides containing the declaration of the glory of Ahura Mazda and himself—Adam Xsayarsa xsayathiya vazarka xsayathiya

xsayathiyanam Darayavahaus xsaya-
thiyahya puthra Haxamanisiya" etc.—show
that this was the entrance to the great palace
of Xerxes.

Beyond this are the tall columns (only two
remain of the original four) that supported

Hall of a Hundred Columns, attributed to
Darius.

These are all that remain of the glories
of Persepolis, that once dazzled the entire



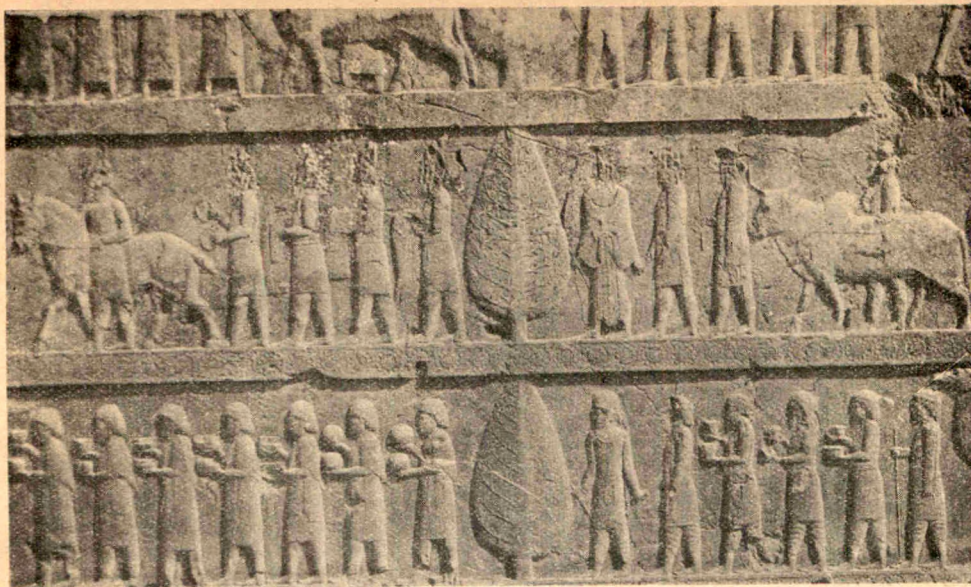
Persepolis. The king enthroned on the
might of his subjects



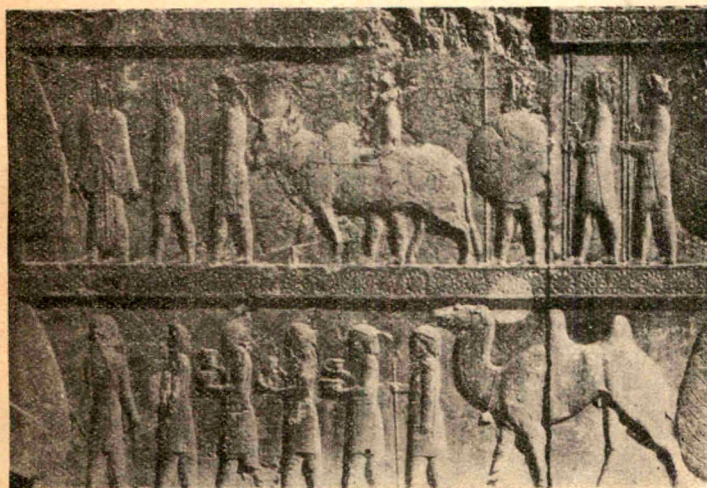
Persepolis. Darius the Great

the carved and decorated wooden roof of the
audience hall, and further on, facing the hills
is the other pair of colossi, of which the
desecraters have nearly destroyed the human
heads, forming the second portal to the
palace. Passing this portal a huge terrace
is entered, on which there are—on different
elevations—the Hall of Xerxes, the Palace
of Darius, the Great Palace of Xerxes and
that of Artaxerxes III. On a second
platform, raised 10 ft. above this main one
and behind the above-mentioned series of
ruins, stand the remnants of the far-famed

civilized world with its splendour. Destroyed
during a mad drunken orgy by Alexander
and his barbarous hordes—who set fire first
to the library and then to the other buildings—
and sacked and pillaged by the same glorious
band with the usual insensate lust for destruc-
tion common amongst all uncivilized con-



Persepolis. Palace of Xerxes, terrace wall. Procession of subjects with tribute



Persepolis. Palace of Xerxes, terrace wall.
Procession of subjects with tribute

querors, and further spoliated slowly through long centuries, only the worn and battered skeleton of Persepolis remains in a fragmentary condition. The carved, coloured and gilt woodwork, the rich tapestry and curtains are but a heap of ashes, the brick work of the residential portions (and also perhaps of the rear and side walls of the Halls) have partly been removed by the needy villagers

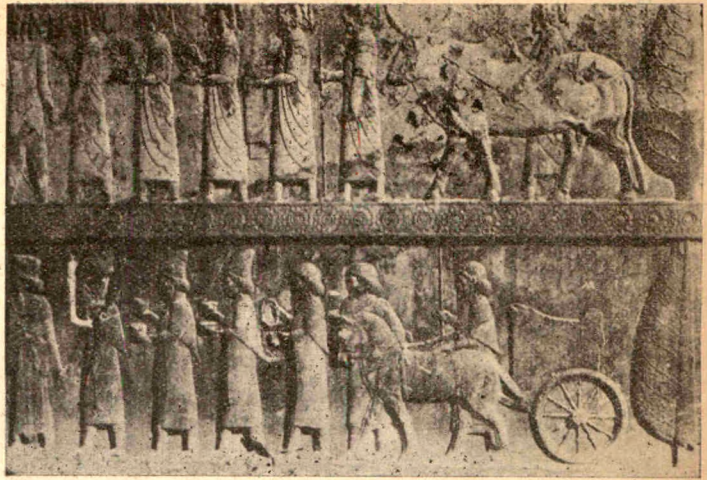
and the rest wiped out by the ravages of time. But still what remains is enough to create a profound impression on the mind of the observer about the majestic conception and the refined execution of these ancient peoples of Iran and their royal masters, and about the heights to which their civilization must have attained.

An adequate description of these ruins is impossible within the compass of a short itinerary, even if the writer were qualified to give it, and so the reader is referred to the monographs and articles on Persian Art and Archaeology, and specially to those by

Dr. Herzfeld, for details. The colossal human-headed bulls of the portals, the tall fluted columns (some over eighty feet high) crowned by the famous horse and bull capitals, which carried the architraves, the richly sculptured staircase leading to the terrace on which stands the ruin of the Great Palace of Xerxes, the triple row of bas-reliefs—depicting the warriors and subjects of different nationalities

of Xerxes—decorating the walls of the same terrace, the bas-reliefs and sculptural ornamentations on the throne platforms and walls of the Hall of a Hundred Columns and the different palaces, all of these would require severally as much space as is available in this itinerary. But a few words regarding the art of this place compared with that of India may not be out of place, as according to many authorities the art of the Asokan period is either derived from or is akin to that of the Achaemenians.

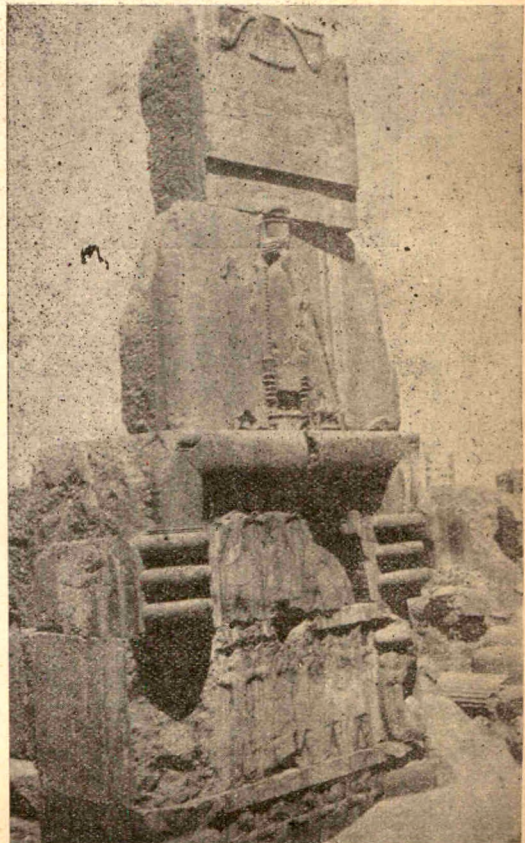
There is no doubt that there is a great deal of



Persepolis. Palace of Xerxes, terrace wall.
Procession of Warriors



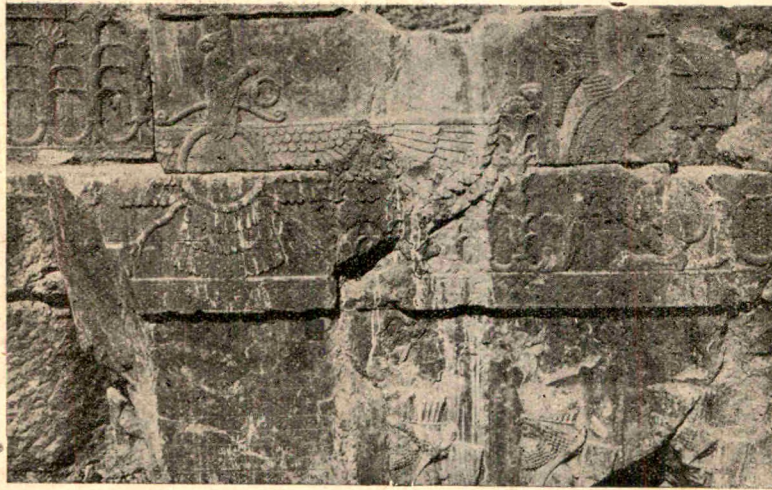
Persepolis. Achaemenian infantry



Persepolis. Hall of a Hundred Columns,
King on Throne.

resemblance in the ornamentation of the columns—specially the capitals and the bases—so far as composition and form is concerned, but there are certain differences apparent as well, when the general run of sculptural work, including the bas-reliefs, are taken into consideration. The Achaemenian art is taken to be a refined and more spiritualized adaptation, with the additions of new motifs and alterations of old forms, of Chaldeo-Assyrian Art. But in the opinion of Rene

Persepolis, excepting in the larger surfaces of the easily polished limestone which was mostly used at Persepolis. Then comes the poverty of ornamentation, in which the Indian sculptures excel, and in what little ornamentation there is there are wide differences in the motifs. As regards the bas-reliefs themselves, although the Persepolitan varieties excel in composition and balance, due to their austere nature, yet the Indian ones are far ahead in fine craftsman-



Persepolis. Ahura Mazda.

Grousset this refining in many instances was so austere and formal as to render this art almost arid. Whether this view is correct or not, there is not the least doubt that much of the dynamic quality of the Assyrian work is absent in the Persian forms and the lack of ornamentation in the designs has rendered them somewhat poor in variety and display. For example, the rich and graceful ornamentation and decorative form of the Lion Capital of Sarnath has in my opinion rendered it beyond a rival in any similar animal capital that has been found in Persia.

Then, when we go into details, many other differences are evident. The wonderful polish of the Indian sculptures of that period is not visible everywhere on those of

ship, deep-rounded relief (the Persian reliefs are shallow and flat) and in their dynamic character. Next there is a strange absence of female figures in the Persian bas-reliefs and a superabundance of armed figures, and lastly, the figures are almost all in profile, whereas in India we find that graceful female figures form the most important element and warriors the least in similar compositions, and also there are a fair number of figures drawn full or three-quarter face as well as in profile.

But in spite of all these the kinship seems to be undeniable, although to say that the one was derived from the other would be, with what evidence is available, far-fetched to say the least.

GLEANINGS



A Tartar Woman.

Specimens of nose ornaments

Mr. Kedarnath Chatterji contributed an article to *Prabasi*, the Bengali monthly, in which he stressed the point that the Hindus of yore did not use nose ornaments. It was a Muhammadan custom to wear nose ornaments, and it is from the Muhammadans that the Hindus borrowed the custom. The following illustrations will give an idea to the reader of the nose ornaments worn by women in lands outside India.



Arab Women of Mesopotamia.



A Russo-Turkoman Beauty. She was once a member of the U. S. S. R. Council.



The Ainus of Japan

The Ainus of Japan belong to the Mongolian stock. They were formerly warlike but at present they have



turned a peaceful people. They are very kind to strangers.

The Ainus have got no literature. People thought that they had no intelligence. The Japanese government have recently opened schools for them and they are giving ample proofs of their intelligence. The reader can form an idea of their features, dress etc. from the illustrations.



A Hairy-faced Native of Java

Legends of a canine ancestry are prevalent amongst primitive tribes in many parts of Asia and the islands of the Indo-Pacific region. Most famous in China is that of certain aboriginal tribes in the province of Fukien, classically known as the Yü tribes, whose women wear a distinctive head-dress symbolical of the legend of their descent from the union of a dog with a princess. Dog-ancestry legends have also been reported from Chekiang Province in South-eastern China, Formosa, the Loochoo Islands, Hainan Island, Siberia, Borneo, Sumatra and Java. What is the origin of such legends has not been ascertained, but it might be suggested that they have arisen from the appearance from time to time of human types with their faces covered with hair. It is interesting to note that these legends occur only amongst members of a large Asiatic ethnological group with Mongoloid characteristics and affinities with American Indians.—*The China Journal*



NOTES

Pocket Purdah "R. T. C."

The original unabridged *edition de luxe* of the so-called Round Table Conference was not really a Round Table Conference in the proper sense of that expression. Properly speaking, a Round Table Conference is "a conference between political parties in which each has equal authority, and at which it is agreed that the questions in dispute shall be settled amicably and with the maximum amount of 'give and take' on each side." Now, in the first and second so-called Round Table Conferences the British and Indian political parties did not have equal authority. In the third, the British party has appropriated the "authority" still more, if any authority ever at all belonged to the Indian party. Far from any authority belonging to the Indian party, the so-called Indian delegates were nominees of the British Government, whereas they ought to have been elected by the people of India, or at any rate by the elected members of the legislative bodies in India. And the sessions of the Conference ought to have been held in some neutral country lying midway between Britain and India, the expenses being shared by Britain and India! If that were considered too fantastic and visionary a proposal, the first conference having been held in Britain, the second ought to have been held in India. The third so-called R. T. C. is still more unsatisfactory in its personnel than the first two. It has been officially admitted that Congress is the largest, best organized and most powerful non-communal political body in India, representing the largest number of politically-minded Indian men and women. But it has been completely and deliberately

excluded from the third conference. The non-communal political organization next in importance to Congress—though at a long distance—is the Indian National Liberal Federation. But that body, too, has been practically ignored, as such important and active Liberals as Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, &c., who were members of the previous conferences, have been left out this time. Women and Labour go entirely unrepresented at the third conference. At the second conference, the Nationalist Muslims had at least a "representative" in Sir Ali Imam, though he was voluntarily or compulsorily dumb throughout. Mr. Jinnah at least *talks* of a Hindu-Moslem settlement, and therefore he has not been included, on the excuse that he is not in touch with India—as if the Aga Khan, who has been included, is in greater touch with our country! All the Muslim members this time are out and out and thoroughgoing separatists and communalists of the Fazli Hussain brand.

At the two previous conferences, the Hindus were not given the number of members proportionate to their numerical strength, public spirit, business enterprise, culture, &c. This time their "representation" is still more unsatisfactory. At the first two conferences, the provinces were not "represented" according to their population, education, contribution to the Central Exchequer, etc. This time the "representation" is still more unsatisfactory from that point of view. Bengal Hindus go entirely "unrepresented," for instance.

There will be no public sessions of the

third conference and the agenda—a fixed one—will not be published! This is on the ground of expediting the process of giving India a constitution. As it is the British Government's will which is to prevail, the most expeditious and economical method would have been and would be to give India a constitution to the liking of British Imperialists—without the expensive and slow process and camouflage of conferences, committees, sub-committees, &c.

The Blackpool Conservative Conference, Messrs. Churchill and Co.'s recent speeches and Lord Reading's propaganda tour in America—all clearly show which way the wind blows.

But in spite of all these indications some intelligent and well-informed politicians of India, like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, etc., have proceeded to London to join the third so-called Round Table Conference. Some of them may have gone with the sincere object of not allowing India's case to go by default and in the belief that they may be able to influence the British Cabinet for the good of India. But we do not share their opinions. Nor do we believe that in any substantial respect they will be able to alter the British Imperialist plan. And, needless to say, we do not share the belief in the *bona fides* of the British Imperialists, if any Indian "delegates" have such belief.

A British Cable to Indian Liberals

Bertrand Russell and Harold Laski have sent cables to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, and Mr. M. R. Jayakar, asking them not to take part in the third R. T. C. if the Government do not allow full facilities for consultations with Mahatma Gandhi about the inter-communal talks, and so on. Needless to say, this request, advice, or suggestion has been fruitless. It is not known whether the Indian Liberals named above (Mr. Sastri has not been invited this time) consider Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald more sincere friends of India than Bertrand Russell and Harold Laski. But it is true that Hoare and MacDonald have at present the official power to do things for

or against India which the other two English gentlemen do not possess. The question of questions, however, is whether the latter have the sincere desire and the effective will to do good to India in the way that Indians desire it to be done. They may have the giant's strength. But how are they going to use that strength?

In any case, it hurts India's national self-respect that foreigners have felt it necessary to remind prominent Indians of their duty.

We do not take it for granted that if Bertrand Russell and Harold Laski had been in power, they would or could have tried their utmost to give India a constitution according to the national will of India expressed by her representative men.

Wages and Work of Cornelia Sorabji

That Indian colleague and replica of Miss Mayo who is known by the name of Miss Cornelia Sorabji has been recently doing some anti-Indian propaganda work in Britain. Whether she poses as an Indian is not known. As her name is half European and half Parsi, one cannot be sure. But it is known that she helped Miss Mayo in the work of obtaining "information" for her *Mother India*, and got a complimentary presentation copy of that book from the authoress. Even before helping Miss Mayo she had done anti-Indian propaganda work. So she is a sort of expert in this kind of business.

She has recently purveyed some stories relating to Hindu *swamis* in foreign lands—particularly America, thereby trying to lower Hindus in the eyes of foreigners. No one will contend that there is no impostor among so-called *swamis*. Of the religious of no sect can it be said that all are the genuine thing. Any direct or indirect attempt to create prejudice against any religion by presenting only real or imaginary facts against its followers without at the same time mentioning what can be said in favour of it is to be condemned.

Miss Cornelia Sorabji is sorrow-stricken to find that Indians occupy some high posts in the public services of *their own country*. How unnatural and how disastrous! The pity, however, is that in whatever class of

civil and military work Indians have been given opportunities to show their worth and ability, they have done credit to themselves and their country.

A Free Press message runs in part as follows:

London, Oct. 24.

Miss Cornelia Sorabji, who has been engaged in doing a little unofficial propaganda against India in England, made an astonishing attack on the position of women in India at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society.

She declared that civic sense was almost absent among the women of India and that they had no real acquaintance with the machinery borrowed from the West. They had no real knowledge of their own racial difficulties and inhibitions and no training in political careers.

We do not think the attack is at all astonishing. No lie or half-truth is too bad for anti-Indian propagandist use, and hence, not astonishing.

On account of the marvellous liberality of Miss Sorabji's British patrons in allotting money for women's education in India out of the taxes paid by Indians, book-learning among Indian women is a somewhat rare commodity, though there are many Indian women who possess at least as much knowledge of Western political machinery as herself. As for civic sense, it is not necessary to prove that Indian women possess that commodity; for they possess a conscience, moral sense and common sense and, what is of supreme importance, they can bear hardships and persecution and make unbounded sacrifices for a cause which they hold dear. These qualities Miss Sorabji does not possess, and is therefore not worthy even to take the dust of the feet of many an illiterate village woman of India.

One wonders what wages Miss Sorabji receives for the unsavoury work she does. And why need she be a hireling at all now? She is a miss and has no encumbrances, and has been earning more than enough for a comfortable existence for some decades, as she is pretty old now. Why does she not retire into a nunnery or its equivalent, for perhaps she is not a Roman Catholic, and meditate on the transient character of things of this world, including British patronage, and on the enduring value of things spiritual?

Accidental (!) Anti-Indian Propaganda

Whenever there is any pretence on the part of British Imperialists to do something good for India, there is always some preliminary or synchronous anti-Indian propaganda. All this may be accidental. But, then, there would seem to be some method in these accidental happenings.

Consider what was going on or was about to be going on in relation to India at the time when Katharine Mayo, Patricia Kendall or Cornelia Sorabji were engaged to hawk their spicy slanders.

Consider again what was happening or was about to happen with regard to India when Lord Irwin went out to Canada to lecture on India, when the angelic Dr. Edward Thompson came out to India as *The Manchester Guardian's* special correspondent, or when Lord Reading went to America on a lecturing tour.

Shakespeare wrote in *Hamlet*, "Though this be madness, yet there's method in 't." A prosaic publicist may say after the great poet, "Though this be accident, yet there is method in it."

British and Indian Military Morality

According to the Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for 1926, vol. ii, pp. 14 *et seq.*, dealing with the health of British troops in India:

"Venereal diseases accounted for 3530 admissions to hospital, representing a ratio of 62.1 per 1000."

This in spite of venereal clinics, specialists in dermatology, prophylactic measures, preventive packets and courses of instruction in the subject provided for British troops in India.

So far as Indian troops are concerned page 28 of the same Report says:

"These venereal diseases accounted for 2,122 admissions to the hospital giving a ratio of 15.7 per 1000."

So the incidence of these diseases due to sexual immorality were four times as great among British troops as among Indian troops, in spite of the fact that all the prophylactic

and preventive steps and measures were meant for the former.

Mahatma Gandhi on Caste and Untouchability

Mahatma Gandhi recently wrote the following letter to Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji of Comilla "Abhoy Ashram":

"My dear Suresh,

Why have you kept me in suspense about your health? I know your views of old on caste and untouchability. I quite agree with you that caste has got to go. But whether it would do so in my generation I do not know. Only let us not mix up the two and spoil both causes. Untouchability is a soul-destroying sin. Caste is a social evil. Anyway you get thoroughly well and work away against caste with your usual vigour. You will find in me a good supporter.

With love and all good wishes,—Bapu."

On the publication of this letter in the papers, Mr. Satish Chandra Das-Gupta, an orthodox Hindu follower of Mr. Gandhi, began to deliver speeches in different places and sent contributions to some vernacular and English papers to prove that Mahatmaji is a *Sanatani* Hindu, a believer in the four-fold division of caste, not a disbeliever in idolatry (whatever that may mean), etc., etc. One of his English articles begins thus:

In the letter written by Gandhiji to Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee, there occurs this passage: "I agree with you that caste has got to go." Here Gandhiji uses the word caste in a narrow sense, meaning the sub-divisions within the four principal divisions of Hinduism. Gandhiji wants the 4 divisions of Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra to remain. I give below an extract from his article in defence of the caste system so that there may be no confusion. The article is dated 1920 but Gandhiji still adheres to this view.

It is not necessary to reproduce the extracts from Mr. Gandhi's article on the caste system in *Young India* for 1920 which form part of Mr. Das-Gupta's article. The latter's pro-caste-propaganda led Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji to send a sort of rejoinder to the Press. Says he:

As there has been some misunderstanding as to the meaning of the word 'caste' used by Gandhiji in his letter to me on Oct. 9, it has become imperative to publish the relevant portion of my letter of which the letter in question is a reply:—

"Owing to this fast the problem of untouchability has got a very vigorous shaking, no doubt. This shaking will also help in its entire removal but the

removal of untouchability will not solve the entire Hindu problem. In Bengal, at least, the depressed class Hindus will not be satisfied with anything short of absolute removal of hereditary caste distinction. The depressed class Hindus must enjoy all the rights and privileges of the entire Hindu community. Mere temple entry or council going will not do. There must be inter-caste marriages and inter-caste dinner. These two things only can weld the Hindus into one great solidified community. As the heart of the upper class Hindus has now opened to a very large extent it is the time when the question of removal of caste distinction may be brought to the fore-front. That you are not against inter-caste dinner and inter-caste marriage has been amply proved by your taking in an untouchable girl in your domestic circle and also by the settlement of marriage proposal of your dear son Devidas with the daughter of Rajaji."

Dr. Banerjee concludes that "from the above it is quite evident that by the removal of caste distinctions I meant removal of existing barriers as regards marriage and dining between various primary castes and not merely sub-castes, and such caste distinction Gandhiji considers a social evil, which in his opinion has to go—if not in this, certainly in the coming generation."

The following *Free Press* message has also appeared in many dailies:

Ahmedabad, Oct. 19.

"Temple entry and use of all public institutions are essential factors in the field of removal of untouchability"—writes Gandhiji from Yeravada in answering the query whether dining with the untouchables was permitted.

Gandhiji adds:—"There should be same relations with the untouchables as are prevailing between all other castes. Dining with the untouchables is entirely a question of belief but that is not one of the essentials in connection with the removal of untouchability."

"But according to my belief," concluded Gandhiji, "Hindu religion does not prohibit partaking of one's usual food with anybody."

Mahatma Gandhi is right when he says that "Caste has got to go." But he does not know whether it would do so in his generation. That, however, does not mean that he would leave it to "time" to do the work of reform. "Time" does nothing without some men working, suffering, sacrificing. Therefore, he exhorts Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerji to "work away against caste with your usual vigour. You will find in me a good supporter."

We do not agree with Mahatmaji when he seems to imply that caste and untouchability are unrelated and therefore should not be mixed up. Some ideal kind of caste system may be imagined or thought of which is entirely free from touch-me-notism. But

taking caste as it exists and has existed for centuries, one cannot but say that untouchability in its extreme form is the worst symptom and result of caste. Even among the so-called higher castes there is some degree of untouchability. A very orthodox Brahman would not drink water given him by a Kayastha. A Kayastha may build and endow a temple for his family god. But if he be an old-style orthodox man, he would not even enter its inner sanctuary and would not dream of touching the idol or bathing it or dressing it. These are not extreme forms of untouchability, no doubt, but they are untouchability of some kind. And they show that, though the Kayasthas of Bengal are a high caste in no way inferior to Brahmins in culture and the cleanness and ethical standard of their lives, some degree of untouchability attaches to them according to the hundred per cent orthodox view. If caste could be purged of the least trace of touch-me-notism, it would cease to be caste and would have the appearance of an occupational classification.

Mahatma Gandhi is not a man of whom it can be said that he advises the following of the line of least resistance because of difficulties confronting him. But it is true nevertheless, that the fight with some extreme forms of untouchability, leaving aside the fight with the other evils of caste, would be to follow the line of least resistance. Not that we are opposed to some people adopting this method, if they cannot be thoroughgoing in their combat with caste. Some reform is better than no reform. But it must be understood that the caste spirit must be entirely exorcised. Whatever in caste can be truthfully called a poison-tree, must be destroyed root and branch. Unless that is done, there will not, cannot, be any solidarity in the Hindu community. Reason, conscience and reflection lead us to this conclusion. The expressed sentiments and desires of many depressed class people support this conclusion. They will not be satisfied—and rightly and naturally so—with anything short of the removal of socio-religious and legal obstacles to interdining and intermarriage and to their full recognition as men. That, of course, does not mean that people

are to be compelled to interdine or intermarry.

Caste and National Freedom

It is not our purpose to examine all the arguments for and against caste. But we will notice one or two.

We believe that when Mahatmaji wrote in *Young India* in 1920, "I believe that caste has saved Hinduism from disintegration," he was partly right. But caste has outlived its usefulness in that respect. As it exists at present, it has been the cause of thousands of Hindus leaving the Hindu fold and thus bringing about the disruption of Hindu society.

In that article Mahatmaji also wrote :

"They argue that the retention of the caste system spells ruin for India and that it is caste which has reduced India to slavery. In my opinion it is not caste that has made us what we are. It was our greed and disregard of essential virtues which enslaved us."

We do not assume that Gandhiji's opinion of caste has remained unchanged. But without any such assumption, the opinion embodied in the foregoing extract may be commented upon.

Mahatmaji is entitled to his own reading of history, as we are to ours. We believe, no historian has contended that caste alone has led to India's enslavement and degeneration, for there were other causes at work. Similarly, nobody will deny that, *partly*, "it was our greed and disregard of essential virtues which enslaved us." But is it not also true that the caste system, as it exists and has existed for centuries, has, in part, led to the disregard of essential virtues? Brahmin blood and Kshatriya blood have meant more than the essential virtues of purity, honesty and manliness.

Let us turn to the testimony of history.

In the last chapter of the third edition of his *Shivaji and His Times*, Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who is neither a Brahmo nor an Arya-Samajist, dwells on the "Causes of Shivaji's failure to build an enduring State." After referring to the shortness of Shivaji's reign Professor Sarkar observes :

"This does not furnish the true explanation of his failure. It is doubtful if with a very much

longer time at his disposal he could have averted the ruin which befell the Maratha state under the Peshwas, for the same moral canker was at work among his people in the 17th century as in the 18th. The first danger of the new Hindu Kingdom established by him in the Deccan lay in the fact that the national glory and prosperity resulting from the victories of Shivaji and Baji Rao I created a reaction in favour of Hindu orthodoxy; it accentuated caste distinction and ceremonial purity of daily rites which ran counter to the homogeneity and simplicity of the poor and politically depressed early Maratha society. Thus his political success sapped the main foundation of that success."

The historian then proceeds to amplify his observation in the following paragraph:

"In the security, power and wealth engendered by their independence, the Marathas of the 18th century forgot the past record of Muslim persecution; the social grades turned against each other. The Brahmans living east of the Sahyadri range despised those living west, the men of the hills despised their brethren of the plains, because they could now do so with impunity. The head of the state, though a Brahman, was despised by his Brahman servants belonging to other branches of the caste,—because the first Peshwa's great grandfather's great-grandfather had once been lower in society than the Desh Brahmans' great-grandfathers' great-grandfathers! While the Chitpavan Brahmans were waging social war with the Deshastha Brahmans, a bitter jealousy raged between the Brahman ministers and governors and the Kayastha secretaries. We have unmistakable traces of it as early as the reign of Shivaji. 'Caste grows by fission.' It is antagonistic to national union. In proportion as Shivaji's ideal of a Hindu *Swaraj* was based on orthodoxy, it contained within itself the seed of its own death.

Professor Sarkar then quotes the following remarks of Rabindranath Tagore from his *Rise and Fall of the Sikh Power*, as translated by the former in *The Modern Review* for April, 1911:

"A temporary enthusiasm sweeps over the country and we imagine that it has been united; but the rents and holes in our body-social do their work secretly; we cannot retain any noble idea long.*

"Shivaji aimed at preserving the rents; he wished to save from noble attack a Hindu society to which ceremonial distinctions and isolation of castes are the very breath of life. He wanted to make this heterogeneous society triumphant over all India! He wove ropes of sand; he attempted the impossible. It is beyond the power of any man, it is opposed to the divine law of the universe, to establish the *swaraj* of such a caste-ridden, isolated, internally-torn sect over a vast continent like India."

* How happy should we be if it were never necessary to make any such observation on the present wave of enthusiasm against untouchability! Editor, *M. R.*

The historian proceeds to mention some details in support of his observations.

"Shivaji and his father-in-law Gaikwar were *Marathas*, i.e., members of a despised caste. Before the rise of the national movement in the Deccan in the closing years of the 19th century, a Brahman of Maharashtra used to feel insulted if he was called a Maratha. "No," he would reply with warmth, "I am a *Dakshina* Brahman." Shivaji keenly felt his humiliation at the hands of the Brahmans to whose defence and prosperity he had devoted his life. Their insistence on treating him as a Shudra drove him into the arms of Balaji Avji, the leader of the Kayasthas, and another victim of Brahmanic pride. The Brahmans felt a professional jealousy for the intelligence and literary powers of the Kayasthas, who were their only rivals in education and Government service, and consoled themselves by declaring the Kayasthas a low caste not entitled to the Vedic rites and by proclaiming a social boycott of Balaji Avji who had ventured to invest his son with the sacred thread. Balaji naturally sympathized with his master and tried to raise him in social estimation by engaging Gaga Bhatta, who made Shivaji a pure Kshatriya. The high-priest showed his gratitude to Balaji for his heavy retainer by writing a tract [or rather two] in which the Kayastha caste was glorified, but without convincing his contemporary Brahmans."

Professor Sarkar adds in a foot-note:

"It was with a house so divided against itself that the Puna Brahmans of the 18th century hoped to found an all-India Maratha empire, and there are Puna Brahmans in the 20th century who believe that the hope failed only through the superior luck and cunning of the English!"

The Author concludes this part of his remarks by observing:

"There was no attempt at well-thought-out organized communal improvement, spread of education or unification of the people, either under Shivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality, and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen among its rulers."

Maulana Mahomed Ali on Separate Electorates

One of the arguments adduced by the late Maulana Mahomed Ali in support of separate electorates in his formula of communal settlement, runs as follows:

"A separate electorate gives to the Mussalman client in the case he is fighting the counsel that he selects himself and can trust. In every law-court every client is permitted to do that, even though he is sometimes provided with counsel at Government expense."

Yes. But the fact is that, even when Mussalman lawyers are available, Mussalman clients often choose non-Muslim lawyers. Similarly Hindu and Christian clients often engage non-Hindu and non-Christian counsel. Separate electorates deprive the electors of the liberty to vote for any candidate who does not belong to their class or religious community, however able and public-spirited and to their liking he may be.

The Duty of M. L. A.'s

Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, M. L. A., has issued the following statement :

"The November session of the Assembly is an extraordinary session where only two matters will be considered, no days having been allotted for transaction of non-official business. Both the items are of first-rate importance. One is political and the other fiscal. As regards the latter the decision of the Assembly is final. The Viceroy has no right of veto or certification, so the responsibility of the Assembly in this matter is of paramount importance.

In a House of 145 members the Government has got only 26 official votes. They can certainly depend upon 13 nominated and also 11 European votes, but there is no reason why the remaining 95 votes should not be cast in national interests. So if all the elected members make it a point to be present during the Delhi session they can carry any measure they like.

The two Opposition parties, the Nationalists numbering 42 and the Independents numbering 33, are together sufficient to carry any point they like without depending on the votes of the unassorted group amongst whom certainly there are a few who are not against national interests.

"The Ottawa Agreement that will be discussed at this session will decide the country's industrial future for a long time to come. On this matter there cannot be any question of clash of class or communal interest.

The other important matter is the Ordinance Consideration Bill. The attempt to provide for powers to promulgate emergency martial law as an integral part of the permanent law of the land is a novel one. Drastic press legislation embodying the worst features of the Press Ordinance is also on the anvil. Here also no communal or class interest should separate the elected members.

Several members from Bengal were found absent during crucial divisions at the last session of the Assembly. Mr. C. C. Biswas was absent all along the Simla session. Messrs. Nabakumar Sinha Dhudhuria and Satish Chandra Sen did not figure in the division list. Pandit Satyendra Sen, due to his son's illness, was also absent. All the Muslim members except Sir Abdur Rahim voted in support of this drastic legislation. Sir Abdullah Suhrawardy, Mr. Ghuznavi, Hazi Chowdhury Ismail, Mr. Anwarul Asim and Mr. K. Ahmed were found voting with the Government.

In all democratic countries members are always afraid of their constituencies in recording their votes in every division. Is it too much to expect that the educated constituencies as they obtain in Bengal will hold meetings and put pressure on their representatives to be at their post of duty and vote according to their mandate, at least on this very momentous occasion."

If the electors had been well-informed, dutiful, and public-spirited, their representatives could not have been otherwise for long. No representative can fool his constituency all the time.

Improvements Promised in Nepal Administration

It is a pleasure to learn that

Important changes in the administration of the kingdom of Nepal, such as imposition of tariffs to encourage and develop home industries, better telegraph and telephone communications, removal of octroi duties on imported machinery, installation of new electric plant, financial assistance for merchants, compulsory vocational, moral and religious training for boys and improvement in the friendly relations with Great Britain have been announced by His Highness the Maharaja Joodha Shumsherjung Bahadur on the occasion of his installation as Prime Minister and supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar as Round Tabler

Mr. N. C. Kelkar's acceptance of the invitation to attend the third so-called Round Table Conference as a "delegate" has given rise to some misunderstanding about the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha towards that conference, as he is ex-officio president of the Mahasabha for one year. The question that arises is, whether the Mahasabha approves of attending the conference, as a "delegate." The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce have decided not to co-operate with the third R. T. C. In spite of that decision, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, one of its leading members, has resolved to attend the R. T. C. as a "delegate" in his private capacity, as he puts it. It would be merely evading the question to say similarly that Mr. Kelkar would take part in the conference in his personal capacity. The distinction between a man's personal and official capacities is very often mere verbal jugglery, mere hair-splitting,

merely, or mostly a distinction without a difference. When Dr. B. S. Moonje attended the conference, he said he was doing so in his personal capacity. Yet all the while he made statements *virtually as working president of the Hindu Mahasabha* and his views were accepted as those of the Mahasabha.

Since writing the above we have found it stated in the papers that, though Mr. Kelkar is going to the R. T. C. in his personal capacity, he has been asked by Dr. Moonje to carry out the mandate of the Hindu Mahasabha! It is not known what that mandate is.

The only formally correct answer to the question raised above is that the Mahasabha has never officially either approved or disapproved of Mr. Kelkar's action, as it was never placed before its Working Committee for consideration. Of course, it was and is open to the Mahasabha to approve of his action, under certain circumstances, as it was open to the Congress to approve of Mahatma Gandhi's attending the second R. T. C. under the then existing circumstances, as it did.

So far as present circumstances go, we cannot support any Indian's attending the R. T. C. as a "delegate." As a member of the Hindu Mahasabha and of its Working Committee, the present writer would have voted against Mr. Kelkar's acceptance of the invitation, if it were placed before that committee for consideration.

It may be urged in favour of Mr. Kelkar's action that he has gone to attend the R. T. C. to keep watch and to advocate and safe-guard Hindu interests. We do not want to make any comparisons. But it is our conviction that Dr. Moonje also tried to prevent any injury to the cause of Nationalism and Hinduism with single-minded zeal, unremitting toil and great ability. But what was the result? Owing to the anti-Hindu and pro-Muslim policy of British imperialists, Hindus have lost all along the line. That policy has not changed for the better, but rather for the worse. And, without laying any claim to foreseeing the future, we may say that Mr. Kelkar will fail in his mission as Dr. Moonje failed, if it be what we have assumed it to be.

Mr. Kelkar on Co-operation and Non-Co-operation

Mr. N. C. Kelkar's presidential address at the last session of the Hindu Mahasabha was an able and well-reasoned pronouncement, though one may not be able to subscribe to all his views. We shall refer here to one particular passage in it, which has given rise to questionings regarding the Mahasabha's position in relation to Co-operation and Non-Co-operation with the Government. It runs thus :

Non-Co-operation with the Legislative Councils by the Hindus would, therefore, not only be futile but suicidal. So long as the election rules do not prescribe that a candidate, if he should be elected, must poll a minimum number of votes bearing a certain fixed ratio to the total number on the electoral roll, there will be no vacancies and no fresh elections after elections to fill vacancies. And if seats in the Legislatures, which is only another name for one recognized form of generators of political power, *will* be filled, it is much better from the point of view of the Nation, that they be filled, as far as possible, by men who understand their work, and who may be trusted to keep watch and ward over the administration from the point of view of National interests. The Hindus may, no doubt, feel hurt by the palpable injustice done to them by the Government in the Communal Award. But I do not understand how they can remedy matters by simply boycotting the Councils but loyally obeying their laws and decrees outside the Councils. It is a fallacy to suppose that to work *under any constitution* is to *work the constitution*. So long as no parallel government is established, boycott of Councils by the Hindus would be a self-imposed injury, for which there is no justification. The position of the Hindus is also very pitiable even such as it is. And the boycott of Councils by the Hindus would only make it worse.

Describing it in his own words, which he used at Cawnpore in 1925, he then spoke as follows :

"Where in the whole wide world is there an inch of space which the poor, unbefriended and threatened Hindu can call his own, outside Hindustan? Other communities have their whole bases of operations and world-wide lines of communication and flotillas of boats and transports which can replenish them in India at need. The Hindu Society, on the other hand, has long ago burnt its boats, cut off every possible line of communication with the world with its own hands, and has cooped itself up unwisely with a ditch around itself and a foolish contrivance in which the valve shuts against itself but opens out for any hostile soldier, adventurer or camp-follower to safely come across and give the best account of the slightest capacity of mischief or harm

which he may possess. The only hope, therefore, of his beleaguered community lies in strongly fortifying itself at all points of attack, making friends with all amongst itself and taking good care of the blind, the lame and the diseased and enthusing the whole garrison with the hope that it can save itself even now, if it makes up its mind, the hope being reinforced by the warning that it is doomed to destruction, if it faints or falters for a moment. Hindus not only wish to attain Political Swaraj in India, but they also wish to have their proper share of it, remaining Hindus."

In his opinion, therefore, he said,

Default will be a big blunder even with the present Award remaining intact; for, while all other communities will be represented by their typical leaders in the legislatures, the Hindus will lose at every point, if they do not send their representatives also to guard their own communal interests as well as to guard against anti-national interests in the Legislatures.

The position of the Hindus should, therefore, be at this juncture like the position that Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi had taken at the Amritsar Congress in 1919.

Of course, Hindus should ever make common cause with other communities in demanding Swaraj and trying to wrest political power from Government in as large a measure as possible, but Hindus as Hindus should go only as far as major minority communities will be prepared to go by way of actual non-co-operation.

The Hindus as the largest unit community in India and as staunch adherents of the cause of Swaraj, may try to give, from time to time, lead to other communities in putting up a fight against the Government. But the Hindus as Hindus should never detach their community alone from participation in actual work even within the Councils, while other minorities will be taking the fullest advantage of the constitution.

Critics of this portion of Mr. Kelkar's address will have to bear in mind that the views expressed therein are his own and that the Mahasabha has not passed any resolution, approving of them. On the contrary, at a meeting held in camera the Mahasabha authorized Dr. Moonje to formulate a programme of action for fighting the so-called "award" of the British Government on the communal question.

Should politically-minded Indians of the Congress school be disposed to criticize Mr. Kelkar, they will, in fairness to him, have to bear in mind that the Congress also had a Council-entry Party calling itself the Swarajya Party, as well as a party of No-changers or thorough-going Non-co-operators. So far as the Mahasabha is concerned, it has among its

members both "Co-operators" and Non-Co-operators; e. g., Babu Jagat Narain Lal, one of its former general secretaries, and Babu Padmaraj Jain, one of its present secretaries, have been sent to jail repeatedly for civil disobedience.

We wish to make a brief comment on the following three sentences in the long extract given above :

"The Hindus may, no doubt, feel hurt by the palpable injustice done to them by the Government in the Communal Award. But I do not understand how they can remedy matters by simply boycotting the Councils but loyally obeying their [i. e. the Councils'] laws and decrees outside the Councils. It is a fallacy to suppose that to work under any constitution is to work the constitution."

The futility and inconsistency of boycotting the Councils but at the same time obeying the laws and decrees passed by them are, no doubt, obvious. But assuming that an unsatisfactory new constitution would be set in operation, if some politically-minded Indians both boycotted the Councils and disobeyed their laws and decrees, Mr. Kelkar would certainly not call their conduct inconsistent; but whether such non-co-operation on their part would be an effective remedy or would prove futile, it would not be possible to predict beforehand.

Mr. Birla on Untouchability

At a mass meeting held at Delhi on the 23rd October last under the auspices of the Delhi branch of the All-India Anti-untouchability League, Seth Ghanshyam Das Birla, its president, made an impressive speech. In course of it he observed :

The right of worship in the temple alone could not solve the problem of untouchability. In the words of Dr. Ambedkar, the untouchables did not want God, they wanted bread, hence the League would do its utmost to work for the economic emancipation of the depressed classes.

Lectures and sermons are not the need of the day. The hungry people want food. Because of industrial competition, most of the members of the Depressed Classes have lost their work, which provided them with food. They required to be provided with work which would bring them food. They had no land. They required land and efforts should be made in this connection too. New wells were required for the Depressed Classes in several places, where they could not get water to drink.

He strongly favoured the suggestion that a thousand rich Hindus should come forward each

to spend for the higher education of one member of the Depressed Class. This was a very useful scheme and efforts would be made by the League to fulfil it. Temple-entry and inter-caste dinners cannot help the Depressed Classes. We must share their sorrows and fulfil their needs.

We are entirely in sympathy with the spirit of Mr. Birla's observations. Land and food and water are certainly vitally necessary for the depressed classes. Without successful efforts to supply them, lectures and sermons would be empty words. Nor would mere freedom to worship in the temples and inter-caste dinners entirely meet their desires. But we do not in the least agree with Dr. Ambedkar that the "untouchables" do not want God, or that lectures and sermons are not the need of the day. There are many rich and well-to-do people all over the world who have plenty of land and food and good water and all the comforts of life, but are nevertheless themselves unhappy and prove pests of society, because they are ungodly, unenlightened and immoral. Supply the material needs of the depressed classes by all means, but lead them also to know and love and worship God, to have high ideals and to live up to them.

Inter-caste dinners and marriages have been dwelt upon in a previous note. The suggestion that a thousand rich Hindus should come forward each to spend for the higher education of one depressed class youth is quite timely and should be acted upon, and we are quite sure Mr. Birla would be first to set a noble example. In order that elementary education should lay the broad foundation upon which the super-structure of higher education may be built, the widest possible spread of elementary education and the higher education of those who want it should go on *pari passu*.

Educational Work in Bengal for The Backward Classes

As unnecessary multiplication of agencies should be avoided, we invite the attention of Mr. G. D. Birla and Mr. Amrit Lal Thakkar and other workers and generous givers to the work of educational and

social uplift which has been going on in Bengal for the last twenty-three years under the auspices of the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes. It maintains 441 schools, of which 113 are Girls' schools. Two are High English Schools, 9 are Middle English Schools, 302 are Boys' Primary Schools, 15 are Boys' Primary Night Schools and 113 are Girls' Primary Schools. In the year 1931-32 the total numbers of boys and girls receiving education in these schools were 13,106 and 4,703 respectively, totalling 17,809. The largest number of boys and girls from any caste attending these schools were Namasudras, namely, 5,736 and 2,382 respectively. Next in number to them were the Muhammadan boys (2,103) and girls (517). Since 1918-19 the Society has been conducting a school for sweepers (*mehtars*) at Dhubri. "The one encouraging feature of this institution is that although it was started mainly for *mehtar* boys and girls, students born of higher castes have been regularly taking advantage of this school."

Besides these 441 schools with 17,809 pupils, the Society has under its control 5 Co-operative Societies, 3 Public Libraries reading rooms, 1 Boy-Scout and 1 Cub Troops, 2 Seva Samitis, and arrangements for delivering lantern lectures with a view to arouse sufficient ideas of social and sanitary responsibility. It also trains women teachers and provides industrial and technical education in suitable places.

The financial administration of the Society is very careful and economical, as will appear from the fact that in 1931-32 the amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 76,539, but the amount spent in establishment and other charges stood at Rs. 5,603, representing only 6.8 per cent of the total expenditure of Rs. 82,142.

The work of the Society has received high praise from both official and non-official quarters. We can quote only a sentence or two from the many opinions expressed. The Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (Hartog Committee's Report) says :

"In Bengal...the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes is an example of the extent to which private effort has helped progress."

The Seventh Quinquennial Government Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal observes :

"Considerable progress occurred in the education of backward classes. Much of the credit of the progress is due to missionaries and to the Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes."

Rabindranath Tagore writes :

"The Society for the Improvement of Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, has been doing excellent work for the diffusion of education among the backward classes, irrespective of creed and caste."

Acharya P. C. Ray writes :

"The Society has been doing very useful work for the advancement of education amongst the backward classes of the country."

The editor of this *Review* has been connected with it from its foundation and can testify to the excellence of the work it has been doing. Copies of its Report can be obtained from and donations and subscriptions sent to Dr. P. K. Acharji, M.A., M.B., Hony. Secretary and Treasurer, at 13 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. As the work of the Society has been continually expanding funds are urgently required. From 2 schools in 1909, it has now 441 schools in 1932.

The Brahmo Samaj and Untouchability

During his short sojourn in Karachi Acharya P. C. Ray gave a talk in the local Brahma-Mandir. He began by saying :

The sight of a Brahmo Samaj flourishing in this part of the country was a delightful surprise to him. There is a feeling in certain quarters that the ideals that the Brahmo Samaj once stood for are now all but realized, and that its mission is now almost fulfilled, and that it can therefore very well wind up and cease to exist. This is not so. If the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj had taken shape, our Mahatmaji would not have found it necessary to starve himself and thus endanger his life, so invaluable to us, his countrymen. If we had but absorbed the spirit of the Brahmo Samaj, all this anti-untouchability campaigning, now carried on throughout the length and breadth of the land, would have been needless. The present anti-untouchability campaign is merely an ephemeral ebullition of a temporary enthusiasm and has for its basis not moral conviction but political pressure. As such it cannot have lasting results. In order that it may prove effective what is wanted is—to use the familiar phrase of our Mahatmaji—'a change of heart' in each one of us.—*Sind Observer*.

As regards untouchability and caste the Brahmo Samaj has practised what it has

preached. Inter-caste dinners, inter-caste marriages and employing cooks and other domestic helpers irrespective of caste, have become such matters of course in the Brahmo Samaj that they do not attract notice or excite comment.

In modern times Ram Mohun Roy began the campaign against caste and untouchability by publishing with a vernacular translation Mrityunjayacharya's ancient Sanskrit tract against caste, named *Vajrasuchi*. Active practical work against caste and untouchability began under Keshub Chunder Sen and his co-workers and followers, and, later, has been continued by the leaders and members of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. Mr. Vithal Ram Shinde, a missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, established his Depressed Class Mission, which has done very valuable work, long before Mahatma Gandhi began his inspiring public teaching and action against untouchability. Such was also the case with the late Mr. K. Ranga Rao's activities at Mangalore for and among the depressed classes. Many an obscure and nameless man and woman in the Brahmo Samaj have suffered social persecution, pecuniary loss and bodily injury for the cause. Now that the removal of untouchability has almost become a fashion, their sufferings and sacrifices remind one of James Russell Lowell's lines :

"Then to side with Truth is noble when
we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit,
and 'tis prosperous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
while the coward stands aside,
Doubting in his abject spirit,
till his Lord is crucified,
And the multitude makes virtue of the
faith they had denied."

New Regulations of Calcutta University

The new Regulations of the University of Calcutta (1932) have introduced several substantial changes in the old affecting particularly Post-Graduate teaching and appointments. The changes, in our opinion, have been for the worse. They are not only undemocratic and are therefore objectionable on principle but in actual practice, so far as our information goes, have operated to

encourage favouritism, jobbery and autocracy. Take, for instance, the Regulations by which Heads of Departments have been created. Under the old Regulations the work of each Department of studies was supervised by the Chairman of the Board of Higher Studies for each Department. Chapter II of the old Regulations (1930), clause 20, provided for the appointment of the chairman and laid down his duties thus :

"Each Board of Higher Studies shall elect its own chairman from year to year:

"Provided that no person, except a university Professor, shall be eligible for election as chairman of a Board, unless he is a graduate of at least seven years' standing.

"It shall be the duty of the chairman of each Board to supervise generally the teaching arrangements in that department and to ensure compliance with the Resolution of the Board, the Executive Committee and the Council in that behalf."

The above regulation has been repealed and clause 9 of chapter II of the New Regulations has taken its place :

"The Senate on the recommendation of the relevant Executive Committee, which shall not be subject to confirmation by the Council, shall appoint a Head of each Department as follows:

"Where there is only a Professor in any Department, the Executive Committee shall recommend that the Professor be appointed the Head of the Department. If there be no Professor and there be a post of Reader, then the Executive Committee shall recommend the occupant to be the Head."

The duties of Heads of Departments are thus defined :

"The Head of a Department shall be responsible to the university and primarily to the relevant Executive Committee for carrying out the decisions of the university within the Department and for ensuring efficient working."

"He shall be the chairman of the relevant Board of Higher Studies."

Other duties have been assigned to him which are not necessary to consider here.

It will appear that by the New Regulations the University authorities have abrogated the democratic principle which regulated the appointment of the man in charge of the supervision of his Department. He is no longer to be elected by the Board of Higher Studies, the members of which are the teachers of the particular department. The chairman's place is taken by the Head of the Department, in whose appointment teachers have practically no voice. The Executive

Committee, as constituted by the New Regulations, may not contain a single teacher of the particular Department from which the Head may be appointed. Even the Council is left practically no option in the matter, as the appointment of the Head is not subject to the confirmation of the Council. The Head is practically appointed by the Senate and if there is a Professor in the Department, he automatically becomes the Head.

One should not run away with the idea that the Professor in a Department is necessarily the best qualified man even from the academic point of view. He may be quite a junior man who by his superior power of ingratiating himself with the higher authorities may get the Professorship superseding the claims of better qualified men in the Department. When this is the case and there are such cases, unless the Head of the Department is a very tactful man he may, by his conduct make himself thoroughly disagreeable to teachers of his Department. The fact that he is a junior man and has got his job by backstairs influence rankles as a grievance in the breast of teachers, particularly those whose claims he has superseded. The result is constant friction between the Head and the teachers of the Department, that is, the Board of Higher Studies. Such frictions have occurred, much to the detriment of efficiency of the Department. The Head of the Department being only a mortal and susceptible to the passions and prejudices of mortals, does not unoften show his displeasure by trying to injure the teachers who have offended him. He may take away their bread saying that they were inefficient. And as the New Regulations have made him responsible to the University "for ensuring efficient working," he is in a position to terrorize his oppositionists. The teachers have got to be subservient to him or they run the risk of losing their jobs. Had he been an elected Head or Chairman, enjoying the confidence of the teachers, these frictions would have been avoided and there would have been less room for him to practise jobbery or do injustice.

The New Regulations have superseded the Old Rules relating to appointments. Chapter II clause 23A of the old Regulations

(1930) thus laid down the procedure relating to appointments.

"All questions relating to appointments, tenure, pay, terms, and conditions of service regarding the teaching staff under chapter II shall be referred by the Executive Committee of the Post-Graduate Council concerned to an Appointments Board."

Clause 22 chapter II of the New Regulations takes the place of the above clause of the old Regulations. This clause eliminates the Executive Committee altogether in the matter of appointments. The Executive Committee has a large element of teachers in it.

The recommendation for the appointment of a teacher under the old Regulations came in the first instance from the Board of Higher Studies which being wholly a body of teachers of the Department was best fitted to judge the qualifications of a candidate for appointment in the Department as a teacher. The recommendation of the Board was then considered by the Executive Committee who in its turn sent its recommendations to the Appointments Board. The Appointments Board, under the old Regulations, consisted of twelve men, eight of whom at least were to be teachers, but under the New Regulations all appointments are made by a Selection Committee directly. The Selection Committee consists of eight or nine members. The constitution of the committee is such that not more than two members of it may be teachers, one of whom is the Head of the relevant Department. The result is that it is the views of the Head of the relevant Department, who is an ex-officio member of the Selection Committee of that particular Department, that prevail. The Head of the Department is thus in a position to influence the judgment of his colleagues; the majority of whom cannot be in a position to judge for themselves the qualifications of a particular man as teacher for appointment in that Department.

The New Regulations have thus directly and indirectly placed large powers in the hands of Heads of Departments. Autocracy has been substituted for democracy with the usual result that some of the little autocrats have been abusing their power.

Caste, the Government, and the Depressed Classes.

The problem of the depressed classes has been brought to a head by Mahatma Gandhi's vow of self-immolation. His unique self-sacrifice has led the "caste" Hindus to cover the track of centuries in a week. This miracle could not have happened if their conscience had not already been aroused by education, the growth of humanitarianism and patriotism, and the earnest work of reformers in the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and those within the fold. Some years ago, *The Modern Review* quoted extracts from a speech of Dr. Ambedkar himself who, as President of the Conference of the depressed classes of Bombay, admitted that the part which Government played in the movement for the uplift of the depressed classes was negligible. Practically the same view has been taken in a scholarly work written by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Ph. D. (Cantab), Reader in Sociology, University of Bombay. The book is named 'Caste and Race in India,' and has been published this year in London by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., as one of the volumes of their 'History of Civilization' series. The publishers, in introducing the volume to the public, observe :

"This volume has been written by an Indian author who knows the actual facts from within, and who has combined a mastery of the principles of anthropological science with a knowledge of the modern theories of caste and a thorough acquaintance with the information to be found in Indian literature. The subject has never before been treated historically with such accuracy and detail."

The information that we seek will be found in the chapter VIII on "Caste : Recent and Contemporary."

Here the author shows how the removal of "the most important aspect [of caste-integrity], and almost the only surviving one, *viz.*, that of prohibition against marriage outside the caste" has been retarded "owing partially to the apathy of the Government and the hostility of the conservative section of the Hindus." Nevertheless the path of inter-marriage among the various castes has been considerably widened by Dr. Gour's special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923. As far back as in 1877 John Wilson in his history

of Indian caste said that the absence of the Antyajias from Government schools was due as much to caste prejudice as to the want of firmness of the Government educational authorities. So late as 1923, the Madras Government had on its statute-book a law empowering village magistrates to punish offenders of the lowest classes by imprisonment in the stocks. The description of persons by their caste-titles, in police reports, law-courts, and even Railway risk-notes, could only result in emphasizing caste distinctions. The introduction in the Census report of 1891, under the guidance of Sir Herbert Risley, of the classification of castes based on social precedence as recognized by Indian public opinion, led to a campaign of mutual recrimination and was a fruitful source of discord. In the opinion of the author,

"it is difficult to see any valid public reason for this elaborate treatment of caste in the census reports...The conclusion is unavoidable that the intellectual curiosity of some of the early officials is mostly responsible for the treatment of caste given to it in the census...The total result has been, as we have seen, a livening up of the caste-spirit...the desire of the census officials to give an intelligible picture of caste by means of nice grading of contemporary groups has provided a good rallying-point for the old caste-spirit."

The effects of the British administration on caste in the Panjab have been thus described by Mr. Middleton, Census Superintendent of 1921 :

"I had intended pointing out that there is a very wide revolt against the classification of occupational castes ; that these castes have been largely manufactured and almost entirely preserved as separate castes by the British Government. Our land records and official documents have added iron bonds to the old rigidity of caste. Caste in itself was rigid among the higher castes but malleable among the lower. We pigeon-holed every one by caste and if we could not find a true caste for them, labelled them with the name of an hereditary occupation. We deplore the caste system and its effects on social and economic problems, but we are largely responsible for the system which we deplore. Left to themselves such castes as Sunar and Lohar would rapidly disappear and no one would suffer...Government's passion for labels and pigeon-holes has led to a crystallization of the caste system, which, except amongst the aristocratic castes, was really very fluid under indigenous rule...If Government would ignore caste it would gradually be replaced by something very different amongst the lower castes."

Dr. Ghurye thereupon observes as follows :

It must have become clear by now that the activities of the British Government have gone

very little towards the solution of the problem of caste. Most of these activities, as must be evident, were dictated by prudence of administration and not by a desire to reduce the rigidity of caste, whose disadvantages were so patent to them. The most important step they have taken is the recent regulation in some of the provinces that a definite percentage of posts in the various services shall be filled from the members of the non-Brahmin or the intermediate castes, provided they have the minimum qualifications. This was originally the demand of the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement. And it is the most obvious remedy against caste-domination. But the obvious is not necessarily the wisest. We contend that the restriction on the numbers of the able members of the Brahmin and the allied castes, imposed by this resolution of the Government, penalizes some able persons simply because they happen to belong to particular castesThe result has been the pampering of caste even at the cost of efficiency and justice. The Government of Bombay, in their memorandum submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission, 1928 (p. 94), complain that the District School Boards, where the non-Brahmins have had a majority, "have almost in every case attempted to oust the Brahmins regardless of all considerations of efficiency." Yet this action is only a logical development of the attitude of the Government, which nursed, rather than ignored, the spirit of caste.

On the whole, the British rulers of India, who have throughout proposed to be the trustees of the welfare of the country, never seem to have given much thought to the problem of caste, in so far as it affects the nationhood of India. Nor have they shown willingness to take a bold step rendering caste innocuous. Their measures generally have been promulgated piecemeal and with due regard to the safety of British domination.

It may be argued that, if the British masters of India did not take any comprehensive steps to minimize the evil effects of caste which they openly deplored, it must be said to their credit that they did not at least conscientiously foster the institution. But in the face of the utterances of some responsible British officers, after the Mutiny of 1857 was quelled, it is not possible to endorse this view. The Mutiny opened the eyes of the administrators of the country as well as of the students of British Indian history to the potentialities of caste. It was almost the unanimous opinion of persons connected with the Government of India that the deep causes of the Mutiny were to be found in the fact that the Bengal Army was composed largely of the higher castes, *viz.*, the Brahmins and the Rajputs. The Special Commission presided over by Lord Peel, which was appointed to suggest a reorganization of the Indian Army, took evidence from many high officials who were sometime or other closely connected with India. Lord Elphinstone opined that it was desirable that men of different castes should be enlisted in the Army, while Major-General H. T. Tucker went further and insisted on the necessity of keeping the country under British domination through the policy of dividing and separating into distinct bodies the nationalities and castes recruited to the Army. Such being the general tenor of the main bulk of evidence the Commission

recommended that "The Native Indian army should be composed of different nationalities and castes and as a general rule mixed promiscuously through each regiment." Lord Ellenborough advised the same, but clearly pointed out that the recommendation was based solely on the ground of British interests and not on the consideration of efficiency of the Army. He lamented the fact that if the suggested procedure were adopted "we must abandon the hope of ever again seeing a native army composed as that we have lost. It was an army which, under a General that it loved and trusted, would have marched victorious to the Dardanelles." Ever since then the Indian army has been studiously purged of the higher castes. The lesson of the Mutiny, *viz.*, that the safety of the British domination in India was very closely connected with keeping the Indian people divided on the lines of caste, was driven home to the British rulers. Sir Lepel Griffin thought that caste was useful in preventing rebellion, while James Kerr, the Principal of the Hindu College at Calcutta, wrote the following in 1865: "It may be doubted if the existence of caste is on the whole unfavourable to the permanence of our rule. It may even be considered favourable to it, provided we act with prudence and forbearance. Its spirit is opposed to national union." The maxim of "divide and rule" began to be preached by journalists and historians alike [references in foot-notes omitted]. Because the Mutiny was largely the work of soldiers of the high castes of Brahmins and Rajputs, there was a clamour in England that the high-caste sepoys should be exterminated. Suspicion of high castes therefore dates from the Mutiny. The valuable lesson so dearly purchased was not going to be lost. It being repeated in the form of "divide and rule" could not have failed to influence the policy and conduct of later officials. It is well to remember in this connection that even the Roman Church, in its desire to propagate its faith, was prepared to accommodate caste in its practical programme, though it was opposed to the humanitarian principles of the church. Pope Gregory XV published a bull sanctioning caste regulations in the Christian churches of India."

Like Mahatma Gandhi, the author is also opposed to special (reserved) representation. He observes :

"Whatever liberalizing of the Brahmin attitude in this respect has taken place during the last forty years is mainly due to education and social reform campaign and not to the very recent reserved or communal representation. Reserved representation is thus not necessary. Nay, it is harmful in so far as it tends to perpetuate the distinction based on birth. Co-operation in the satisfaction of the needs of common social life through the machinery of Government is one of the potent factors that have dissolved tribal bonds and created nation-communities... Special representation of some castes... means the negation of such co-operation... Where it is a question of engendering a feeling of unity the people must be made to co-operate irrespective of their caste. It is only by such activity that the feeling of nation-community can be created.

To harp on the caste differences and to allow special representation is to set at naught the fundamental condition for the rise of community feeling... Ere long we shall witness the situation of many different castes that are individually large enough, each clamouring for special representation. National life will thus be reduced to an absurdity..."

Regarding the problem of the depressed classes, the author is of opinion that they deserve special treatment.

"Those who feel that the inhuman treatment of these very useful classes of society is wrong, realize that a change in it depends as much upon reform in the habits of these classes as upon a change in the attitude of the caste-Hindus. To alter the habits of these people education, both through teaching and propaganda, is essential. Some aspects of these habits also depend on the economic position of these classes. To better the economic position of the depressed classes is thus necessary in order to bring about a real change in their social status."

As regards "the vicious principle of the reservation of posts" in the various services for the non-Brahmin group by the Government of Madras, the attention of our Muhammadan brethren may be drawn to the following extract from the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay :

"The hundreds of small communities into which Indian [not excluding Muslim] society is divided were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity which was so conveniently afforded them, and began to clamour for special representation in the Legislature, local bodies, the public services and even educational institutions. The Government, in which also the non-Brahmin element was very influential, tried to satisfy the ever-increasing demand for the plums of office, but naturally could not succeed. It created jealousies and enmities which have now reacted with disastrous effect on the party."

We have no doubt that a similar fate awaits the Muslim place-hunters of Bengal.

Two significant incidents

Two recent incidents, which are not without significance, have escaped general notice. One is the motion in the Indian Legislative Assembly by a Hindu member for introducing whipping as an alternate punishment for outrages on women, and its opposition by members of a certain section on humanitarian grounds. It is significant that these members betrayed such solicitude for the perpetrators of

"that inexpressible wrong that unutterable shame. That turns the coward's heart to steel, the sluggard's blood to flame."

The other incident is the Indian Government's ban on the recently published book on the 'little brown man' [Gandhi] by a reverend missionary in America. The contrast between this eagerness to stifle the expression of everything that tends to raise India in the esteem of the Western world and the supreme indifference to wholesale and filthy abuse of the Indians, especially of the Hindus, by such writers as Miss Mayo and Miss Kendall is obvious, and clearly demonstrates that the interests of the rulers and the ruled, even in regard to such a matter as the dissemination of correct information, are diametrically opposed; for it is easy to see which of these two classes of books would stand a greater chance of being censored in a free and self-governing India.

Our Frontispiece

The *Siddhas*, depicted in our frontispiece, are male and female semi-divine beings supposed to be of great purity and holiness, and said to be particularly characterized by eight supernatural powers called *siddhis*, namely, *anima*, *laghima*, *prapti*, *prakamya*, *mahima*, *ishitva*, *vashitva*, and *Kamavasayita*. The picture illustrates a line in Kalidasa's *Cloud-messenger*. The *Siddha* couples with their musical instruments called *vinas* allow the Cloud a free passage, standing aside for fear of being drenched with showers of rain.

Hindu Mahasabha and R. T. C.

"Our own correspondent" of *Advance* has sent the following from Bombay:

Bombay, Oct. 29.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, prior to his departure, declared in a statement that not to respond to the invitation to attend the R. T. C. would practically amount to a betrayal of several interests looking to him for representation. "I think I could better serve my country by agreeing to work on the third R. T. C. and help in giving final shape to what may be good reform or the opposite and lodge timely protests against bad ones."

Mr. Kelkar added, "No man in India can claim a better title to represent and speak on behalf of India than Mahatma Gandhi but it does not stand to reason that because he is not in a position to go others should not act according to their lights in the interests of India. In particular, I would have been guilty of betraying the trust reposed in me by the Hindu Mahasabha,

my friends of Berar and Indian states subject if I declined the invitation extended to me."

On the eve of his departure for the Third Round Table Conference, Mr. N. C. Kelkar received congratulatory addresses at a meeting held under the presidentship of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. A large number of people from different parts of the Maharastra province assembled to give a send-off to Mr. Kelkar, a delegate from the Hindu Mahasabha.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar, like any other person, has a perfect right to attend the R. T. C. as a "delegate," as also to do his duty to India according to his lights. But when he speaks of the trust reposed in him by the Hindu Mahasabha, we are at a loss to understand what he means. This writer is a vice-president of the Hindu Mahasabha, but does not know of any such trust. Again, when Mr. Kelkar is spoken of as "a delegate from the Hindu Mahasabha," we must point out that the Hindu Mahasabha, so far as our information goes, never appointed him as its delegate, nor did the Government ask the Mahasabha to elect or nominate a delegate, nor did it inform the Mahasabha that Mr. Kelkar had been appointed its "delegate."

Every one is free to act as he thinks fit. But it is not right that the impression should be created that the Mahasabha is directly or indirectly countenancing anyone's co-operating with the R. T. C., unless and until that Hindu organization formally and openly passes a resolution approving of such co-operation.

Labour, Women, and Bengal not Unrepresented

In our note on the personnel of the third R. T. C. printed elsewhere we have written that Indian Labour, Indian women, and Bengal would not be "represented," there by any Government nominees. But the dailies of the 30th October announced that Mr. N. M. Joshi, Begum Shah Nawaz, and Sir N. N. Sarkar have been nominated by the Government—obviously to "represent" Labour, Women, and Bengal. The additional waste of money on the R. T. C. which this fresh addition to its personnel involves is as much to be regretted as the wasteful expenditure already incurred or arranged to be incurred.

Jadunath Majumdar

By the passing away of Rai Bahadur Jadunath Majumdar the district of Jessore has lost a man who did much to improve its condition in various directions. Early in life he edited *The Tribune* of Lahore for some time. He was also a member of the Indian and Bengal legislatures. But his main labours

were in connection with his own district. He was a well read man, particularly in the Hindu Shastras.

Golap Lal Ghosh

The late Babu Golap Lal Ghosh was the youngest brother of the late Babus Sisir Kumar Ghosh and Moti Lal Ghosh, who were both distinguished editors of *The Amrita Bazar*



Golap Lal Ghosh

Patrika. Though Babu Golap Lal was not so famous a journalist as his brothers, he did much useful work for the *Patrika* in an unobtrusive way during their respective editorships. When he himself became editor of that paper, his long previous connection with it stood him in good stead, and the daily continued to maintain its reputation.

Tagore on Way to Peace and Conciliation

At the request of Mr. Carl Heath, Chairman of the India Conciliation Group, London, Rabindranath Tagore has sent him the following letter on the present political situation in India and how peace and conciliation can be brought about :

"Dear Friend,

It is encouraging to learn from your cable that there is a general feeling in England urging for a radical change in the relationship between that country and ours. To my mind this is the time when a move towards honest co-operation with our people should be made by the India Government. The atmosphere has been purified by Mahatmaji's penance which was undertaken not

merely for the sake of any particular group of people but for the sufferings of man.

"Times without number, in recent years, opportunities have offered themselves to the Government for responding to the call of humanity in India. One such was Mahatmaji's desire to confer with the Viceroy when he returned home from the Round Table Conference. But Mahatmaji's gesture was ignored, he was summarily put into prison. Since then the Government has openly entered into a policy of repression, blackening its own prestige in the eyes of millions by its fury of unreason. From one blunder to another the Government has proceeded till it has successfully initiated India into a state of imminent warfare.

"Nobody defends acts of terrorism by isolated individuals, yet this must clearly be recognized as the result of Governmental action. Now British troops are being massed in Bengal villages to stamp out anarchists, and teach our people, as it is said, "a moral lesson." This new measure will create an atmosphere of panic favourable to widespread anarchism.

"Two facts have now to be definitely faced by the British Cabinet and by the Indian Government if they desire to change their policy in India before it is too late:

(i) "No country can be ruled against its will by another. India can no longer be governed by force, however ruthless and scientifically efficient it may be. India's relationship with England, economic and cultural, must be maintained, but that can only be achieved through friendliness and trust. Our people are ready for such co-operation but their confidence must be regained by specific acts of the Government clearly recognizing the right of our people to equity and self-determination.

(ii) "The only real check to disorder, to distrust between our people and the English is the influence of Congress under Mahatmaji's own leadership. Yet thousands of the finest men in the Congress have been jailed like criminals, their only crime being their loyalty to Mahatmaji and to the masses whose interests they have zealously upheld. The Congress as an organization has been declared illegal, its money confiscated, its sympathizers relentlessly victimized. Not that the moral hold of the Congress on the mind of our peoples has been in the least impaired or its organization weakened, but the Government by wilfully depriving themselves and our own people of the services of this beneficial organization has chosen to drive the activities of our finest men and women underground. The Government is thus running serious risks not only of permanently losing any legitimate influence it may still possess on our people but of encouraging explosive activities which will be disastrous in its effects on innocent humanity.

"It is too late in the day for the Government to throw out mere gesture of good-will, palliative measures and tactful promises safe-guarded by diplomacy. The Government must reverse its weak policy of repression and come out with concrete proposals, which can immediately be made operative, giving India the substance of independence. Honest constitutional reforms sweeping aside the heaped up follies of an indiscreet Government must be preceded by the release of Mahatma Gandhi and members of the Congress, and the unconditional repeal of the Ordinances,

which are a frank confession of the Government's failure to rule.

"I sincerely hope the India Conciliation Group will devote its best energies to acquaint the British people with facts as they are in India today, and commit itself to a definite programme and a policy which will accept as axiomatic the birth-right of our people to freedom and to such self-chosen federation with other countries and people as they may freely decide upon. I know I can count upon such heroism of soul from your people.

"Genuine peace in India can only result from fearless recognition by the Government of the fundamental claims of our humanity. Mahatmaji has proved to the world his clear honesty of purpose; will the Government respond?"

The imprisonment of large numbers of men and women who follow the Congress and the other repressive methods followed by Government which Tagore refers to are according to the Ordinances and the special laws, though these are objectionable. But reports of worse things gain currency everyday without there being any means of testing their accuracy, as newspapers do not publish them for fear of the drastic press laws and ordinances.

Gagging the Press

The Free Press Journal had already forfeited a security of Rs. 6,000 for its love of truth-telling when its further security deposit of Rs. 10,000 was declared forfeited by the Bombay Government. The charge against it on the present occasion was that it had reproduced an old article written by Mahatma Gandhi in *Young India* on orthodoxy and untouchability in the course of which he criticized Government officials for not lending a hand in the cause of reform. What is practically exacting a fine of Rs. 10,000 for such a technical "offence," assuming without admitting that it was such, was an injudicious, unstatesmanlike and extremely drastic step. What makes it still more draconic is the order that before *The Free Press Journal* can appear again it must deposit a fresh security of Rs. 20,000!

Sir Ali Imam

The death of Sir Ali Imam leaves a gap in the ranks of Indian Nationalists which cannot be easily filled. As he publicly said, he was one of the Aga Khan deputation to Lord Minto in 1906 which demanded separate electorate, weightage, &c., for Muslims, but later experience changed his views, and he publicly expressed himself as against separate electorates and reservation of seats against any community.

Unity Conferences

We earnestly desire the success of the Hindu-Moslem-Sikh conferences for a settlement with a

view to unity which have been going on for some time past. Apart from things which are directly political, there are certain other things which have been making for disunion instead of unity. Let us refer to some of these things in Bengal. Institutions for the separate education of the communities from the primary to the collegiate stage are one of them. The text-books used in *maktabs* and *madrasahs*, from the alphabetical primers upwards, are another. Mohun Bagan Club, the premier sporting club in Calcutta, has always admitted Muslim members. In spite of that fact, a separate Muhammadan sporting club has been established. Similarly, a separate Muslim Chamber of Commerce has been recently established, though the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce has never refused to enroll Mussalman members. Marwaris are to blame for establishing a separate Marwari Chamber of Commerce. The mother-tongue of Bengali Mussalmans and Hindus is the same. So, there is no reason why there should be separate literary conferences and Academies for them. At present, there are separate hostels for Hindu and Muslim students. There should be at least one in Calcutta where those Hindu, Christian and Mussalman students who are willing, may live together.

Parallel Private Postal Service

The successful running of parallel private postal services in parts of the Bombay presidency at a charge of one pice per postal article, shows that the Government postage rates can, by economical management, be reduced to their former level.

Women Against Separate Electorates

Recent women's conferences in Hyderabad (Deccan), Madras, etc., prove that women are against separate electorates, which was already well known.

European Missionaries and Indian Christians on the situation

Many British missionaries have declared that they do not want a separate European electorate, for they as Christian missionaries do not admit that they have any interests different from those of the people of the country. In their opinion, separate electorates for them are in effect a denial of Christianity.

Many Scottish missionaries have issued a signed statement in which they criticize the Ordinance regime and urge its discontinuance.

The vast majority of Indian Christians are in favour of joint electorates.

Shiahs Favour Joint Electorates

Shiah Mussalmans in India, who are said to number not less than 20 millions, are in favour of joint electorates.

Endeavours to Perpetuate Ordinance Rule

In addition to the Ordinance Bill in the Legislative Assembly, the "Tranquillity Bill" in the N.-W. F. Provinces, an ordinance bill for the Panjab, resolutions in favour of ordinance rule in the Madras and U. P. Councils, are some of the measures meant to perpetuate or prolong the Ordinance regime, which is in effect a thinly camouflaged Martial Law Regime. Government are practically depending on force alone to pacify the country.

Posting of Troops All Over Bengal

There is a rumour that soldiers will be posted in all districts in Bengal and that Rs. 56,00,000 have been sanctioned for building their quarters, etc. If the rumour be true, the object cannot be the crushing of terrorism, which was said by the *Associated Press* to be the case; for terrorism has hitherto been confined to only a few places in Bengal. If newspaper reports are to be believed, some of the troops in Comilla, Dacca, Midnapur, etc., are not keeping themselves within the bounds of even the Ordinances.

Collective Fine for Chittagong

As the inhabitants of Chittagong have not been able to hand over to the police or to give a clue - to the identity and whereabouts of the perpetrators of the bombing and shooting at the Railway club at Pahartali, a collective fine of Rs. 80,000 has been inflicted on the Hindu residents of the place.

There have been in Chittagong for a considerable time plenty of ordinary police, detective police, military police and troops for the purpose of preventing terrorism and detecting and bringing to trial actual or intending revolutionaries. These *paid employees* of the Government failed to prevent the Armoury Raid and the Pahartali outrage. What collective fine have they been made to pay? Or, in the alternative, have they been dismissed, degraded or reprimanded *en masse*, or has their promotion been stopped collectively?

Sending political prisoners to the Andamans

More than a decade ago, the Andamans were publicly declared on behalf of the Government to be unfit for being used as a penal settlement on grounds of health and morality, and the policy of their abandonment announced. But Sir Samuel Hoare has gone back on the Government's word and has already sent many prisoners there—prisoners, it is to be noted, who are not hardened scoundrels, but persons sentenced for political offences. What is worse, it has been reported, that some women prisoners of that class have been or will be exiled to those islands.

Mr. Jinnah on Need of Communal Settlement

Interviewed by *Réuter* in London, Mr. Jinnah dwelt in various ways on the extreme importance of a communal settlement and "concluded by urging the leaders of both communities to come to a settlement before they arrived in London for the conference." We suppose Mr. Jinnah means that the settlement is to be arrived at by the Hindus accepting all his fourteen points, for he has said nothing about reducing or modifying these demands.

The Benares Congress Women-volunteer's case

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has rendered a signal service to the cause of justice to Indian women by critically examining the Benares District Magistrate's judgment in the Congress Women-Volunteer's case of Benares. He has shown that that judgment is wrong throughout and not warranted by the evidence. Panditji's pamphlet deserves a much longer notice, for which we have no space in this number.

Death of Repatriates in Emigrant Ships

In recent times deaths of repatriates on board emigrant ships have been reported repeatedly. It would be and has been easy for the Government officials concerned to assign causes for these deaths. But how often and how many such deaths occur on board ordinary passenger ships even among third class passengers? Recently the deaths of 11 repatriates were reported on board the emigrant ship *Ganges*. The real reasons for such deaths

appear to be overcrowding in these ships and disregard of the comforts and health of the passengers.

De Valera

India is not Ireland, and the problems which face De Valera are not exactly the problems with which Indian political leaders are confronted. Nevertheless, Indian leaders may reflect on one lesson from his career, and that is that he has not allowed himself to be deflected from his ideals and principles and the final goal by the temptation to follow the line of least resistance and the hope of gaining temporary advantages.

Germany and Disarmament

The Germans are justified in expecting the other great Europeans to concede her claims to equality of armaments in one of two ways. Either let them reduce their armaments, as Germany has been made to do; or let them allow her to increase her armaments to their standard. We are for the former course.

Ram Mohun Roy Centenary

All Indians should remind themselves that next year, 1933, India will have to celebrate in a fitting manner all over India the centenary of the death of Ram Mohun Roy in Bristol on the 27th of September, 1833. Preparations should begin to be made early.

Retrenchment in Bengal

Many posts in the provincial executive and judicial services and some other services in Bengal are going to be retrenched. In the provincial executive and judicial services alone 132 and 75 posts respectively are going to be abolished. In the police department also some posts, though smaller in number, will be abolished.

Thus the unemployment problem in Bengal will be made more acute. This may lead to

unimagined developments in unexpected directions, which need not be specified.

There is to be reduction in salaries also.

If the administration can be carried on with less men on smaller salaries, it would be a practical admission that there has been much waste of public money in salaries which could and should have been spent for sanitary, educational, agricultural and industrial development and improvement.

Ottawa British-Indian Agreement

Distinguished Indian men of business have given it as their opinion that India will be a loser by accepting the British-Indian agreement at Ottawa. Common sense also would lead even the man in the street to the same conclusion. Therefore it should be rejected by the Indian Legislative Assembly. As those Indians who agreed to it at Ottawa were Government nominees and not men elected by us or our representatives, their acceptance of it should not in the least weigh with elected Indian M. L. A.'s.

Those elected Indian M. L. A.'s who might vote for it—there should be none such—or those who would absent themselves at the time of the division, should be called upon by their constituencies to resign.

All are suspect

When recently the Viceroy was leaving Kalka, some Indian M. L. A.'s were compelled to remain in the waiting room. Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi was among them. In reply to a question in the Assembly Mr. Haig said; Government are responsible for the safety of the Viceroy, and hence such a step had to be taken.

Unrest in India a cause of World

Economic Depression

In a recent speech of his President Hoover has mentioned the unrest and agitation in India as one of the causes of the world depression in trade. This part of his pronouncement has not been to the liking of British Imperialists.



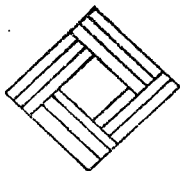


A REST-HOUSE IN THE HIMALAYAS
By Manindra Bhushan Gupta

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

NO man of modern times is more truly a world-character than Abraham Lincoln. Freedom-loving men and women, of all lands, and all nations, love and honour him. The reason why is plain. All peoples are moving towards democracy, and Lincoln has come to be widely recognized as one of the most conspicuous and truly representative prophets and standard-bearers of democracy that the modern world has produced.

More and more it is coming to be the verdict of men best qualified to judge, in all lands, that the only possible foundation for just government is "the consent of the governed." Everything indicates that civilized men will sooner or later, and inevitably, repudiate all political authority which they themselves have not created or affirmed, and will ultimately be content with nothing short of that form of government described by Lincoln as "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

Something more than half a century ago Abraham Lincoln said :

"No man is good enough to rule another man, and no nation is good enough to rule another nation. For a man to rule himself is liberty ; for a nation to rule itself is liberty. But for either to rule another is tyranny. If any nation robs another nation of its freedom it does not deserve freedom for itself, and under a just God it will not long retain it."

That word was spoken in America. But it applies also to every nation and every people.

Great Britain claims that she is ruling the people of India for their benefit ; that it is best for them to be in subjection to a 'superior nation,' and that she is giving them all the freedom that is good for them. It is interesting to recall that in the days of American slavery slave-owners made exactly the same claim regarding those they held in bondage. In one of his famous speeches (July, 1858, Chicago) Abraham Lincoln, replying to this claim, said :

"This is the same argument that kings have put forth for enslaving the people in all ages of the world. . . . Turn it whatever way you will, whether it comes from the mouth of a king, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for their enslaving the men of some other race, it is the same old serpent. They all say that they bestride the necks of the people not because they want to do this but because the people are so much better off for being thus ridden. You work and I eat. You toil and I will enjoy the fruits of your toil. The arguments are the same and the bondage is the same."

I

The life of Abraham Lincoln, this great leader in the cause of human freedom, may well be an inspiration to India.

Born in Kentucky, a pioneer Southern State, and spending his youth and early

manhood in Illinois, a pioneer State of the new West, just in process of reclamation from the wilderness, Abraham Lincoln received little of that kind of education which is obtained in school houses, and none of that given by colleges and universities.

His parents were humble folk, as humble as the parents of Burns, or Luther, or Jesus. And his sympathies were always with the people from whom he sprang. Perhaps this is one of the reasons he is so widely loved. Fortunately even in his poverty he had access to a few books, some of them great books. And how much more valuable for child or man, is one great book than a whole library of insignificant and ephemeral productions such as so many of us are tempted to spend our time upon today! Two of the great books over which he poured in his boyhood, in the field by day and before the log fire in his cabin home at night, were the Bible and Shakespeare. These and the work he had to do—these, and the stern experience of his early years—were his university.

Arriving at manhood, he did whatever came to hand to be done in that pioneer life. He felled the forest trees, and cleared the land and ploughed it, planted and harvested crops and split rails for fences and built log cabins. He helped to build flat-boats, too, for trade purposes and piloted them down the Sangamon river to the Illinois, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and down the Mississippi to New Orleans. For a time he was clerk in a store. Later he was part owner of a store, but this venture was a failure and left him with a debt on his hands, through an absconding partner. He might have evaded this debt, as more than one advised him to do, but he would not. It took him fourteen years of hard work and much sacrifice to pay it, but he paid it every cent. I speak of this because it was typical of the man, and indicates why men came early to believe in him—first his neighbours and then the whole nation.

For three or four years he was postmaster in a little village. It was jokingly said of him that he was himself the post-office, and carried the mail in his hat. For a few months he was a volunteer in the Black Hawk Indian war. No actual fighting fell to his lot, but

he got some valuable experience in association with men. How he was even then beginning to be regarded by those around him is indicated by the fact that his company elected him its captain.

At the age of twenty-five, Lincoln was chosen to represent his district in the lower house of the Illinois State Legislature, where he served three terms. This, too, was a valuable experience. The standing he attained in the legislature is evidenced by the fact that he was the candidate of his party for the Speakership. A little later he was elected to the National House of Representatives, in Washington. Here he showed where he stood regarding slavery, already a burning question throughout the country, by introducing into the House a bill for its abolition in the District of Columbia.

II

During these early years Lincoln studied law and obtained admission to the bar. For more than twenty-five years he carried on his profession, steadily rising in it until he occupied a foremost position in his State. It is worth while briefly to notice his qualities as a lawyer because they throw much light upon his character and go far towards accounting for his later success as a political leader.

As a legal practitioner he had three marked characteristics :

First, in all his thinking and speaking he was wonderfully clear. He gathered his facts with exactness, thought out his cases with great thoroughness, and had the power to state them with remarkable simplicity. As a result, the very lucidity often carried conviction to the minds of the jury. Second, he had a fine vein of humour and was an extraordinarily good story-teller, and these gifts he knew how to use with consummate skill in making his pleas. And, third, he took the highest stand regarding honesty and honour in his profession. He would stoop to no tricks. Nothing could induce him to sell his service to a man he believed to be a rogue. He would not try to clear the guilty. He would do his best to see that nobody suffered who was innocent, and if a man was guilty he would endeavour to prevent his receiving unjust punishment ; but he would never employ his talents to defeat

the ends of what he believed to be justice. The result was that judges and juries everywhere learned to rely upon his statements and to trust him, all of which gave him an enormous advantage.

Still further, he always discouraged litigation and advised people to settle their difficulties peaceably if possible. He indignantly repudiated the idea that honesty is not compatible with successful practice at the bar. And he proved the contrary in his own life. To a young man contemplating the legal profession, he said: "If you do not believe that you can be an honest lawyer, then resolve to be honest without being a lawyer. Choose some other occupation rather than one in the choosing of which you, in advance, confess yourself to be a knave." But he strenuously contended that lawyers need not be knaves; but may attain success—the highest success—with scrupulous integrity and honour throughout their career.

All through the years of his legal practice Lincoln did a great deal of political speaking. From the first, he was popular and widely sought for. His characteristics as a speaker were much the same that marked him as a lawyer, namely—absolute candour and fairness; wonderfully clear thinking which went straight as an arrow to the heart of every question under discussion; ability to state his thought with a simplicity and lucidity that compelled the dullest mind to understand, and at the same time a force of statement and delivery that carried everything before it. His great heart and his great sympathy with the people, too, were important elements in his popular power. And his stories and his humour were as effective here as in the court-room.

III

He was particularly effective in political debates, and these became increasingly popular. There were a number of men of marked ability in the State at that time, some of them of national fame. Perhaps the most conspicuous of these was Stephen A. Douglass, who for years represented Illinois in the United States Senate and became an acknowledged leader in that body. The most famous of Lincoln's debates was with Douglass, in 1858. Each debater was a foeman worthy

of the other's steel. The two men met for joint discussion in seven of the most important political centres of the State, the question at issue being the one then agitating the whole country—Ought slavery to be extended into the new territories? It is doubtful if abler political speaking was ever heard in America, or on a theme more exciting or felt to be more vital to the nation's existence. It not only drew great crowds and deeply stirred the whole State, but it also attracted attention all over the nation. From that time on, Lincoln was a national character. Men began to predict for him the highest things, and to mention his name in connection with the Presidency. Two years later, in 1860, he was nominated for this office, the highest within the gift of the people, and was elected by a very decisive majority.

The time was one of crisis—of tremendous national crisis over the subject of slavery. The Southern States of the nation had long held negro slaves, had found slavery financially profitable, and had defended it as right, indeed as a divine institution supported by the Bible. On the other hand, in the Northern States there was no slavery, although formerly there had been. While the country was a group of colonies under British rule, before their separation from the mother nation, slavery was practically universal. But gradually there had arisen a public sentiment against it, as inhuman and wrong. By the time of the Declaration of Independence most of the colonies in the North had freed their slaves, and it was a question warmly debated when the new nation was founded and a national constitution was adopted, whether slavery should or should not be everywhere prohibited. But slavery still existed in the South and was popular there; and so it was left undisturbed.

This was a mistake. It planted a seed of contention, of antagonism, in the very heart of the nation. Conscientious men and women, especially in the North, more and more asked the questions: Was it right for the Southern States to continue to hold human beings in bondage? When slaves escaped, as many did, from the South into the free States of the North, was it right for the northern authorities to give them up and

allow them to be forcibly taken back into slavery? Was it right to allow slavery to be introduced into the new territories of the West, which were being settled and admitted into the National Union as new States? These were questions that could not be silenced. As a result, the two sections of the country became growingly distrustful of one another and to an extent hostile, and there began to be a talk in some of the Southern States of separation, of secession from the Union, so that they might be free to retain their "sacred institution."

For many years before the election of Lincoln to the Presidency, there had been a strong Anti-Slavery Party in the North. Although he was not himself directly connected with it, yet he was strongly in sympathy with its general principles, and hence his election was regarded as an anti-slavery victory. Indeed, the leading issue of the election campaign (and it was a very burning issue) was the question of whether slavery should be allowed in the new territories. On this question Lincoln said 'no', with a voice the most eloquent and convincing of any man in the Nation. As a consequence of his election, there was tremendous excitement all over the South, and threats of secession multiplied fast. Of course, if these threats were carried out, such an action on the part of the South would mean war; all understood that. With all his soul Lincoln hated war. If any human being could have prevented that four years of bloodshed that followed, it seemed indeed that he was the man. But party feeling ran so high, the relations between North and South had become so greatly strained, that even Lincoln's offer that the Government should buy the freedom of every slave could not avert the crisis.

The South would not brook any interference with slavery, and would not be reconciled. It raised an army, captured a government fort and began military operations in several quarters. A number of States formally withdrew from the Federal Union and set up a government of their own. Thus an armed conflict was begun.

At the beginning of the second year of the war, Lincoln issued the proclamation of

emancipation of every slave in the land. Taking the initiative in this way, he disconcerted and discouraged the South, united the factions in the North, and opened an important new source of recruits for the Northern army through the enlistment of negro troops.

Towards the close of the war came the second candidacy of Lincoln for the Presidency with a tremendous effort made by the combined forces of disloyalty and timidity to defeat him on the ground that the war was a failure and should be stopped at once, and that the independence of the seceding States should be recognized. But the great heart of the North was true to the National Union and to the cause of freedom for the Slave. Lincoln was triumphantly re-elected. And from this time on hope sprang up in every heart. Victories in the field multiplied. It was evident that the end of the terrible war could not be far off.

When at last peace was declared, the word rang across the land like a message from heaven, and there was rejoicing as if the whole nation had been released from prison. Thanksgiving rose to God from millions of hearts for the unspeakable blessings of peace,—peace with the Nation one and undivided, and free for ever from the terrible curse of human slavery.

But alas! In an hour, in a moment all was changed! Noon became midnight. The sun seemed turned to darkness in the mid-heavens. Lincoln was dead, assassinated! One can hardly imagine the shock, the grief that fell upon the Nation's heart.

Walt Whitman has described that black moment, likening the Nation to a ship, with Lincoln as her captain; this ship has had a voyage of terrible storms and dangers, but at last all are surmounted and she has reached port in safety, and there is joy in every heart. But stop! Suddenly, amid the rejoicing, the cry is raised from white lips—"Where is he, the stout heart, the Captain, to whose courage the success of the voyage is due?"

O Captain! My Captain! Our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought is won
The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and daring;

And if the abolition of slavery was a benefit to the White population, it was, of course, of still greater benefit to the coloured. It changed their whole status. From being mere chattels, things bought and sold, it made them human beings, opening to them for the first time the possibility of becoming fully developed men and women. When first liberated, they were, of course, scarcely wiser or more capable of self-direction than children. Slavery had kept them irresponsible, and would have continued to arrest their development. The White citizens, who were stronger and wiser than they because of the superior advantages they had so long enjoyed, ought to have taken them by the hand as soon as the war was over, and should have helped them in every way-until they became able to stand on their own feet and direct their own lives. A few did this, but with the majority there was much bitter feeling against these poor men and women who had already been

so grievously sinned against in their long bondage, and there was much friction instead of friendliness.

And yet, with even so little assistance as they have received, what wonderful advance these slaves of yesterday have already made! Instead of being disappointed that they have not accomplished more, when we look at the facts before us we may well be amazed that they have achieved so much. Tens of thousands of men and women in adult life taught themselves to read and write. All over the land, their children are in school. Everywhere they are proving themselves to be increasingly industrious, careful for the future, and as a result everywhere they are becoming owners of property, of homes, of workshops, farms, mills, stores, industries of various kinds, and even of banks. A wonderful work has been done for the coloured people through their own leaders, such as Booker Washington, and through such schools of their own as the Tuskegee Institute—schools that are training thousands of young men and women to go out through all parts of the South to teach others of their race, not only to read and write, but equally to work with their hands, to be shoemakers and blacksmiths, to carry on farming and market-gardening in improved ways, to spin and weave and sew and cook and care properly for their homes and their children. If Abraham Lincoln were alive today and could see all this, how profoundly he would rejoice!

Speaking at the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, Dr. Robert P. Moton, who is now President of Tuskegee Institute, and has in many other ways taken Booker Washington's place as a leader of his people, said, as representative of the coloured citizens of America:

"In all this vast assemblage there can be none more grateful to Abraham Lincoln than are the twelve million black Americans who devoutly honour him as the author of their freedom. There is no question that Abraham Lincoln died to save the Union; but he also died to free the slaves of America. Some may ask—Has his sacrifice been justified? Has his martyrdom brought forth any worthy fruits? I speak for the Negro race when I say that my people love their country and have endeavoured to serve it in peace as faithfully as in war. In spite of the many difficulties under which they have laboured, in spite of many limitations within and restrictions without, they have been one of the country's greatest assets in developing its

resources of nearly every kind. The industry, integrity and thrift of the Negro people have, in the comparatively short space of sixty years of freedom, acquired the ownership of more than 22,000,000 acres of land, 600,000 homes, and 45,000 churches. Negroes also own 68 banks, 100 insurance companies and 50,000 business enterprises, with a capital of more than \$150,000,000. Besides all this, there are within the race in this country 60,000 professional men, 44,000 school teachers and some four hundred newspapers and magazines. The general illiteracy of the Negro people has been reduced to about twenty per cent. And still my people are, I believe, only at the threshold of their true development; so that if anything on earth could justify the sacrifice of so great a man as Lincoln, it is this, that a race possessing such capacity for advancement, has taken fullest advantage of its freedom to develop its latent powers. Surely, a race that has produced a Frederick Douglass in the midst of slavery, and a Booker Washington in the aftermath of reconstruction, has justified its emancipation."

VI

Adequately to understand Lincoln's high character and his service to the world as well as to his own country, we must consider a few other aspects and qualities, besides those that made it possible for him to take the leadership in the time of struggle for freedom of the Negro. He believed in liberty for all men; he watched with eager sympathy the struggle in his time for popular government in Hungary, Poland, and other countries; his interest was on the side of the oppressed everywhere. If he were alive today, I believe no man would be more profoundly interested than he in India's just struggle for freedom and nationhood.

He would also be earnestly in sympathy with India in her heroic efforts to free herself from the curse of intoxicating liquors and opium. Throughout his life, Lincoln was an ardent supporter of the cause of temperance. He saw in the habit of drink a slavery almost as terrible as the chattel-slavery of the Negroes, and he was consistent and courageous enough to make himself equally the opponent of both. In public life as well as in private, even when he was at the head of the nation, he never touched any kind of intoxicating drink. Thus by his example and in every other way that he could, he threw his influence against this terrible evil which destroys so many lives. On the very day of his assassination, Lincoln, in conversation with a lifelong friend, said:

"Our next great work, with the help of the whole country, will be the overthrow of the legalized liquor traffic. My heart, my mind, my hand and my purse will go into that work. Long ago I predicted that there would come a day when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in all this land. I have lived to see one prediction fulfilled. I hope it will not be long before the other is realized."

VII

Abraham Lincoln was a deeply religious man, though not in the usually accepted sense of that term. His faith may be best described as Liberal Christianity. The religious writer whose works he read with most interest and agreement was the great Unitarian preacher, Theodore Parker, from whom he borrowed that felicitous phrase which he afterwards made immortal—"Government of the people, for the people, by the people."

It was no accident that Lincoln was a liberal in religion. He recognized that a man cannot consistently believe in political freedom without believing in freedom in every department of human life. A democratic State implies a State of free souls, and free souls must always elevate reason and conscience (God's voice within) to an authority above all external and material things, whether creeds or ecclesiastical decrees or sacred books or traditions. During the time of his presidency, Lincoln said of himself :

"I have never united myself with any church because I have found difficulty in giving my assent without much mental reservation, to the long complicated statements of Christian doctrine which characterize the usual confessions of faith. When any church will inscribe over its altar as its sole qualification for membership, the teaching of Jesus in which he summed up all religion—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul, and thy neighbour as thyself,' that church I will join with all my heart and with all my soul."

As a matter of fact, he belonged to the greatest and best of all churches, the unseen church of the Spirit, wider than any creed or ecclesiastical organization, of which it has been written :

"Her priests are all God's faithful sons,
To serve the world raised up ;
The pure in heart her baptized ones,
Love her communion cup.
The truth is her prophetic gift,
The soul her sacred page ;
And feet on mercy's errands swift
Do make her pilgrimage."

VIII

Lincoln is often spoken of as a teller of stories, chiefly humorous stories. This is true. But his humour was never of a trivial character. Humour was his relaxation. And with all his seriousness, he knew the great value of relaxation. Without this ability, this means of relief, the tremendous load of care and responsibility that he carried, especially throughout the war, would have crushed him. Except for his ability to turn aside occasionally from the strain of the affairs of State, on which hung so many lives and the fate of his country, he would doubtless have succumbed mentally as well as physically to the burdens of that terrible time.

Perhaps it may prove of interest if I note the fact, gradually becoming more widely known, that Lincoln was a great master in the use of the English language, really a great literary artist, the possessor of a style in speech and writing that ranks with the best in our language. This is the more remarkable considering the fact of his origin and lack of schooling.

Edwin Markham, himself a man of the soil, a blacksmith by trade in his early years, but now ranking among our most virile poets, has written of Lincoln :

"The colour of the ground was in him, the red
earth,
The tang and odour of the primal things ;
The rectitude and patience of the rocks ;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn ;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea ;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars ;
The loving kindness of the wayside wall ;
The tolerance and equity of light,
Giving as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky...

And so he came,
From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair ideal led our chieftain on.
For ever more he burned to do his deed,
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail-pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow,
The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.
So came the Captain with the mighty heart
And when the step of earthquake shook the house,
Wresting the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The framework of the Home. He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—

Held on through blame and faltered not at
 And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down ^{praise.}
 As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
 Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,
 And leaves a lonesome place against the sky."

Lincoln was a great president because he was called to lead his nation at a time of great issues, was given a greater task than was ever required of any other American president (with the possible exception of Wilson) and brought to his task a wisdom of experience, a seasoned judgment, a largeness of view and depth of insight, a patience and sympathy with all classes and kinds of people, a personality to control men and their actions,

which are, I think, unsurpassed in American history.

What an asset do the people of America possess, what an asset does humanity as a whole possess, what an asset do the people of India possess, in the teachings and the example of this great democrat, this mighty lover of freedom and humanity, this man of the people, who lived so near to the people, believed in them, loved them, trusted them, who drew his highest inspiration from the people, whose loftiest ambition was to serve the people, and who lived and died that "government of the people, for the people, and by the people might not perish from the earth!"

A GREAT MUSLIM NATIONALIST

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL REMINISCENCES OF SIR SYED ALI IMAM

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

NATIONALISM was Ali Imam's first love. In the prime of his manhood he set up a flirtation with separatism. He soon found the jade insipid and went back, with renewed ardour, to his first love.

Strangely enough his name was first commended to me by a British friend who is believed to have had a hand in the political isolation of the Indian Muslims from the rest of their countrymen—Sir Theodore Morison, then a member of the India Council and a confidant of the Secretary of State for India (the Viscount Morley). This happened in April, 1910—a few weeks after my arrival in London from the United States of America, where I had spent several years in journalism.

On the point of my departure for India Sir Theodore impressed upon me the need of my familiarizing myself with the Indian Muslim point of view. To facilitate that work he kindly provided me with introductions to friends in various parts of India—

Muslims without a single exception. Syed Ali Imam was one of them.

I did not however have the pleasure of making the Syed's acquaintance during that Indian tour. The reason was that while in the middle of it I met His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar, went to Baroda, and had to stay there so long that it was with some difficulty that I got back to London in the nick of time to fulfil certain important journalistic engagements there. Had I travelled over eastern India, as I had originally planned to do, I have little doubt that should have met Ali Imam at that time.

The actual meeting took place early in 1916, after he had completed his term of office as the Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council and been Knighted. He was credited with having done great things while he was in that office. His friends said, and probably with reason, that he had exerted some influence towards the creation of Bihar (where he was born) as a separate province and the transfer of the

capital from Calcutta to Delhi. It was also rumoured that India owed to him, at least in a measure, the abolition of the hated system of "indentured labour" and the courageous course that Lord Hardinge pursued in support of our countrymen in South Africa who were then being ground down by the Boers in that Dominion.

The meeting occurred at a tea party at the National Liberal Club given to Sir Ali Imam by a young journalist of my acquaintance—Syed Husain, who, I subsequently learned, was a kinsman of his. In view of the part that the ex-Law Member had taken in the agitation that resulted in fastening the millstone of separate electorates round India's neck, I had naturally expected to find him a separatist. To my great joy, however, I discovered that he had exhausted the separatist phase of his life and was a nationalist through and through.

This tea party was a small affair. As I remember it, only six or seven persons were present—two or three Britons (among them Mr. A. G. Gardiner, then the Editor of the *Daily News* (London), an influential Liberal journal largely owned by the Cadbury's of cocoa fame) and the rest Indians.

I was impressed from the outset by the frank manner in which Sir Ali talked of men and matters. He possessed the greatest admiration for Lord and Lady Hardinge and spoke of their daughter—Diamond—with almost avuncular affection. He condemned as an insensate crime the terrorist outrage perpetrated upon that Viceroy and his wife, which ultimately was responsible for Lady Hardinge's premature death.

Had Indians wished to give trouble while Britain's hands were tied with the war, Sir Ali Imam told us at that tea party, she would have been compelled to reinforce her garrison in India. Indians were however so loyal that she had been able to drain troops from the country. To put it in his own forceful words, "Lord Hardinge had ruled India with the aid of the police."

He wished to see India given a taste of the freedom to protect which on the Continent of Europe Indians had been fighting almost since the commencement of hostilities.

The stoutest nationalist could not have found fault with the fervour of his plea.

One of Syed Husain's British guests tried to draw the red herring of Hindu-Muslim antagonism across the discussion. The British are particularly clever at drawing red herrings athwart any path which it profits them to treat as their own particular preserve.

Immediately the nationalist jumped out of Sir Ali's heart. He let that Briton know that the quarrels in India were no more than tiffs between brothers—that India was not the only country where various sections of the people quarrelled now and again—that there was no cure for internecine quarrels in India quite so effective as self-government.

I was amazed at the fire that Sir Ali put into this talk. It could emanate only from one who was a nationalist in temperament, in outlook, in aspiration. I formed so high an estimate of him that, busy journalist as I was, I had another talk with him next day.

II

While in England Sir Ali Imam (a widower) had contracted a matrimonial union with a Roman Catholic lady. He returned with her a day or two after our last meeting to Patna, where she unfortunately died a short time later. He resumed his practice at the Bar and with the prestige given by his Law-Membership, was more popular than ever and piled up a fortune.

A vacancy on the Behar Bench led to his appointment as Judge: but he did not continue long in that office, for his services were requisitioned by the Nizam.

His Exalted Highness had, it was said, quarrelled some time earlier with his youthful Minister, the Nawab Salar Jung, who had thrown up the appointment and retired to his stately house in Hyderabad City, which he could maintain in magnificence from the large revenues he annually derived from the *jagir* inherited from his grandfather, Sir Salar Jung Bahadur. For some eighteen months the Nizam had carried on the administration of that vast and populous State without the mediation of a *Wazir* or *Diwan*. In the end, however, he deemed it advisable to have the assistance of an experienced administrator.

His choice fell on Sir Ali Imam. He was at that time the only Muslim who had held the highest office in British India open to an Indian.

It was said with or without foundation, I cannot say, that His Exalted Highness was then contemplating pressing the British for the retrocession of the Berars of which Lord Curzon had secured a "lease in perpetuity" towards the end of his Viceroyalty. The Nizam, at the time that transaction took place, was the heir-apparent. The lease affected his interests—affected them prejudicially. But he was not consulted. He chafed at the arrangement and even more so at the manner in which that deal had been put through. Lord Curzon was his father's guest. Regal Oriental hospitality forbade His Highness Mahbub Ali to say "no" to a request personally made by the King's representative. Mir Osman Ali felt, I was told, that Sir Ali's legal and administrative experience would be useful to him in persuading the British to give the Berars back to him.

These tales were related to me by friends and acquaintances in London who visited Britain for pleasure or on business. I had no way of verifying them.

I was also given to understand that since going to Hyderabad Sir Ali was doing uncommonly well, even though many of the Hyderabad nobles and some outsiders entrenched in power at the Nizam's capital were secretly opposed to him and were pulling the wires to bring about his downfall. He had persuaded His Exalted Highness to divide higher administrative work into a number of portfolios, apportion the portfolios among a number of officials and make those officials members of a Council. The Executive Council had, in fact, been constituted and Sir Ali had been placed at its head.

This act of his was described to me as a "stroke of genius." It carried the art of governance a stage farther than the old, paternal, highly centralized system that had existed prior to his going to Hyderabad.

The move was, moreover, politic, I was told. The circumstances in which the Nizam and his first and only Prime Minister had parted had, it was declared, left His Exalted Highness in a bitter mood—he was indeed said

to have vowed never to have another Prime Minister. The device introduced by Sir Ali, though not of his own invention, enabled him to get over that difficulty and yet to retain for himself a dignified status and a remarkably wide scope for work.

III

Early in 1921, I had the opportunity of obtaining first-hand information about Sir Ali Imam and his affairs when he visited London once again. He came *via* Geneva, where, at the instance of the Government of India, he had represented "Indian India" at a session of the League of Nations.

When I met him in the spacious house in Portman Square which he had rented furnished, he was full of the League activities. A petty Muslim State along the Adriatic had been admitted into membership. He had spoken in support of the admission and sketched the scene in vivid phraseology.

The kinship that Islam gives to its followers truly transcends all differences of race, colour and clime!

Sir Ali presented me to his wife. Lady Imam was obviously much younger than he. They were devoted to each other. I could see that they had not long been married.

She carried herself with great dignity—spoke English fluently and with hardly a trace of accent. She appeared to follow her husband's activities with great zest and seemed to have no thought that did not directly or indirectly centre round his well-being.

On riper acquaintance I found that Sir Ali had a lovable nature. The more I saw of him the better I liked him.

In private he laid off the dignity of office, and was completely at ease. His talk was enlivened with brilliant sallies. He saw a situation that provoked laughter a little quicker than any one else did. Nor was he annoyed when the joke was turned against himself, as it sometimes was. Lady Imam, too, had a keen sense of humour and sometimes was sparkingly epigrammatic in conversation. To my surprise I discovered that Sir Ali was an exceedingly good mimic. He would repeat remarks made by others and reproduce the exact modulation of voice, mannerisms and even laughable mistakes

made by their original authors. Some of the imitations he gave were exceedingly funny.

Few persons enjoyed food, especially Indian food, as he did. Being large of body—tall and stalwart—a veritable *pahalwan* in fact—he needed immense quantities of food.

I used to love to watch him eat fruit. He would suck the juice out of it and put the skin on a plate. Before he got through the plate would be heaped up with skins.

He was very fond of playing bridge. The game known as "contract bridge" had come in not long before. He was exceedingly daring, one might almost say rash—he would outbid everyone. I noticed, however, that he generally managed to win.

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Sen, son of Keshub Chunder Sen, the great Brahmo leader, used to join Sir Ali, Lady Imam and myself at bridge. He was then serving as advisor to Indian students at the office of the High Commissioner for India, and had his home in Putney.

Sir Ali used to call him "Nimrod" a play upon his first name. "Nimrod," I may add for the benefit of readers who are not acquainted with the Old Testament, was a mighty hunter. That nickname was very appropriate inasmuch as Nirmal Sen, in his younger days, had served as an A. D. C. to his brother-in-law, the Maharaja of Cooch Behar, who had bestowed upon him the title of Major and took him frequently on hunting expeditions in the jungles.

I am not quite sure whether this nickname was of Sir Ali's invention: but I do know that Sir Ali was fond of giving nicknames to his friends. Outside the official routine he was indeed a jovial man in whose company hours slipped by unnoticed.

Sir Ali Imam possessed in abundance the faculty of working up enthusiasm for any cause in which he was interested at the time, and the still rarer faculty of being able to infect others with his enthusiasm. He would sing to me the praises of his "Master"—as he called the Nizam—each time we met.

According to him, His Exalted Highness had no thought for himself, all his thoughts were only for the people over whom he had been called to rule. He hated luxury—lived

simply—even more simply than I did. He worked day and night for his subjects' upliftment.

"We Indians forget," Sir Ali would say, "that His Exalted Highness has more subjects than any of the Muslim rulers who are styled Kings. Yet no one has cared to bestow upon him the title of a monarch."

In course of time, I became so infected with my friend's enthusiasm that I sat down in my study in Herne Hill and wrote an article lauding the Nizam. It appeared a day or two later as a "leader" in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, an influential paper with which I was intimately connected. Mr. Lloyd George, then the Prime Minister, was supposed to have an interest in it.

Sir Ali was delighted. The fact that it appeared as if it had been written in the office and not over my signature, gave it a special value in his eyes. He made a note of the article in the diary that he kept from day to day—copied it, I believe, *in extenso*. He used to send long extracts from this diary to the Nizam by each week's mail.

He told me some months later when we met at Hyderabad (as I shall relate presently) that his "Master" had been immensely gratified with the "leader" I had written. He had me send a cutting of it to him and I still have somewhere in my papers a *farman* issued by His Highness in appreciation of it.

Sir Ali talked in terms of the highest admiration of the Nizam to several British newspaper men whom, on one occasion or another, I took to his house in London. In these conversations he invariably introduced the subject of the Berars.

I always marvelled at the delicacy of touch with which he turned the talk into that channel and the rare skill he showed in handling the topic. He knew human psychology and played upon it as an organist presses the keys of an organ. He could judge with remarkable astuteness the effect his talk was having. He had the prudence not to overwork the subject and the dialectic skill to return to it a second or third time if he deemed that course advisable.

I remember taking him, one morning, to No. 33, Eccleston Square—the headquarters of the British Labour Party. He wished to

meet the Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, who, as the General Secretary, had all the Party strings in his hands; and I arranged the meeting.

Just as we ascended the steps and were being taken into Mr. Henderson's office, we saw an oldish, well-dressed man emerging from the sanctum. Sir Ali asked me if I knew who he was. I did.

He was the Greek statesman—Venizelos. We both knew that he had been anti-Turk all his life—was perhaps the most implacable foe the Turks had.

Sir Ali, on the other hand, had the greatest admiration for Mustafa Kemal Pasha. He respected Kemal's *bughda* (rolled fist), as he would put it. It had made Europe behave, he used to say.

Without exchanging even a nod, much less a word, with Venizelos, we proceeded to "Uncle Arthur's" office. He welcomed us cordially. For years he had, to my knowledge, followed Indian affairs with interest and we plunged immediately into a discussion of the political situation in the Motherland.

Sir Ali gave him an idea of the conditions there. He did not mince his words. The "educated classes" were discontented. The Constitution had been reformed: but Indians had not been given effective power over their purse. They insisted upon having it.

Not a word was said that had the least "communal" tinge. When Ali Imam thought of Indians, he did not think of them compartmentally—he did not divide them into Muslims and Hindus—but thought of them collectively or generically.

These were the days preceding Lord Reading's departure for India to assume the Viceroyalty and Governor-Generalship. Every Indian in London who was anybody was anxious, if possible, to get into his good graces.

The English-speaking Union, designed to promote friendship between the British and the Americans, with which Lord Reading had been identified from its very inception, gave him a dinner shortly after his appointment had been announced. Major (now Sir) Evelyn Wrench, the founder of the Union and its mainspring, sent me a special invitation to attend the dinner at the Hyde Park Hotel.

It occurred to me that Sir Ali should also be invited—that it would be of mutual interest for him and Lord Reading to get acquainted with each other at the festive board. I made that suggestion to Wrench. He promptly sent out the invitation. He, in fact, placed Sir Ali at the head table near the Viceroy-designate.

If I remember aright, the Rt. Hon. Winston Spencer Churchill, then an important member of the British Cabinet, proposed Lord Reading's health. Mr. Churchill is half-American—his mother was an American lady. For that and other reasons he is in full sympathy with the objects of the English-speaking Union. Possessed of great oratorical gifts, he delivered a long and carefully prepared speech, highly eulogistic of the guest of the evening, which was enthusiastically applauded.

Lord Reading made a suitable and eloquent reply. I may add that in all my experience I have never known any one who could talk for an hour or more and say nothing—and do it gracefully and even impart a glow of satisfaction to his audience—so well as that noble Lord can. I have a very vague recollection that Sir Ali was asked to speak and that he delivered a neat little address.

He had, in any case, another opportunity of meeting the Viceroy-designate a little later. Sir Alfred and Lady Mond (afterwards Lord and Lady Melchett) asked him to a small, select dinner they gave to Lord and Lady Reading. The meal over, the two statesmen had a long, heart-to-heart talk in Sir Alfred's study.

He lost no time in inviting the Viceroy-to-be and his lady to a dinner to be given in their honour a few evenings later. It was held at a fashionable hotel—Claridge's.

Speaking from personal experience, I can vouch for its success. Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, then the Secretary of State for India and many other distinguished persons attended it.

A telegram received that very day from the Nizam was read at the dinner. It conferred upon Sir Ali the title of "the Nawab Mood-ul-Mulk." I recall people sitting at either side of me enquiring what it meant and

I scratching my Persian (which through lack of use had gone rusty) to enlighten them.

Accommodation on the steamer by which Lord Reading went out to India was in great demand. Several Indians distinguished in one way or another sailed home on it. Sir Ali Imam was one of them.

IV

A few months subsequently I visited the Nizam's capital and had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with the Imams. I went there as the representative of several British, American and Indian newspapers with the Prince of Wales's party. A camp had been pitched for press representatives and a tent had been set apart for Mrs. St. Nihal Singh's and my use. Sir Ali had us stay however in the guest house opposite his official residence so that he could see as much of us as possible, though his time was crowded with engagements.

He was, I must say, a wonderful organizer. Nowhere else were the arrangements made on so elaborate a scale—nowhere else did everything go off more smoothly.

Evidently he had managed to persuade the Nizam, who is believed to be a rigid economist, to sanction a large sum of money for His Royal Highness's entertainment, which cost, I seem to remember, ten or twelve lakhs of rupees. On the principal night the leading thoroughfares were brilliantly illuminated in the traditional Indian manner. The dinner given at one of the older palaces in the city was also a resplendent affair, truly reflecting the splendour associated with Oriental courts.

I nevertheless carried away from Hyderabad the impression that Sir Ali Imam was not as happy there as he might have been. The feeling was quite vague. I could not place my finger upon anything wrong.

I tried to dismiss the impression, thinking that it had no basis in actuality. Sir Ali had said nothing to me that would show that all was not well with him. He, on the contrary, appeared to be in high favour—able to get anything done that he desired.

The feeling persisted, however. Strange to say, it was confirmed a few weeks later when, at his pressing invitation, I re-visited that

city and received a commission from the Nizam's Government to write a book on Hyderabad which some months later was printed at the Government Press "for private circulation only."

That confirmation did not come however until weeks after my arrival. At first it seemed indeed that I had entirely misjudged the situation.

Sir Ali was busy preparing the case for securing the retrocession of the Berars to the Nizam. He had had his brother (Syed Hasan Imam), an eminent lawyer, enjoying a lucrative practice at Patna) draft a "letter to the Viceroy." A copy of it was given to me with the request that it be treated as confidential until it was published. His Exalted Highness's case was presented with great lucidity and ability : but as the sequel showed, Lord Reading dismissed it.

There were other projects in preparation or in train. The boldest among them was a scheme to develop the vast, rich area under forest in the heart of the State. It was proposed to bring it under cultivation—to start cotton mills and other industries. Capital and labour were to be attracted from the outside and a great era of prosperity ushered in.

The Nizam was to receive so much per acre as royalty. The fee to be thus derived would, I was told, run into a crore of rupees or more. That vast sum was, I was given to understand, to be retained by His Exalted Highness and was not to go into the *Diwani*—the coffers of the Government.

Hardly had the scheme been matured when a capitalist from Bombay (a Muslim) arrived in Hyderabad. He showed me a magnificent gold and silver tea and coffee service which he had brought with him to present to His Exalted Highness.

This gentleman was to receive a concession of land running into thousands of acres. With money from Bombay and labour imported from wherever he could get it, he was to change the face of the country.

That vision never materialized, as a spiritualist might say. The scheme of development, in fact, hardened the opposition against Sir Ali Imam.

The Nawabs who, with hardly an exception, had looked upon him as an interloper, took fright at the idea of outsiders invading what they regarded as their preserves. They had their own ways of thwarting projects—ways subtler than any that the lawyer-politician from Patna could use to counter them.

Not long after a rift occurred between the Nizam and the highest administrative official in his State. It was over a trivial matter concerning a protégé of Sir Ali's—another outsider—also a Muslim.

Always hyper-sensitive where his dignity—let alone his honour—appeared to be touched, my friend sent in his resignation. That was not the first time he had threatened to go away. But this time he was not, I understand, persuaded to reconsider the matter as he had been before. He packed up and went in less than a week's time.

The suddenness with which this crisis developed dumbfounded me. I was living next door to Sir Ali—frequently eating at his table—playing cards with him till eleven o'clock (sometimes later) five or six nights a week. I could account for it only as a vagary inseparable from personal rule.

Sir Ali would no doubt have done much better at Hyderabad had sycophancy constituted an item in his intellectual equipment. Even lack of sycophancy might have been excusable had he been able to simulate orthodoxy to smooth his worldly way. Men of lesser ability and inferior character had, to my knowledge, thus wormed themselves into the confidence of the Ruler, who, as is well known, is a devout Muslim.

Sir Ali was too shrewd a man not to realize all this. I recall—recall most vividly—a talk that had a direct bearing on this point.

He sat in his loose Indian clothes on a warm afternoon chatting with me. Qadir Sahib—a kinsman, I believe, who served as his private secretary—came in his quiet, respectful way and told him that some one wished to see him.

The visitor was ushered in. Sir Ali introduced him to me as "our Pope" and explained to me that he was the head of the religious department.

I, in my journalistic enthusiasm, quizzed

the visitor in regard to his activities. Presently, to my great surprise—and dismay—the conversation shifted to things orthodox and unorthodox and Sir Ali (who was a *Shi'a* and not a *Sunni*) said to me:

"You will be surprised to hear that my friend does not look upon me as a good Muslim. I shave my chin instead of *keeping* a flowing beard, do not say prayers five times a day and unorthodox in other ways."

The Maulana who had been described as "our Pope" dissented: but I had a suspicion that his instinct for politeness was largely responsible for his dissent.

Personal contact was, in any case, almost entirely wanting between Sir Ali and His Exalted Highness. Once in a blue moon he would don for the occasion a "*roomi topi*" (the fez discarded by the Turks but still known in India as the "Constantinople hat") and was driven in his Government car to "King Kothi," the Nizam's residence, to have an audience of his "Master." Usually, however, the business of State was transacted between the two by means of correspondence.

Sir Ali dictated his letters in English, generally to a confidential typist, sometimes to Qadir Sahib. The replies—*farmans*, they were officially styled—were sent in Urdu.

Either understood both languages, yet did not employ, except probably on rare occasions, the same medium for the exchange of thoughts. That was, in itself, unfortunate. To say the least it emphasized differences in mental habits.

More than once I was present when the *farmans* were delivered by a special messenger from the Palace. The envelope containing them was invariably *cachet-crumpa-ed* to prevent tampering on the way.

A sheaf of "commands" invariably emerged from the cover. They related to all sorts of matters—some important, many petty. A scheme of decentralization was known to have been worked out by Sir Ali and to be in operation. Numerous references had nevertheless to be made daily to His Exalted Highness, some as a matter of policy, others as a matter of necessity.

I could draw but one conclusion, namely, that Hyderabad was truly like the scabbard that could "have only one sword."

The departure of the Imams was a sad affair for all save his enemies. Mr. Lloyd Jones, the Agent of the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, lent him his saloon so that he could travel to Patna in comfort. The platform in front of it was crowded with men of every degree, from the highest to the lowest. Those who did not really feel a pang at parting made a brave show of it.

He was not deceived, however. I recall in fact that he pointed to an official who was suspected of treachery towards him and said :

"He has no doubt come to take note of the people who are wishing me goodbye and will presently report them to the higher authorities."

The scene was nevertheless affecting. Every one who had been close to Sir Ali Imam knew that his work in Hyderabad was being left unfinished. He had formulated many schemes which, had he stayed and had he been vouchsafed support from the Nizam, would undoubtedly have advanced the State.

One of his most cherished projects was for the reform of the constitution. It appeared to me too conservative to be of any great use : but I was told that I had lived too long out of India and my standards were consequently impossible, especially in an Indian State.

The system of representation designed by Sir Ali would have been unique. His idea was to have an equal number of Hindu and Muslim legislators. In that way he meant to place the two communities on a level of perfect equality.

I wondered at the time and I wonder even more now if the system would have worked. The Hindus, who greatly outnumber the Muslims in Hyderabad, would surely have felt aggrieved.

Sir Ali also had ambitious plans for building a university city. He took me to the site, which indeed was extensive.

That night when we had finished playing bridge on the broad verandah at the back of his official residence, as he was smoking his *hookah*—in which he delighted—I asked him :

"What style of architecture are you going to select ?"

"Indo-Saracenic," he replied without a second's hesitation.

"I like the Indo-Saracenic style because it has been jointly evolved by the Hindus and the Muslims," he added. "I wish to have everything that is the joint product of the two."

Only a true nationalist could feel and talk thus !

My book was being printed at the Government Press in the Central Jail at Hyderabad at the time of Sir Ali's departure from that city. I therefore stayed on until it was completed.

Some time after my departure he returned, I learned. There was much speculation as to why he did so. It was said that the Nizam had got over his anger and was trying to persuade him to resume his post. His friends were destined to be disappointed.

His services were retained however for pushing the Berar case. In that connection he went to London, where I met him several times in the summer of 1923. He no doubt did his utmost to secure the prize upon which the Nizam had set his heart : but it was not to be.

Lord Reading not only declined to hand back the Berars, but in addition took exception to certain claims advanced in behalf of His Exalted Highness. His reply, as I remember it, was quite sharp. The authorities in London, who had previously concurred in the decision, backed up the Government of India.

Thus closed a chapter in Sir Ali's life—though not in the history of the Nizam's Dominions.

V

There remains little to be added to this chronicle. The anxiety Sir Ali had suffered during his tenure of office at Hyderabad had shattered his health. At one time he was so ill there that his life was despaired of. But for the expert care and devotion of his (and my) friend Lt.-Colonel Bawa Jiwan Singh (Retired I.M.S.) he might have expired. He was so grateful to his medical attendant that on one occasion he told me :

"Bawa Jiwan Singh can order, at any time, shoes made from my skin."

Sir Ali was truly a man of generous impulses !

After his return to Bihar ill-health compelled him to lead a more or less retired life. He gave such care as he could to improving the extensive properties he had acquired near Patna and building a palatial summer home at Ranchi.

The part that he took in the conference convened by Muslim Nationalists on the eve of the second Round Table Conference and his participation in that Conference are much too recent events to need to be touched upon in this article. It was fitting that his last public act should have been to condemn separate electorates.

There is no question in my mind as to Sir Ali Imam's place in contemporary annals. His work in the Government of India

shamed aliens who pretended that Indians had no administrative genius—that they needed to hire others to do their higher administrative work.

Writing from a somewhat intimate acquaintance with him, I can testify to his patriotic spirit which, on the whole, was proof against factionalism. He was a man of broad culture and polished manner. He befriended hundreds of persons and was merciful even to his enemies. I have known few Indians—or non-Indians for that matter—who were so incapable of being spiteful or malicious.

I mourn his death, at the comparatively early age of 63, both on patriotic and personal grounds.

INDIA IN EUROPE

By L. MORIN

THE International Conference on India has just concluded its first session. It is perhaps the first time in Europe that a conference on this subject has gathered together so many people of diverse nationalities and aroused so much interest. A good deal of this success is certainly due to the enthusiasm of the organizers and in particular to Mrs. Cousins' inspiration and remarkable energy. The interest and sympathy that the conference has met with clearly indicate that international opinion is awakening more and more to the importance of the Indian question, the principal features of which were practically unknown to the man in the street only a few years ago. Fifteen delegates, speaking on behalf of their respective countries, have made us aware that there is in Europe a growing demand for information on the subject.

If we are decided to meet this demand in a manner that may benefit the Indian cause, the first thing to do is to study the circles where this information has to be supplied. What is their mentality, what are their present

views,—and their present prejudices—on the question? What are their requirements, how can we best satisfy them? How can we attract the attention and interest of the best European hearts and minds? How can we create that confidence in the honesty of our motives, in the justice of our cause, in the worth of our mission that will make every fair-minded man and woman, whatever their race or creed, stand on our side and wish to help us to regain our place among the nations of the world? For that purpose a careful study of the different circles of public opinion ought to be undertaken in the various countries of the world.

Here we can only pretend to give a very general, and necessarily very incomplete view of European opinion as a whole.

The important part played by Mahatma Gandhi's personality cannot be denied; any European who starts thinking about India will at once evoke his face and "silhouette" which the photographs (and, alas, also the caricatures) published by the newspapers have made very popular. One can say that

Gandhi and Tagore are practically the only two men in India whose names are at all known to the ordinary European. Cultured circles, of course, are well aware of other celebrities, such as Sir Jagadis Bose, whose works have been translated into most European languages, and Professor Radhakrishnan and his modern interpretation of Indian philosophy. The attribution of the Nobel prize to Sir C. V. Raman has of late given world fame to Indian science.

If we consider not merely the general public but the actual sympathizers to the cause of India it becomes even more evident that interest has been and still is chiefly attracted by the Mahatma and his particular philosophy of life. In that respect, one is sometimes led to wonder what is the part of the interest for India proper, and the part of the allurements of a pacifist and idealistic doctrine efficiently translated into action by means extremely unexpected and disconcerting to European mentality. There is no doubt that our pacifists and idealists cannot but be attracted by a movement which transmutes into solid and powerful facts, the dreams which all practical and critical people had always viewed as clouds and never taken seriously. Therefore, among the promoters of the Indian cause, an important percentage of pacifists and idealists is to be found; this is clearly evident from the list of organizations represented at this conference. These people are of course very strongly attached to Gandhi's dogma of non-violence.

But there is no denying that the circle of interest is widening rapidly and extending itself to a variety of other people as well.

Many people have been attracted to India through the channel of art, ancient and modern, under all its forms, and European audiences will never fail to flock to recitals of Indian music or dancing. A vast field is open in Europe for the propagation of Indian culture, and we are inclined to believe that Indians have not as yet taken full advantage of the opportunities offered on those lines. Of course it is natural that their interest should be concentrated on politics at present; nevertheless they ought to realize that when Europeans get better acquainted with the cultural achievements of India, their appreciation of

them will inevitably lead them to wonder how it is possible that a country so richly gifted is prevented from developing freely her own destiny.

A good deal could be done as well to popularize Indian literature, Indian philosophy and their religious and moral ideals, the knowledge of which, at present, is almost the exclusive property of a small circle of specialized scholars in each European country. Very often, in fact, the Indologists are also the only people who know anything about India, at all events modern India. They generally have visited the country for purposes of study and being in regular touch with Indian people by correspondence and otherwise, they are considered the best experts on India as a whole. It is fair to say that as far as ancient Indian culture is concerned this assumption is fully justified: those of our European scholars who have qualified themselves in the various branches of Indology have generally devoted their life to the subject, learnt Sanskrit, Pali, some modern Indian languages, and generally Tibetan, Nepalese, sometimes Chinese and Japanese as well, when they want to compare Buddhist texts. The history of India, its ancient philosophy and literature are thoroughly familiar to them. But their knowledge of modern India is perhaps not quite so complete, and yet when a European wants information on modern India, it is to one of these scholars that he will appeal. But the scholars are not to blame: how far have Indians ever tried to inform those cultural circles of the present state of affairs in their country? Of course, University teaching, since it is an official concern, scarcely lends itself to the exposition of such highly controversial subjects, especially when they are directly or indirectly related to those "colonial questions" regarding which European policy has always taken a very definite stand. But Indians should probably be surprised to find, in spite of the apparent cautious attitude at the outset, what a friendly welcome objective information will find with our scholars, who are men endowed with a high sense of justice and fine moral character. What is, however, the view held by most scholars at present? According to their particular profession, it is

natural they should view modern India from the angle of historical criticism which is the criterium of European intellectual training. This method applied to the Indian case, they will say, shows that the present Indian nationalism has no roots in the past. India has not been so much a great nation as a great civilization. Its only unity has been a religious and cultural link. The only organic and permanent cell in the country's organization has been the village, this has unflinchingly endured all the exterior changes which have had on the whole very little effect on it. Emperors reigning on the whole (or almost the whole) of India have been very few. Most of those Empires were of foreign origin and never lasted very long after their rulers had disappeared. India is full of diversities, racial, geographical, linguistic, political, etc. and history indicates that for centuries she has been unable to weld these diverse elements into some stable form of unified government and centralized administration. It is wrong to pretend that Europeans have deprived India of her "nationality." The fact is that European penetration was only possible because of India's existing divisions; the country was the unfortunate stage of perpetual rivalries between a great number of principalities and factions intriguing and competing for power and creating general disorder. Europeans, and especially the British, have introduced step by step a centralized administration, and the English language has become a common medium of understanding. Indians have also got acquainted with European social and political institutions and studied the history of their development. On the other hand, the very excesses of foreign rule have aroused the habitual reactions of defence, and Indian nationalism has been gradually awakened to life. But Indians still lack experience and the practice of modern political institutions, and India, in spite of all her aspirations, is far from being a unified nation.

There is no doubt some truth in those statements, but they do not seem to us to give a complete picture, and complimentary facts may lead to somewhat different conclusions. Above all, India's religious and cultural unity (and to a certain extent the unity of social customs) cannot be too much

emphasized; it will no doubt prove a great asset as a basis for political unity in the masses; the unification realized by Gandhi has its roots in religious faith to no small extent.

And then, what is the exact definition of the words—nation, nationality? Very probably the word covers somewhat different conceptions according to the various countries, but it is evident, even from the case of a very small and unified country like Switzerland, for instance, that it does not depend upon unity of race, language or creed. If one wishes to give a definition which can stand for all cases, one can hardly say more than Prof. Seitz (of the Geneva University), whose opinion was that nationality came into existence through the will of several groups of people to stand by one another and unite their destinies. There is no reason why this definition should not apply to India in proportion as the present national aspirations become conscious and strong. And there is no reason either why Indian political unity should not be realized now even if it has existed in the past only in transitory and partial forms. Many European national units have a very recent history and they are not denied the right of existence for that. The oldest among them did not come to birth before Europe emerged from the Middle ages, and gradually evolved out of the feudal system. The almost constant challenge of invasions and warfare undoubtedly proved a powerful stimulus to national unification inside Europe; some states were conquered by their neighbours, others associated through alliances, and some of these original aggregates, gradually gaining in size and coherence, ultimately crystallized as strong centralized nations.

India has not developed on the same lines exactly because she has not been faced by the same kind of challenge. Her geographical isolation was almost complete. Coasting trade did not engender conquest. Waves of invasion did occasionally penetrate in the Northern part of the country, but the invaders settled there, and did not much disturb the usual traditions of the Indian village life. In any case the challenge in those times does not seem to have had so much a military

character as a religious and cultural one. And in that sense, it is clear that India has faced it splendidly. Indian culture through long ages, has succeeded in the feat of assimilating foreign elements while preserving her own integrity. It seems to us that one cannot insist too much on the fact, because it is so characteristic of the Indian genius, imagination, generosity, and it bears witness also to India's spiritual power, to the inexhaustible vitality of her civilization.

The challenge of Western civilization evidently took India by surprise, and very much so because it was presented almost purely on lines of military and material efficiency (especially commercial efficiency). Culture, philosophy, religion, barely came into play at all, and this can hardly make Europeans feel proud of themselves. An exception might be made in favour of the Christian religion, although it was known to part of India already, and there again Indians had generously welcomed the new faith, and assimilated it to their life according to their own particular needs, all the while preserving their own tradition.

Europeans never pause to wonder what would have been the developments of India's social and political life, had her relations with Europe remained entirely free and on a footing of equality. There is no doubt that the weight and twist of foreign rule has considerably hampered the normal growth of the country: this growth has to be carried out according to a natural inner rhythm, and the imposition of outside interference, even if inspired by good intentions, brutally destroys the delicate capacity for instinctive defence, and discriminative assimilation. But the check has been only temporary, and now reaction has come, all the more powerful because freedom has so long been suppressed. The study of European history and institutions has been a stimulating inspiration to Indians and has also played its part in the awakening of national consciousness. Europe has taken several centuries to evolve, and numerous changes and revolutions were necessary to bring her from the Middle Ages to her present political stage. It is fair that she should now grant both time and confidence to India to evolve in her turn.

Europeans must bear in mind also that history does not always rigorously repeat itself. Many things have changed and are changing so rapidly in our days that India's development might well give us the example of an entirely new political and social formula.

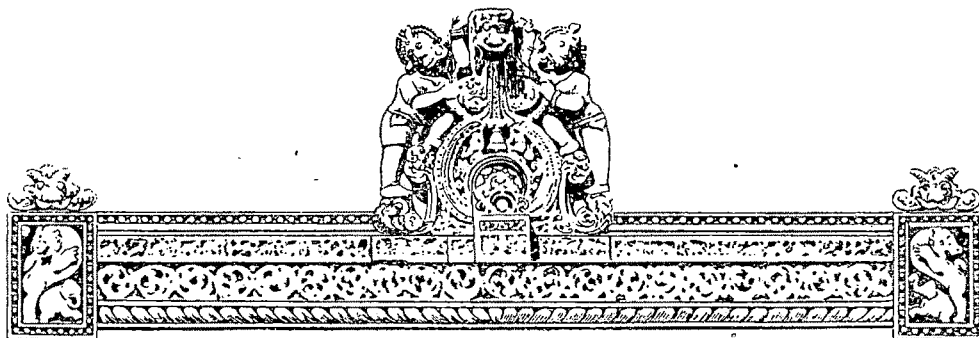
Interest for Indian affairs is certainly much more vivid than it used to be in political and journalistic circles here. It ought to find a greater field of development yet, especially among people who are in touch with international politics. They seem to be particularly able to understand India's present position, because they are compelled to tackle all problems from the international angle; that undoubtedly helps them to realize that India is not simply a question of inner policy for the British Empire, but above all a world question, the solution of which is of direct interest to the peace among nations. India and England are both members of the League of Nations and ought to be considered on equal footing and have equal rights of appeal to justice, etc. Many people familiar with international affairs are of the opinion that the League as it stands could provide the necessary machinery for the solution of several of India's problems.

To conclude, if our aim is to attract the attention of Europeans and to put our case before them in the way best suited to convince them, we must bear in mind the fact that the most serious people here, whether in intellectual or political circles, will always be far more forcibly struck by the objective and dispassionate presentation of facts which speak for themselves, than by vehement indignation—even righteous—and passionate expression of anti-British, or even purely national sentiments. Constructive achievements will also inspire more genuine appreciation than negative agitation. Accurate and objective information only will be taken seriously, all the rest tends to defeat our purpose with those people who really matter and who may ultimately exercise some kind of influence on public opinion through the Press, in official circles, or otherwise. And perhaps the tendency to a rational view of things is even more marked in France than elsewhere. Even in International affairs, we see France defending those rational conceptions which

are part of her political and social tradition, against the over-simple or violent solutions proposed by one or another extremism. That is why France is often called "moderate" (and the tone generally indicates that it is not exactly meant as compliment!). It is not so much moderation as an ingrained habit of common sense, a need of lucid reason, which has enabled France up to now to keep a balance between the extremes of right and left and concentrate on a policy of action. On the whole, the best European minds are extremely critical. Their whole intellectual training and political discipline has given them that bias from early years. They will refuse to pass judgment on a question before they have made a methodical, critical study of the subject, and this implies a historical and also a comparative study. They will consult references, raise objections and expect apposite answers. Not unoften I have seen Indians indignant at what they consider a lack of spontaneous enthusiasm. I am afraid they may be mistaken. They take seriousness for scepticism and they forget that to convince a few serious men is perhaps more important than to attract momentarily a greater quantity of more or less insignificant people, whose enthusiasm will generally die down as rapidly as it had flared up and who cannot in any case originate any useful action.

One thing must be clearly understood: we do not for one instant forget the fact that the work done in the country itself must be considered first; constructive achievements, not words, are wanted today. But all the friends of India are not able to leave Europe. What else can they do, except trying to favour cultural exchanges, endeavour to keep informed and help to diffuse accurate information around them? As far as India is concerned, bare facts and figures are so eloquent by themselves, that Indians who care to help us could do a great deal by collecting reliable and objective information, in every field, and putting it at the disposal of people who are prepared to utilize or to disseminate it in the West.

Finally, it must be remembered that a great many Europeans here have been won over by Mahatma Gandhi's example and philosophy. If India remains faithful to that ideal and wins her freedom by non-violent means, it will mean an immense victory for India. If Indians succeed in proving that spiritual forces are more powerful than material strength, they will teach the greatest lesson to present-day humanity. Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, who so truly personifies the national genius, thousands of people all over the world are living in that hope today.



A PLANET AND A STAR

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

PREVIOUS CHAPTERS

[Before leaving the Monastery of Opi Sahir, who tells this story, becomes an unwitting and unseen witness to a love scene between Narga and Orlon. Sahir keeps his own counsel and does not mention the incident to anyone. The travellers then leave for the city of Sipri, where they become the guests of the Damato, the principal man in authority. At Sipri Maruchi and his associates are introduced to the scientists and are presented with a remarkable instrument.

‘AND we are not yet very old,’ I added. Lady Hara graciously nodded towards us. ‘The idea,’ she said, ‘you are all very young people and you look athletic. I should not be surprised if you carry off some of the prizes.’

‘We shall try,’ said Orlon, throwing back his splendid head. He looked every inch a winner. At the same time, it was rather odd to think of Orlon as an agonist in a public tournament in a city in Mars.

‘And I can run a little,’ modestly remarked Nabor.

‘We shall all be gratified if you participate in the games,’ said the Damato, ‘but I have to inform you that although the games tomorrow will be held in the open the stadium will be required the day after for other contests and it will be necessary to take the machine out that day.’

‘That can be easily done,’ said Maruchi, ‘we will take the machine out for the day and keep it in the air. The ladies and some of your friends may come with us for a joy ride.’

Toma eagerly cried out, ‘I want to be the first to go up. I have not even seen your air-chariot and I want to ride in it.’

Her mother looked anxious. ‘Would it be safe for you to go up into the air?’

Maruchi assured her. ‘There is not the least danger. You will be there and you can see us going up and coming down before Lady Toma has a ride. It would be perfectly safe for you also to come.’

‘No, no,’ protested Lady Hara, ‘I would be frightened to death. Do you think Toma should be allowed to go?’ she asked, turning to her husband.

The Damato was smiling at Toma. ‘She is a wilful girl and always has her own way. Besides, we shall satisfy ourselves that there is no danger before we let her go.’

Toma said with much unction while a mischievous smile danced in her eyes, ‘I am the most filial and obedient of daughters and I

deserve my little excursion in the sky. Think of the great distance our guests have travelled through the air.’

With the active connivance of the Damato we had concocted a pretty story about our having come from a very distant country where learned scientists and skilled mechanics were engaged in inventing flying machines and the one we had was the best yet made. In our case it was the truth that was utterly incredible and could not be told to every one. So long as we did not mention that we were visitors from one of the heavenly bodies any other account would pass unchallenged.

The next day we found a large holiday crowd in the enclosed open space where we had landed. There were various sports in progress and the successful competitors were greeted with rounds of applause. The Damato was seated in state on one side with his wife and daughter near him, and the judges occupied a position of vantage close to them. When it came to the throwing of the discus Orlon stepped forward and placed himself among the competitors. Many cast curious and admiring glances at him. The crier, who had been instructed by the Damato and the judges, announced in a stentorian voice that this competitor was one of the strangers who had come in their wonderful machine from a very distant country. Orlon waited till the last, and when his turn came he braced his arms, stooped slightly forward, swung the discus in his hand lightly to and fro and then with a mighty semi-circular sweep of his arm threw the shining discus which fell several yards beyond the longest distance yet recorded. There was an outburst of cheering which subsided when a fresh competitor presented himself. This was also a new comer and a stranger from another town. He looked like a Hercules with his medium height, immense breadth of shoulders and great length of arm. He had a leonine head with tawny, curling hair and strongly marked features. He eyed Orlon somewhat disdainfully, and taking the discus ran a short distance and threw it after whirling it round his head like a lasso. The bright quoit fell almost covering the mark made where Orlon’s discus had fallen.

There was a tie and the two men were called upon to try another throw. Orlon gracefully yielded the first throw to his rival and this was approved by the judges. This time the new competitor took a longer run and he threw the quoit fully two yards beyond his first throw. On the first occasion Orlon did not move a single

step while throwing the discus but this time he stepped back ¹⁷ from the crease and then striding swiftly forward threw the quoit which fell a yard beyond the length marked by his rival. Orlon was accordingly adjudged the winner amidst acclamation.

The programme was a varied one. There were feats of long and high jumping, putting the ball and other sports common among our own people. Some of the events were for girls and young women who displayed considerable dexterity and skill. One of the most interesting sports was a trial of speed between a number of young girls and young men. Each girl was given a lead of some yards and one of the young men had to catch up with her within a fixed distance. Some of the girls were caught by their pursuers while others outstripped the young men in the race. Last came a tall and slender girl, lithe of limb and of a dark beauty, with a bewitching smile on her lips. The crier announced that she had beaten all challengers the previous year, and this time there must be a new competitor. For a moment the young men standing around hung back and then Nabor detached himself from our group and went forward. He had come dressed as a runner and was wearing a shirt with short sleeves and open at the neck. He had a pair of light shoes on his feet and wore shorts leaving the lower part of the legs exposed. He had a well-knit figure and stood half a head taller than the girl who glanced round at him with evident curiosity. The moment the signal was given she was off, followed by Nabor. The girl was wearing thin sandals strapped closely round her ankles, and she was dressed in a close fitting garment reaching down just below the knees. She was incredibly fleet of foot and graceful as a gazelle and she ran swift as Atlanta. Nabor was close at her heels running easily and lightly and increasing his speed as he went on. Just near the winning post he reached her and caught her in his outstretched arms and released her only after a lingering hold. We could never tell whether the girl had allowed herself to be caught. If she did so no one could detect that she faltered or slackened her speed, but it was apparent to all that she was not at all put out of countenance by her defeat, for the two of them came back together, laughing and chatting like old acquaintances, both of them panting a little, the girl's breast heaving, her face flushed and her dark lustrous eyes dancing with amusement.

On the second day of the games we arrived early and took out the machine to a plot of ground which had been fenced in to keep out the crowd and which was sufficiently large for the ascent and descent of the airship. The men of science were there and we showed them over the machine, Nabor explaining the mechanism fully. Maruchi showed the instruments for transmitting and retaining sound, the wireless

apparatus and our visitors were greatly impressed. Maruchi invited them for a short aerial trip and after some hesitation the president and two others agreed to go up. Maruchi went with them and Nabor piloted the machine, the rest of us staying behind. After half an hour, during which the city was circled and the machine flew out to a distance of twenty miles the party returned and we could see that the scientists were overwhelmed with astonishment. There was a long and animated discussion about the feasibility of constructing such machines here. Maruchi offered all the help in his power, full specifications would be prepared by Nabor and Ganimet, photographs would be taken and every detail of the machinery would be explained, but it would be impossible for us to stay long enough for the construction of a machine.

The Damato with his wife and daughter joined us about this time and Toma wanted at once to go up into the air in the airship. Her mother was very nervous, but the president of the society of scientists assured her that there was no danger and he himself had just returned from an aerial trip. The Damato's presence was required at the games and Lady Hara flatly refused to leave the safety of the firm soil under her feet. Toma looked at me and invited me to come with her. The Damato said there were no important events on the programme for an hour or two. Later on in the afternoon Ganimet was to take part in the games and we must be back in time to be present at his performance. Nabor again mounted into the cockpit and I followed Toma into the compartment for passengers.

As the machine rose silently and swiftly into the air and circled over the city Toma looked down upon the city with many exclamations of wonder but as soon as we left the city behind she came and sat quite close to me and putting out her hand lightly touched mine. It was only a friendly gesture and when my hand closed over hers she made no effort to withdraw it, but looking straight into my eyes said, 'Now, my friend, that we are here by ourselves, I want you to tell me the truth about your country.'

The beautiful eyes that looked into mine were very clear and very penetrating, and made me feel uneasy. I said, 'We have told you the truth about our homeland.'

Toma shook her head. 'I have had my suspicions from the first day when two of you told two different stories about the place you had come from. You are not like any people we have seen, and there is some mystery about you which I cannot fathom. But I have noticed that there is some understanding between all of you and father, and there is some secret which my mother and myself have not been permitted to know.'

'Surely, Toma, you do not suggest that we have done anything wrong, or that your father is helping us to hide an ugly secret.'

'Oh! no, no, no. But I will not let you put me off like that. My father would be no party to any evil secret, and you may trust a woman's heart to know that there is nothing evil about you'—and she smiled bewitchingly. 'It must be some wonderful secret which we may not understand, or may not believe. But I shall both understand and believe, and I shall respect your secret as if it were my own.'

The appeal in her eyes was irresistible. She had drawn so close to me that her breath was almost mingling with mine while the perfume of her young body went to my head like wine. I was weakening every moment and made only a feeble attempt to guard our secret. 'We have been warned by your father,' I said, 'that if we let you know who we are we shall have no rest and we may have to cut short our stay here.'

Toma said, 'Do you think I want you to go away and leave us? Your secret will be as safe with me as it is with you.'

It was impossible to hold out any longer. We had not made a secret of our having come from another world to any one. If I refused to tell Toma now she would learn our secret from others. And so I told her what she was so eager to know, of our distant home in the planet Lamulo which was only a bright little light in the heavens here, of our great cities and wonderful inventions and our long and perilous passage through space. And Toma listened in bright and wide-eyed wonder, her lips slightly parted and showing the gleam of the small pearly teeth, her breath fanning my face, her breast heaving gently and her fingers tightening their hold upon mine. There was no sign of any incredulity and I could see that she believed every word I said. When I had finished my account she said, 'This is more wonderful than any story I have ever heard, and it is all true for I can see the truth in your eyes. I have dreamed of the people living up there in those shining worlds, and, lo, you have come down from Lamulo in your magic ship, swifter than our winged steeds and cleaving through air and space. Why did my heart quicken its beats when I first saw you? I know now, for I love you, I love you!'

And she slipped into my arms and laid her lips upon mine.

Afterwards I learned that according to the custom of the country it was not considered immodest for a woman to declare her love for a man, and men and women had equal right to express their feelings.

After a few moments Toma withdrew from my embrace and sat apart. I said, 'Toma, our love must for the present remain as close a secret as your knowledge of our having come from another world. Your parents will never consent to our union and there may be grave danger to every member of our party. There is nothing for us but to control our feelings

and to remain the friends we have hitherto been.'

Toma understood. 'I shall be careful,' she said, 'for I know I have been foolish.'

'Don't say that,' I replied, 'but we have to dissemble our feelings for the present.'

When we returned we entered the stadium and Toma joined her father and mother in the elevated seats reserved for them. Close by were the members of our own party. Ganimet was in the ring stripped for a wrestling bout and his opponent was the discus-thrower, who had been beaten by Orlon the previous day. They were a splendid pair and seemed to be evenly matched. Both were unusually strong, Ganimet shaggy and hairy, broad-chested and slightly bow-legged, while the other man appeared broader than yesterday when he stripped for the fray. The two of them rushed at each other and gripped like bears. It was mostly a trial of strength for there was not much of skill on either side and the two combatants swayed about all over the ring, neither of them relinquishing his hold for a minute. At length the Heperonian caught hold of the wrists of Ganimet and by a dexterous twist of the body released himself and sprang apart. Both were breathing heavily and they warily moved round each other looking out for a favourable hold. Suddenly the Heperonian made a rush, Ganimet nimbly side-stepped and as the other went past caught him round the middle with both hands, imprisoning one of his arms. Taken somewhat at a disadvantage the other made violent and desperate efforts to release himself, but the relentless gorilla grip steadily tightened until the breath seemed to be crushed out of his body. Then Ganimet tried to heave the other man up, but he twisted his legs round Ganimet's feet and baffled the attempt to raise him from the ground. Ganimet then bent the other man down till the foothold gave way and with a sudden jerk Ganimet threw his man over his shoulder. The battle was won.

After the tumultuous applause had subsided we came out, pleased that our party had given such a good account of itself in the contests. I took the earliest opportunity of having a confidential talk with Maruchi. I had an uneasy feeling that after what had happened between Toma and myself complications might arise and the object of our expedition might be seriously jeopardized. We had been selected for this enterprise because we were all supposed to be hard-headed men not likely to be easily entangled in affairs of the heart, and as a matter of fact we had never dreamed of the existence of fair women on this planet, or the likelihood of our succumbing to their charms. When I told Maruchi of what had taken place in the airship and explained that it was all very sudden and I had never thought of making love to Toma Maruchi looked grave and said,

'I believe you, Sahir. You are no philanderer, and with Toma it must have been a sudden romantic impulse due to her having found out that you are an inhabitant of another planet. But you heard the other day what the scientists said about interplanetary matrimonial alliances and the feeling among the common people must be stronger. The Damato is almost like a king and he will be furious if he comes to learn that Toma intends to throw herself away upon a stranger from another planet. The Damato may not unnaturally think that we have grossly abused his hospitality and our very lives may be in danger. By the way, I have noticed that Nabor has been following the girl with whom he ran a race yesterday, and that may lead to fresh complications.'

'The wisest course', I said, 'will be to leave this city as soon as possible.'

'Yes,' replied Maruchi, 'and fortunately I have arranged a visit to the observatory. I spoke to the president in your absence and he told me everything is ready for us. I shall just send him a message that we shall fly to the observatory tomorrow and we need not return here at all, but this will for the present remain a secret between you and me.'

This was a good way out of the difficulty and after sending word to the president that we would be at the observatory the next day Maruchi announced his intention to the Damato at dinner. The Damato was astonished, but when Maruchi explained the urgency and importance of the proposed visit to the observatory he assented to our departure. Nabor frowned and looked displeased, but he could say nothing. Toma's eyes sought mine in a mute appeal, and I declared that we should have been pleased to stay longer but our chief had important work to do and we were bound to follow him. It was not possible for me to say that we were really running away and the plot was of my own designing.

The Damato and his wife politely asked us to visit them again after we had inspected the observatory. Maruchi thanked them and observed that we were pressed for time and our movements were uncertain, but should we happen to pass this way again we would certainly avail ourselves of the kind invitation of our present hosts.

I avoided meeting Toma alone and the next day, an hour after sunrise, we got into our machine and made a bee-line for the observatory.

XII

Dark against the skyline stood Zambo, a mountain covered with vegetation with occasional red patches and snow peaks behind them. Below we passed many villages and cultivated areas. Just below the mountain was a belt of forest. In two or three hours we were over the mountain flying slowly and trying to locate the observatory.

This was done without any difficulty for the tall column of the building shone white and the well-kept grassland in front of us and below us was an excellent landing ground. We gave intimation of our approach by a musical flourish and a number of people at once came out to the entrance of the observatory. The Mundanus came down in graceful curves and came to rest without a jar. When we got out some of the men advanced to meet us.

We were expected. The official in charge of the observatory and the grounds introduced himself and informed us that the president and a party of scientists were expected to arrive from the city during the course of the day. Meantime we might inspect the instruments and occupy ourselves in any way we liked. We were shown to our rooms which were not large but cosy and comfortable, and very plainly furnished. After going over the observatory which contained many instruments similar to our own and others quite different we partook of an excellent breakfast, including game of an excellent flavour found in the hills. It was described to us as a kind of antelope or mountain goat. We next set out to fix upon a place to set up our installation and see whether we could succeed in getting a message through to our own planet and having a response.

After looking around for a little while Maruchi selected a clear open space at some distance from the observatory. There were no trees near by and there was no obstruction to the view. We carried the apparatus for the installation to the spot chosen and helped Maruchi to fix it up. While we were engaged on this work the scientists from the city arrived and watched us while we completed the installation. When the whole thing had been adjusted to his satisfaction Maruchi put on one of the head-phones to the ears of the president and took one himself. I had also one round my head. Then Maruchi spoke into the transmitter, 'Hello, Earth! Maruchi speaking from Mars,' and he went on repeating these words at intervals. We waited in breathless suspense. After what seemed a long wait there was a buzzing in our ears and then followed the words, 'Hello, Mars! Is that Maruchi all right? This is Amaris and others also are here. Accept our congratulations. Now tell us all about yourselves and your adventures.'

The president took off his head-phone and gave it to Orton. I translated the words of Amaris to the president. Maruchi spoke into the transmitter for the greater part of an hour, giving a summary of our adventures, mentioning the presence of the scientists at our side and adding that he had prepared a code which would place the Earth in direct communication with Mars without the help of an interpreter. Then every one of us had a turn and exchanged greetings with Amaris, who was in charge of the radio station on the earth and others. Maruchi asked

Amaris to invite the members of the committee the next day so that they might speak direct to the scientists here. He also said he would send the code he had prepared the some afternoon so that it might be used the next day. And then we bade our distant countrymen good morning and accompanied the scientists to the building adjoining the observatory.

A thing is wonderful only so long as it is deemed impossible. Once the seemingly impossible is achieved it becomes a commonplace. Every invention of science was either ridiculed, disbelieved or opposed until it became an accomplished fact, and then it was accepted as an ordinary thing and the feeling of wonder passed. The locomotive engine worked by steam was at first stoutly opposed as an evil contrivance. The invention of the telegram was the occasion of much scepticism, and several other inventions were similarly treated. The notion of man flying in machines heavier than air was scouted as preposterous, and afterwards people scarcely raised their heads to look at an aeroplane flying overhead. A flight to the Moon or Mars was looked upon as one of the impossible dreams of science, and now that the dream had become a fact the time might soon come when a visit to one of the planets would be regarded as an every day occurrence and some enterprising firm of tourists' agents would undertake to take tourists round the planetary system and show them the sights. We had realized that however vast and varied the worlds might be the conditions of life were very much the same everywhere, wherever life was possible and most of the planets in our own as well as other systems must be inhabited. The stars were suns giving light and life to the planetary bodies revolving round them, and it was wrong to suppose that all these were untenanted. Even in the solar system the Earth is an unimportant body. Here on this other planet we had found life closely resembling our own, though different in several respects. While one race is extinguished another is evolved. There is nothing to preclude the theory that in other worlds than our own there may be a race of beings as superior to us as we ourselves are to the beasts of the earth. So far as our planet is concerned man represents the greatest advance in intelligence, but neither the world nor man exhausts either the universe or the order of created life.

Maruchi spent the afternoon in explaining the code of signals to the scientists, who were supplied with a copy. He presented the wireless installation to the observatory and the body of scientists, explained fully its working, showed the mechanism and also how the instrument was prepared. He pointed out that favourable atmospheric conditions were necessary for the successful transmission of messages. He then got into touch with the station on Earth and repeated the code of signals and also some words of the

language we had learned since our arrival on this planet. This took a great deal of time and the daylight was failing by the time Maruchi had finished.

At night after dinner we retired to our own quarters and then Maruchi had a serious conversation with us as to the urgent need of circumspection and self-control in our relations with the people on this planet, specially with the women-folk. He did not name any of us. He knew nothing of what had passed between Orlon and Narga and he would have known nothing about Toma and myself if I had not told him. There might be nothing serious in the little incident between Nabor and the fleet-footed girl. Maruchi spoke in general terms but his voice was grave. 'You must remember, my friends, that each one of us was specially selected for this expedition not merely because of his qualifications, but also for his strength of character. We are not gay young men who find their happiness in the pursuit of pleasure. We are serious and well-balanced men who take life seriously and are out on a serious business. So far we have been extremely lucky. We have arrived at our destination sound in limb and in perfect health. We have fallen among a people who are both hospitable and kind. We shall try to learn as much as we can about this planet before we return to our own. But we owe it to those who have sent us out to avoid anything that may lead us into unnecessary trouble. We do not know these people intimately and their code of morals and ethics may be different from our own. We must be particularly careful in our relations with women. We can only meet them as we meet the men. There must be no entanglements, no sentimental or platonic friendship with people of the other sex. I have a strong suspicion that the friendly attitude of the people here will change if any one of us is found to be in love with a woman here and then our shrift will be a short one. All of us may be killed and the airship may be wrecked. Do you all agree with me in this view ?'

The rest of us looked at one another. Then Ganimet, who was conscience-free, asked, 'Have you found any one of us forgetting himself ?'

Maruchi replied, 'I have no one in particular in view. I am as liable to forget myself as any of you. There is a danger and it is a real one, and it is our duty to guard against it constantly. So long as we are here we must regard ourselves as being under a monastic vow. We must fulfil the trust that has been reposed in us. We may have to face dangers but they must not be of our own making. Remember that our hearts and even our lives are in pawn and we can only redeem them by returning as we came, our mission fulfilled and our minds and hearts free from regrets. So long as we may be here our attitude in all matters must be one of detachment. There must be no attachments and no ties.'

'We have to be very careful,' I said. No one else made any remark and we turned in for the night.

The next day the president and the other scientists were exchanging greetings and expressions of goodwill with the scientists on our planet. It was a memorable day in the history of the two planets and marked a great triumph in the achievement of science. Afterwards, Maruchi sent a message that we would soon resume our travels and it might not be possible for us to communicate again with the Earth. Maruchi had decided that our next adventure would include a visit to the unfrequented regions and forests to have a sight, if possible, of the primitive race which inhabited the distant forests. At the observatory they gave us excellent maps and charts so that there might be no difficulty in our localizing the spots we desired to visit, and we were repeatedly advised to be very careful not to expose ourselves to danger.

After bidding our hosts and the scientists a cordial farewell we left the mountain and flew in the direction of the sea several hundred miles distant. Our first glimpse of the sea was a fresh reminder how very much like our own planet was the one on which we were travelling at

present. There were all sorts of vessels plying on the sea, their shapes being very different from our own ships and boats. We next flew back towards the forests of which we had heard, and whose denizens we wished to see, though not at very close quarters if it was unsafe. Specially were we interested in the Pompos of whom we had heard in the city of Sipri. It was evident that very little was known about them in the cities and the regions in which they lived were rarely visited. It was quite possible that exaggerated reports of their ferocity had found their way to the city folk; on the other hand, it might turn out that they would prove to be even more savage than they were represented to be. It was undoubtedly one of the objects of our expedition to collect all the information we could about the different races inhabiting this planet. We had seen some of the civilized people and we must see something of the savages to satisfy ourselves whether they resembled the savage tribes on earth. We had received ample warning and would not run into any avoidable danger. But neither would we turn our backs on danger, for life was the first stake in the game we had undertaken to play and we were absolutely fearless in what we considered to be our proper work.

(Continued)

BASIS OF NATIONALISM

By DHIRENDRA NATH ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

ALL new movements progressive or unprogressive mean dissatisfaction with the existing conditions. Before a man launches upon any new idea he confronts himself with a certain problem for the solution of which he finds the existing things inadequate. If a discontented mood means pessimism we are also constrained to admit that it is the source of all progress.

A new movement means a diversion from, if not a challenge to the present. Society always moves, for there is life in it and life means movement. We do not feel it as long as there is no disturbance in the existing order to which we have been long accustomed and which imperceptibly widens its course as a natural process of evolution. The rise of a new movement in a society means that there is something wrong in its usual course which needs some change. When the change is radical the movement becomes impressive and widely known.

The present movement of internationalism is, like most modern movements, Western by

origin. It is the fruit of the last Armageddon. We in the Orient welcome it because it is something certainly better than what the West has hitherto produced and because it may be the convenient channel through which the long accumulated burning tears of Asia may pass to wash and warm the heart of the West. We like it though I am not sure if we really need it for ourselves. We have never been international because we were never national in the Western sense of the term. Internationalism presupposes nationalism, for it means the spirit of harmony among nations. But excepting Japan which is the modern imitation of the West where are the nations in the East? China, says the West, is a sheet of loose sands. India is a conglomeration of races with different beliefs, traditions, and languages. Arabia is still known by her dangerous tribes. The naturalization idea has not concerned us, for we have always thought it to be the affair of nature. We have always found life worth-while in this manner of living, so we did not think of nationalism.

Does it mean that we have never learnt to love our country, that we as the people of India or of China have never had that community of sentiments and ideals which makes people feel proud and confident to think of their own country and all that it means? Does it mean that we have been so selfish and exclusive that we never thought of benefiting others with our achievements? Our history will invariably testify to our deep feeling of love,—why, it is almost worship—that has saved India and China from the dire fate of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. Our history will clearly show how many different races of mankind have improved themselves from our contact and how abundantly the world has received from us for the noble cause of civilization. Why, our love for our country has brought us the epithet of “conservative” with its awkward connotation and have made us “undesirable aliens” in some desirable lands because we are “unassimilable,” because we choose to be what we are, no matter where we are.

If that is nationalism we are quite full of it and it is good for the world that we are. But then nationalism has to be defined in our way and the West will see that nationalism does not oppose, rather suggests internationalism. Let me make this point clear.

Two different philosophies of life have influenced the East and West, and the nationalism as a spirit of love for one's own country has been cultivated in two different ways. The East has always thought that there is a wonderful unity of life in nature. Man is as much a part of it as the other forms of creation. He is essentially in harmony with all, for had he not been so he would not have been possible at all. Nature reveals a wonderful unifying principle in all the evolutionary forms of creation including man. The East has always sought to realize this principle by feeling a friendly relation with all. Universal brotherhood does not mean, for the East, mankind only, but all living creatures; for, life is the same in all and comes from the same source. That is why in Asia, with the rise of civilization, began, for the first time in the world, the domestication of birds and beasts. It is the East that has shown, for the first time, how an emphasis upon the finer feeling of man can not only unite him with the rest of his species but also with the fierce denizens of the forest.

This peculiarly Oriental spirit is what the Buddha of India called *ahimsa* and Confucius of China called *jen*. For Buddha that is the path of right living, for Confucius that is the only way, the eternal *Tao*. If Buddha and Confucius are unquestionably still the two master-minds of the East, it is because they voiced the real spirit, the spirit of *jen*. Indeed,

in India it was preached most emphatically by the Upanishadic sages who long preceded Buddha. Schopenhauer, the great German thinker, read the translation of some of the Upanishads and founded his whole ethical system upon this noble feeling which he called *Mitleid*.

The East thinks that this feeling is primary. Human nature, says Mencius, another great Chinese philosopher, is essentially good. Once a Chinese thinker argued with him saying that human nature is neither good nor bad, that it has “no choice between good and not-good as water has no choice between east and west.” The philosopher replied, “Truly, water has no choice between east and west, but has it no choice between up and down? The goodness of human nature is like water seeking the lowest level. There is no man who is not good, there is no water that does not seek its lowest level. Now, that water when whipped and tossed could be passed over one's forehead or that when arrested and driven in another direction, it could be made to go over a hill, is not in the nature of water. It is due to the force of circumstances. Man could be made to do not-goodness for his nature is as susceptible as water.” This beautiful truth has been preached in the East for so many a century that the life of man has become almost meaningless without it.

And it is not something artificially upheld by a hollow idealism, for then, the East as a whole could not have been so responsive to it throughout its long long history. Scientific study of the very primitive peoples also clearly bears out the truth. Indeed, there is a good deal of truth in Hesiod's “golden race of mortal men.” The illustrious Greek author mentioned, in his *Works and Days*, of the earliest primitive people as those who “in peace and quiet lived on their lands with many good things, rich in flocks and dear to the blessed gods.” This was his first race of the mortal men. Professor Sollas concludes, on the authority of M. Comont, that during the early periods of Stone Age people used no weapons. The implements which they made out of stone were all flat scrapers good only for household occupations. That they made no stone weapons while they could make “sharp stones for scraping and cutting” goes to prove that they never felt the need of weapons and they never fought. Professor Kroeber has found out that the first settlers of California were more primitive than those elsewhere; and they were found more peaceful than the latter. Professor Perry says that the Eskimo live together. Warfare and fighting are unknown to them. They have no word for ‘war’ and they do not scold or swear. War, in the proper sense of the term, is unknown, according to this famous anthropologist, to the cultured aborigines of Australia and Tasmania. The Zulu and Matabele people of Africa “owe their warlike

organization to European influence." Perry's remarks are very significant, especially because he is both a scientist and an Englishman.

"The opinions quoted agree unanimously in ascribing to hunting people a peaceful conduct, both as individuals and in communities; and the descriptions of the various peoples are so similar in essentials that many of them could be interchanged without alteration. It is not possible to ascribe this peaceful behaviour to the influences of race and environment, for the survey has included the most diverse racial stocks, and has ranged from Arctic regions to the Equator. Nor is it due to any innate incapacity for fighting on the part of these peoples, for some of them have been so persecuted by other peoples that they have become warlike. The Bushmen were driven out from their hunting grounds by Europeans; and the cruelty with which they were treated changed their attitude from one of friendliness to one of relentless ferocity: The Apache Indians were friendly until the perfidy and cruelty of the Mormons and other settlers produced in them an attitude of hostility....The inference is that hunting peoples not only have a standard type of culture, but they possess also an uniform mode of behaviour which is associated with it more or less intimately. And the evidence gives us no reason to believe that hunting peoples, as a whole, have ever been anything but peaceful." (*Hibbert Journal*. 16 : 28-46)

Hunting is the first stage of man's social life. If human nature were essentially so bad it certainly would have revealed itself in that primitive stage. It is the natural stage in which man first reacts upon man and reveals his good social feeling. It is the innate feeling of his nature. This is what the West is beginning to understand; but this is what the East has recognized since time immemorial and sought to cultivate in life throughout its history.

Let us now turn to the West to inquire into the source of its understanding of human nature. It is necessary to begin this way inasmuch as the West began its civilized life comparatively much later and acquired the important elements of civilization from outside. The tradition which has been inspiring the social life of the West has its intimate bearing upon the ancient Egyptians, the Semites, the Greeks, and the Romans. The life in ancient Egypt that counted most was the life of the Pharaohs. It was a most egoistic life that indulged to the utmost every form of self-glorification, so much so that some of them regarded themselves as actual gods and "then worshipped their own images and did them obeisance." Rameses II, the great Pharaoh of the Bible, "was jealous of everybody who showed some power or quality" and felt so disturbed by the proud records of the other kings that "he would have liked to wipe out the whole history of Egypt till it came to him." The great Pyramid may be one of the seven wonders of the world, according to some people's standard, but it is at the same time a most gigantic disgrace to humanity. It is the most shining monument of Egyptian cruelty that caused

thousands of innocent people to undergo indescribable sufferings till death had finally released them. The Semitic people, as a whole, were extremely cruel. The Assyrians had no scruple to flay men alive. The tone of Hebrew literature shows that the people were really rough. Everywhere it is full of commandments and little respect for individuals. Even their conception of God which must have been their conception of the perfect man is full of human passions, like anger, jealousy, cruelty, etc. The Greeks might have had the first form of democracy, but that was for the Greeks alone and there was no consideration for the "barbarians" and least for the slaves. The Roman spirit was best expressed by Virgil who said,

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos."
(Make slaves of all who submit and exterminate all who resist.)

These are the forms of social life with which the Western tradition is intimately related. All these forms unquestionably show a strong egoism which seeks to emphasize the crude passions and impulses in human relationships. Man has, therefore, been seen in another way, here he is full of war spirit, jealousy, suspicion, and cruelty. So when an oriental religion the author of which is said to be Jesus Christ, arrived somehow at Rome, it was first Romanized before it could attract the West. Read Lecky's description in his *History of European Morals*, how the early Christians lived in Rome and how they behaved with the non-Christian people that you may be able somewhat to imagine in what a terrible form human nature revealed itself there. How pompously was it vindicated in the Inquisitions, the burning of the so-called witches, and their holy adventures the most blood-curdling Crusades. No wonder, they have learnt to consider man as a born sinner. When the West somewhat succeeded in liberating itself from its age-long intellectual slavery, its thought was naturally drawn to this grim picture of human life. Human nature began to appear in an ugly form. Philosophers arose to describe it,—philosophers whose ideas began to be the controlling forces of Western life. We read Hobbes plainly describing that man by nature is at war with man, society is a mere matter of contract and not at all due to any innate good-feeling, for there is no such thing in human nature. Rousseau whose influence in the whole West seems to be yet unsurpassed agrees with Hobbes that society is the result of contract. Even Kant, the greatest of all philosophers whom the Renaissant Europe has produced, describes man, in the manner of Hobbes, as naturally selfish. He is so full of the distinction between the phenomenon and the noumenon, the knowable and the unknowable, that he cannot help seeing the inevitable two even in human nature,—the natural and the rational. These two sides of human nature are, according

to him, completely separate from each other. His rational man is, like his noumenon, not for human senses to experience. It is his natural man that constitutes society and this man is by nature full of such desires as "bring him into constant collision with others." He goes so far that he would not recognize any action urged by good feeling as moral, nay, he would choose to regard it as "pathological." Yet he believes in what he calls the "categorical imperative,"—the innate moral law for all men, as if a moral law can be universal unless human nature is essentially good. Even Schopenhauer, with all his love for oriental philosophy, fails to see in human nature anything but selfishness.

With such an understanding of human nature society invariably has to build itself upon contract. It is the only restraint conceivable for man of such nature. It is the only possible device to keep him peaceful and prevent his being dangerous to others.

For, if he would have his own way untrained by any such device, it would directly mean a very strong emphasis upon self-assertion, self-interest, and self-glorification. It would indirectly imply jealousy, suspicion, and treachery. It would necessarily result in aggression, cruelty, oppression, and humiliation. It would involve a most egregious indulgence in social contractions, a deliberate violation of the Golden Rule. It would make him love himself while he would look with suspicion and disapprobation upon those who would similarly love themselves. It would make him love himself by hating others, yet he would not tolerate others hating him. It would please him to preach to others something which he would seldom practise.

All this, however, means to the East love of a false ego consisting of the physical impulses that have no essential harmony to form as one but that would naturally come together for any purpose of destruction. The Western conception of human nature, as being egoistic is necessarily very destructive. Every individual certainly has a natural love for himself, but that love should not prevent others from loving themselves. And if he loves himself he should not hate others, for by so doing he invariably induces others to hate him. This is why in the Orient love of oneself is not in conflict with one's love for others, for that is the best way of inducing others to love him. This is the teaching of the *Upanishads*, of Buddha, and of Confucius. "A man who has the *jen*," says the great Chinese sage, "wishing to establish himself, will have others established; wishing himself to succeed, will have others succeed." True egoism or self-love is derived from the very nature of man which is good and seeks to cultivate itself not only in his relation to himself but in the love of others for themselves. It cannot be selfish, for all selfishness kills itself with its own infection. But it may be thoroughly atrophied

by its non-use or suppressed by the physical impulses when the latter find full freedom to exert themselves.

What is said of the love for oneself may apply to the love for one's own country or nation. When a man recognizes the larger self in the form of what he calls his country or nation his individual egoism contributes to the larger egoism of the nation. Nationalism is the collective egoism of the individuals who group together in a common bond of sentiments. These sentiments are the result of a common past and present which inspire them all to cultivate their good-feeling and facilitate their good-living to such an extent as would make them feel confident and rightly proud of all that their past and present mean. The love of one's country follows from the love of one's own past and present, the former being inseparable from the latter. It is a natural love, like the love of one's own mother, rising from one's very being which, in one sense, is the fruit of the country. Nationalism is, therefore, a spirit of love for one's own country and all that it means, it is the spirit by virtue of which one seeks to cultivate self-love by loving the source of self and by the gradual expansion of it. It is, therefore, a very wholesome spirit which, through the cultivation of man's innate good feeling, helps him to rise above his brute physical impulses. It, therefore, cannot be dangerous. How can love of one's own country be a danger to another country? How can love of one's own mother be harmful to another mother? If a man loves his own mother, does he have to hate other's mothers? On the other hand, if he loves his mother he should inspire others to a similar love of their mothers and feel himself inspired by seeing them do so. It is a very simple thing to understand. It follows from the very nature of man unless it is suppressed by his pampered impulses.

Nationalism of this kind has existed in the Orient throughout its history. It is synonymous with the purest form of patriotism. It being a natural thing there never has been the need of an artificial means contrived to foster it in the mind of the people. And the different peoples in the Orient having considered it as a matter of course hardly, if ever, gave it any great importance in their national existence. This, of course, excludes those petty ancient peoples in the Near East that flared up with a short glaring display and have long been out; they emphasized and cultivated their crude tribal impulses and thus caused their own destruction. They always maintained their tribal ways and had no moral understanding of the Oriental life. Unfortunately, some of these peoples, as we have already mentioned, like the Babylonians, Egyptians and Semites, seem to have exerted great influence over the life of the West.

Nationalism in the West is the expansion

of its individual egoism. It is the cultivation of the crude individual impulses on a larger scale. Like the false ego of the individual which is composed chiefly of his physical impulses artificially joined together with the hope of greater satisfaction, the Western nation is composed of individuals who unite together, not being urged by any good-feeling, but with the hope of things that cater for their physical satisfaction. The Western nation is a political and not a moral achievement. It is based on contract which is an artificial means to guarantee the selfish-interests,—not self-interests,—of the individuals by their combined effort. If they submit to the limitations which their nation invariably imposes upon them, it is because of the great power and prestige which the nation promises each of its constituent members. The false egoism of the individual, by its very nature, would not surrender any of its so-called rights unless there is the promise of a greater compensation. This compensation naturally cannot be realized for all the individuals within the nation unless it comes from without. It cannot come from without unless the nation is possessed of enough power to impose its will. The worship of power has necessarily become the sole end of Western nationalism; for, verily it may be said, 'seek ye first a strong national power, and all else shall be added unto you.'

Nationalism in the West has thus become very dangerous. Basil Mathews calls it "self-conscious and aggressive against external foes or rivals." Professor Hayes of the Columbia University, very frankly describes it,

Nationalism is partly love of country, but chiefly something else. Nationalism is a proud and boastful habit of mind about one's own nation, accompanied by a supercilious or hostile attitude towards other nations; it admits that individual citizen of one's nationality or national state is always right. Nationalism is either ignorant and prejudiced or inhuman and jaundiced; in both cases it is a form of mania, a kind of extended and exaggerated egotism, and it has easily recognizable symptoms of selfishness, intolerance, and jingoism, indicative of the delusions of grandeur from which it suffers. Nationalism is artificial and it is far from ennobling; in a word it is *patriotic snobbery*."

This nationalism or 'national egotism' finds its full play in the worship of power, and it is best worshipped when it is exercised over others. The result is imperialism. The democratic Greeks were quite nationalistic in hating the 'barbarians' but probably their hatred was too carelessly and prematurely conceived and roused the hatred of a greater nationalistic power before which they succumbed. The Romans were the first successful people to form a nation of the Western type. The greed for power made them dream of a *Pax Romana* compelling many peoples to submit,—peoples whom Caesar was pleased to call "barbarians" because they were not Romans.

They in their 'superfluity of egotism' sought to Romanize all, for that is the cruel way of Western nationalism to enjoy itself. Even when they lost their power they did not lose their spirit, for their nature remained the same. A new ideal of life came to Rome from the East with a new vision. The people took it up and then Romanized it under the direction of one clever Roman called Paul to satisfy the same old greed. The tribal jealousy of the Hebrew God was quite agreeable to Roman nationalism which discovered in the new religion a fine instrument to rouse the crusaders' cry, 'Deus vult' and justify its own brutalities. It was, therefore, natural for Dante to produce that monumental work, *De Monarchia* in which this pious Christian of the Roman land sought to uphold simultaneously two God-ordained Roman Empires, one secular and the other spiritual, while both in reality might as well be regarded political. The Romans had their justification for the divine ordinance to establish the world empire which, of course, meant to them the Roman Empire. But it was just an argument which could be conveniently used by any nation wishing to display its power. The Western nations have thus grown up with the same greed for power, each with its own excuse to be aggressive whenever an opportunity offered itself. This means rivalry, jealousy, and suspicion between nations. Indeed, it means all,—and upon a much larger scale, those destructive virtues which characterize the Western concept of egoism. One can well imagine, from the example of Rome, what it really means to cultivate such national egoism,—it means something most dangerous in its growth. There is nothing too savage on earth to which Western nationalism may not stoop down for self-gratification.

Yes, it is most dangerous. We have already seen how dangerous the individual egoism, as conceived in the West, would be if allowed full licence to cultivate itself. By a political device that egoism is kept in check within the national group. But what is checked in the individual members within the nation bursts into a collective feeling of nationalism which enjoys itself by seeking to become more and more destructive. When each nation finds it quite gratifying for the primitive impulses of its constituent members to increase and assert its power, it unhesitatingly justifies its own nationalism. Nation becomes the ultimate goal, the supreme interest of the individual. "The state," says Rüdiger, and Hegel agrees with him, "is itself the universal and transcendent aspect of man. Its safety is supreme law." Nothing is immoral in the interest of the nation and no ethical principle is good enough to be imposed upon it. "It would be a betrayal of trust," says Treitschke, "to admit restriction upon this." It is power, *Machtpolitik* which must be the single purpose of the nation.

This worship of power naturally means

exhibition of national egoism over and before others. The Western nations are born and grown this way. Their lust for power has let loose all the crude human impulses and have thus been the cause of untold sufferings to those peoples who have never learnt to worship power. It inevitably leads to imperialism,—exhibition of power over others. Western nationalism means imperialism. The basic principle of national selfishness, which is born of their false conception of human nature, creates a double standard of morality, one for the nationals within and the other, which is its opposite, for the outsiders. So when one of these nations finds some people somewhere comparatively weaker and less organized it has no scruple to swoop down upon them and force them to submit. The Romanovs, the Hapsburgs, and the Hohenzollerns practised their nationalism over their neighbours. The Iberians, the French, and the British have discovered wonderful lands across the sea to practise it more profitably. Even the Dutch and the Belgians have been able to fall upon some hapless peoples. The Western nations must find some outside sphere to exhibit their nationalism or they may fall upon one another. They cannot help it, for they are the fruit of a false breeding. Selfishness, greed, and lust for power have worked in nations to develop them into empires.

We say they cannot help it, because there is the chronic itching of false egoism. So what they cannot help they seek to justify by tall talks. Do we not hear so much of the blessings of imperialism? A very subtle kind of propaganda has always been the most efficient means of justifying all imperialism, while in reality it is the exhibition of a cruel kind of nationalism which is unwilling or probably unable to hold itself. Those who have been in the vanguard of this inhuman exhibition are immortalized by the Western nations. A Cortes or a Pizarro or a Clive is a pride rather than a national disgrace to the West. In the surfeit of their nationalism they ride rough-shod over the glories of others and proudly seek to impose their own. Any resistance to such imposition is skilfully described, to humour their national insolence, as due to lack of civilization. Why, it is the "White man's burden." Out of an altruistic or what they call Christian motive they "carry civilization" to the "backward" and "savage" peoples of the world. First the Bible, then the bottle and then the bayonet—that is what means "carrying civilization." Yet, we have been hearing all the time how wonderfully some Western nation is raising many "backward" peoples to a higher and higher level of civilization. We have been told so often that we have grown almost to believe in the blessings of imperialism.

But the strange thing is that about these blessings for which the imperialists so proudly

claim to be responsible we hear nothing from those upon whom these are rendered. It is the imperialists themselves who talk of their wonderful deeds like the familiar clowns in the circus who applaud their own feats while the spectators are all silent. The imperialists applaud themselves while the subject peoples are mysteriously silent. Silent! Why, many of them are silent for ever. How can we ever record satisfactorily the reaction of those unfortunate races that have been totally exterminated by the imperialists? Who will give us the impression of those races that are now on the verge of extinction? Why are these races that were once so healthy and sturdy dying of diseases of which they never heard before? Influenza, pneumonia, consumption, syphilis,—these are what civilization has brought to them. And do we not know what that carrying of civilization to our Oriental countries really mean? If only the Orient could freely express itself, the world will know when the history of the subject nations will be written by their own people.

Imperialism is nothing but the practical application of Western nationalism. It is based upon false egoism, maintained by false power, and justified by false propaganda. It is false and therefore an evil. All evil ultimately feeds upon itself. Western nationalism is self-destructive. The worship of power brutalizes the people. Being pampered by privileges which they acquire by the organized exploitation of weaker peoples they lose even their brute power. A nation without power cannot stand. Rome was not conquered by any nation, she was destroyed by her subjects with their slavery. If the present Western nations are not destroyed by their subjects it is because the homeland of the nations is at a safe distance and the real power is upheld by those who are not affected by the services of the subject people. But that does not save the power intoxicated nations from the danger of one another. Western nations being organized upon the false principle of egoism are, like cave men, suspicious and afraid of one another. So each of them seeks to outgrow its neighbours in power, each seeks artificial means to add to its sentiment of nationalism. That is the meaning of all such movements as Anglo-Saxonism, Pan-Teutonism, Pan-Latinism, Pan-Slavism, and so forth. But the ceaseless rivalry for power on the part of nations is a challenge to one another,—a challenge which strains them so much that they openly become threatening. The result is what happened in 1914. Let me here quote an expression of Western nationalism:

Hate by water and hate by land,
Hate of the heart and hate of the hand;
We love as one, we hate as one
We have but one foe alone, England.

This beautiful sermon of hatred is the fruit

of German nationalism which of course was no less enthusiastically answered by English nationalism when both met in their bloody carnival. Other nations have their similar expressions of nationalism. Is not this Western nationalism seeking to destroy itself?

And what is the effect of the last war? While there is talk of internationalism on the one hand, there is military preparedness on the other. While on the surface there is blatant boasting of pacts to out-law war, there is beneath it a secret diplomacy going on between nations. The truth is, human nature being what they think it is, the Western nations can by no means feel secure even if they have found the cultivation of their nationalism to be too costly. Outside they talk of peace, inside they must prepare; and the guilty mind is always suspicious. Their talk of internationalism is due to the horror of war and the fear of mutual destruction. There is no good feeling that draws them together.

This is evident from the fact that if any of these nations can exploit and oppress some weak people without danger to itself it does it so remorselessly that it seems all-but hopeless to seek any good-feeling in it. And how can a nation cultivate good-feeling when it has repudiated it at its very foundation? So the Western nations seek to form some international organization by pact, which is just a fact quite analogous to individuals seeking to form a nation on the basis of contract.

Such kind of internationalism is too political to be of any real hope. Western internationalism refers only to those nations of the world that have become, or are soon likely to become, dangerous to one another and must come to an understanding if they are to survive and to continue undisturbed exploiting those that are too weak or made too weak to raise an effective voice of protest. That is why the present internationalism of the power-mad nations is working. But can it for long work so smoothly? The insatiable greed of one nation may soon clash with that of another, and when the greed of a powerful nation is thwarted its thin crust of internationalism may vanish at once to let its naked nationalism assert itself once again. Besides the oppressed peoples will not always remain to be oppressed. Some of them may gradually die out, but those who will survive may seek to combine and prepare to meet violence with violence or take to Western diplomacy to set some greedy nation against some other. A world-wide internationalism of the present type may be possible if a rich planet could be discovered in the immediate neighbourhood,—a planet where the nations of our world could go and exhibit their nationalism over its inhabitants. It may then be a very unfortunate planet but as long as it can be exploited to the

supreme satisfaction of modern nationalism, the nations of our world may actually come together to form some sort of international organization, though on the same political basis as the national organization, to give up their predatory habits on this earth. Otherwise all this internationalism virtually means a little expansion of nationalism to maintain itself over the weaker peoples in case they become really threatening in their rebellious spirit. The most important argument which the power-mad nations advance in support of their cruel policy over the subject peoples is a highly organized brute force. It seems to be a very effective argument before which no amount of moral, intellectual or spiritual persuasions of subject peoples has hitherto been of any avail. History gives them no such encouragement. Even Professor Hayes sees, with the eye of a great historian, that nothing short of equally strong violence on the part of the oppressed will convince the imperialists.

"Wars of national self-determination," says he, "to say nothing of irredentist wars, are scarcely finished. Perhaps they are hardly begun. Imperial domination has been supplanted by national sovereignty in Europe and America, it is true, but not in the other continents, and the only way, apparently, by which Asiatics and Africans can assert and maintain national sovereignty is the self-same way by which Europeans and Americans have secured it—the war-like way of national self-determination. Just as subject nationalities in Europe rose in arms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries against the dynastic empires of Ottoman, Hapsburg, and Romanov, so in the future, if they will be true to nationalism, subject nationalities must revolt over a far wider area against the colonial empires of Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Japan, and the United States."

If that is the only advisable remedy for the oppressed even after the last war, where is the hope of man?

But probably there is still room for hope. Even through the present form of political internationalism there is some chance for the light of innate human goodness to break forth and dispel the dense gloom of false egoism, both individual and national. While the outward bond of internationalism may make the different nations get somewhat used to one another, the continued sufferings of some of the oppressed peoples for the sake of their spiritual ideal may call forth the suppressed good-feeling of the oppressing nations. It may cause them to revise their understanding of man and his corporate life. But let us hope of this before the oppressed peoples are goaded by the fear of death to brutalize themselves and become as dangerously nationalistic.

SEPARATION OF SIND—WHO IS TO PAY FOR IT ?

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.S.C., B.L.

THE Moslem communalists urge the separation of Sind from Bombay ; and it is one of Mr. Jinnah's celebrated fourteen points. The question of separation duly came up before the Simon Commission. They observed that they had given special attention to the case of Sind and had great sympathy with the claim for separation, but considered there were grave administrative objections to isolating Sind and depriving it of the powerful backing of Bombay before the future of the Sukkur Barrage were assured, and the major readjustments which it would entail effected. They stated that even if it were held that the time was ripe for the separation of Sind to be seriously considered, there would have to be a close and detailed enquiry into the financial consequences which would follow from such a step before a decision could be taken.

The Bombay Government in their memorandum before the Simon Commission were strongly against it. They considered it to be impracticable and undesirable, and observed that it would be useless extravagance to separate Sind. The Bombay Provincial Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto, himself a Sindhi and now a strong supporter of separation, unanimously recommended against it.

The Indian Central Committee recommended separation by 5 : 4 in these terms :

"Some of us are of opinion that the financial question is at present a *definite bar* to the creation of a separate province of Sind. The majority of us, however, are of the opinion that if the people of Sind are prepared to face the financial burden and other disadvantages, which seem likely to result from the constitution of a separate province, their wishes in the matter should be complied with."

The Government of India in their despatch on proposals for constitutional reforms were not in a position to tender final advice on the question, but they conceived "that the Sind Committee will be concerned primarily with the *administrative* and

financial aspects of separation, for the question is not one of boundaries."

But the Moslem communalists pressed on.

At the first Round Table Conference, the Sind Sub-Committee was formed as a result of discussions in the Minorities Committee. Let us give its genesis in the words of Earl Russel, then Under-Secretary of State for India :

"I am told the appointment was the result of a discussion in the Minorities Committee when the Prime Minister presided."

In the Sind Sub-Committee, referring to the financial solvency of separated Sind, Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto assured his hearers that if they were not able to support themselves, how could they ask for separation ? Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayetullah tried to show that the so-called deficit shown by the Bombay Government is more a result of budgetary manipulations than a real one ; and he was very sore that Prof. Chabiani, Dean of the Delhi University, was given any access to the Government records. Sir Abdul Quyum went further ; he said :

"Perhaps it is the prosperity of Sind which is really in the way—the future prosperity of Sind. Otherwise sound financiers like the Bombay people, Mr. Mody and others, would not care to be so very generous and charitable while their own people are starving as the result of one thing or another. No, it is the covetousness of getting something out of that development (*i.e.*, of the Sukkur Barrage) that is influencing Bombay Presidency."

Dr. Shafat Ahmad Khan, that stalwart champion of communal demands, asserted that

"On the political question, I say, most members of the Sub-Committee practically agree that Sind should be separated, *provided* of course, the financial adjustments are made and so on."

Mr. Jinnah doubted the figures supplied by the Bombay Government and said,

"Sind, after such separation, shall bear its own administrative expenditure ; that is after it is separated...When Sind is separated, then it must bear its own expenditure on administration."

Sir Muhammad Shafi opined that

"the formula suggested by Mr. Jinnah in the proposal he put forward yesterday contemplated in clear language that after separation Sind would bear its administrative expenses itself"

and added

"Sind must cut its coat according to its cloth . . . I think Sind ought to be able to meet its expenses."

With such assurances from the Moslems and separationists, the Sind Sub-Committee was cajoled and unduly influenced to agree with two dissentients (Dr. Moonje and Raja Narendra Nath) to the principle of separation.

"They therefore recommended that an expert Committee in India should examine carefully the probable revenue and expenditure of a separated Sind and the sanctity of the debt of the Sukkur Barrage, and should also recommend an equitable adjustment of the financial commitments for which Sind may properly be considered liable. If the investigation shows that separation would leave the new province with a deficit, the Sub-Committee think that the representatives of Sind should be asked to show satisfactorily how the deficit would be met before the new province is set up."

The composition of the Sind Sub-Committee would throw a flood of light as to how to assess the weight to be attached to its recommendations. It consisted of 4 Europeans, 7 Moslems including Sindhis, all supporters of the separation, 2 Bombay Parsis, 1 Sikh and 5 Hindus, but none from Sind. Just as the Nationalist Moslems were not invited to the Round Table Conference, so not even Moslem anti-separationist Sindhis were ever given a seat.

The Government of Bombay, basing their calculations on the figures for 1921-1925, thought the annual deficit to be 24 lakhs. On the basis of the 1927-28 figures it was 64 lakhs; and it was confirmed by Prof. Chabiani's calculations. The Miles Irving Committee estimated the total basic revenue to be 182 lakhs and the basic expenditure to be 280 lakhs. The basic deficit is thus 97 lakhs and to this extent Sind is at present financed by the rest of the Presidency. To this must be added the cost of separation, estimated at 11 lakhs.

On the 1st December 1931 in his statement at the close of the second session of the Round Table Conference, the Premier, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, said—

"His Majesty's Government also accept in principle the proposition, which was endorsed at the last conference, that Sind should be constituted a separate province, if satisfactory means of financing it can be found. We therefore intend to ask the Government of India to arrange for a conference with the representatives of Sind for the purpose of trying to overcome the difficulties disclosed by the report of the expert financial investigation [*i. e.*, the Miles Irving Committee report] which has just been completed."

The Government of India accordingly set up the Sind Conference consisting of a neutral Chairman and representatives of different parties in Sind.

"The purpose of the Conference" in the words of the Government of India's despatch setting it up "is to try to overcome the difficulties disclosed by the report of the expert financial investigation made by the Irving Committee last summer. The Chairman, having met the representatives of Sind, will report the results of the Conference to the Government of India."

The supporters and antagonists of the separation of Sind estimated the initial deficit, in the light of a further year's figures of actual expenditure and revenue which supplemented the figures for the 3 years 1927-28 to 1929-30 adopted by the Miles Irving Committee, to be 78 and 124 lakhs respectively. The Chairman's own estimate is 94 lakhs.

The Moslem supporters of separation have tried to meet the basic deficit thus. The Miles Irving Committee estimated 182 lakhs as the basic revenue, of which land revenue accounts for 102 lakhs, excise 33 lakhs, stamps 20 lakhs, forests about 7 lakhs, the balance of 21 lakhs being spread over the 17 remaining heads. The Moslem separationists contend that as the basic land revenue had been worked on an average of 3 years, 2 of which were years of flood, an average of 10 years should be taken, and the basic land revenue should be taken to be 109 lakhs. Well and good. But in the case of excise, 3 years' average *i. e.*, 37½ lakhs should be taken instead of the basic figure of 33 lakhs. They contend that the effect of the prohibition policy is dying down, and an early improvement in receipts is likely and they are even prepared to maintain and develop excise revenue. Khan Bahadur Mohammad Ayub Khuhro, M. L. C., says that the Sind M. L. C's. do not propose to support prohibition. True good Moslems

as they are, they must develop excise revenue to support the separation of Sind, no qualms of conscience and religion would stop them. They thus want to increase the basic income by some 11 lakhs.

On the expenditure side, they want to disallow the recent increase of 1·65 lakhs. For pensions, the basic figure taken by the Miles Irving Committee is 16·50 lakhs whereas the actual payment from Sind treasuries is only 8·44 lakhs. This difference of 7·5 lakhs they do not want to pay, and thus want to make a clear saving of 7·5 lakhs. Their argument runs thus :—a Deputy Magistrate or an Extra-Assistant Commissioner may have spent his lifetime in service in Sind, but as he resides in Bombay and draws his pension from there, we won't pay anything to him. As all the retired I. C. S. and other Imperial Service officers are paid their pensions from London, we won't pay anything to them. Let them realize their dues from Bombay !!

By certain retrenchments; the expediency of which to say the least is open to objection, they want to reduce the basic expenditure. For example, Khan Bahadur Md. Ayub S. Khurho, M. L. C., wants to abolish 1 Assistant Judicial Commissionership, thus certainly delaying the disposal of civil appeals.

Then they say that the cost of separation has been overestimated by 4·5 lakhs. So this sum must be reduced. The Miles Irving Committee in estimating the cost of separation postulated a Legislative Council of 52 members, while according to the Communal Award its strength will be at least 60. They estimated the cost of election for an electorate of 129,043, while according to the proposals of the Bombay Provincial Franchise Committee and of the Lothian Committee, its strength is going to be 665,168 and 7½ lakhs [our estimate of Sind's share, out of 38 for the whole Presidency] and the necessary cost is surely to be larger.

They say that they would continue the present emergency cuts in the pay of the Government officers, and thus save 5 lakhs per annum; and to this they would add additional retrenchments to the extent of 6·5 lakhs.

Still there is deficit; and they propose to reduce it by levying a cess of one anna per

rupee of land revenue, expected to fetch an income of 11 lakhs. Upon whom is this burden going to fall mostly? Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayetullah speaking, in the Sind Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference, of the Hindus said:

"The Hindus are not a meagre minority...I have consulted some of my officials; [he was then an Executive Councillor of the Bombay Government] they say: Your Amil is more astute even than the white Brahmin of the Deccan; he is cleverer; he is more decent; he dresses well and lives well. I am proud of him, Sir. So, there is education. He is in numbers 25 per cent, and he owns today 40 per cent of the land in Sind. As I told you, Sir, 30 per cent is already mortgaged with him, so that we, the majority, have only 30 per cent. So that he is not a meagre minority; he is a very rich man; he is an economic factor."

If we are to believe Sir Ghulam, 70 per cent of this additional impost is going to fall on the Hindus.

Some other proposals of additional taxation by Khan Bahadur Md. Ayub S. Khurho are:

		Additional income	
(a)	Tobacco tax of 25 per cent of the cost of tobacco		5·0 lakhs
(b)	Excise duty on cotton of Re. 1 per bale		10·0 "
(c)	Licensing of		per annum
(i)	Medical practitioners	Rs. 30	
(ii)	Veterinary Surgeons	" 10	
(iii)	Money-lenders	" 50	
(iv)	Domestic Servants	Re. 1	lakhs
(v)	Legal Practitioners	Rs. 50	2·0
(vi)	Sea-Fishery		1·0
(vii)	Lottery		10·0
(viii)	Guns, Pistols, etc.		0·50
		Total 13·5	

The professional licensing tax will fall exclusively on the Hindus, as almost all the doctors, lawyers, money-lenders in Sind to a man are Hindus, at least non-Moslems, taking a few Parsis into account. The Muslim Zamindars of Sind have certain almost feudal rights of service from their agricultural tenants, as a result of historical past. The Muslim domestic servants, especially in rural areas, will easily be classed either as tenants or agricultural labourers, and are in point of fact indistinguishable from these at certain seasons of the year. They are thus likely to escape taxation.

The Hindus are engaged in cotton trade, wholesale and retail, and they are thus most likely to feel the burden of the imposition of

excise duty of Re. 1 per bale. We say nothing about such an imposition being in the nature of a transit duty as 85 per cent of cotton bales exported from Karachi; or its being in the nature of an export duty, and as such belongs more to the Central Government than to the province. We in Bengal did not get even a share of the export duty on jute, even though jute is Bengal's monopoly.

The vend-fee on tobacco is impracticable over the whole of rural Sind, especially in view of the proposed retrenchments. If confined to towns, it only means taxation of the urban consumers, who are mostly non-Moslems.

It is thus seen that the main burden of the additional taxation will fall upon the Hindus, who are opposed to the separation to a man. Still, even on the most optimistic calculations of the separationists, there is a deficit of 30 lakhs. Mr. A. F. L. Brayne, the Chairman of the Sind Conference, estimates such deficit, even with the imposition of the proposed additional taxes, to be more than 80.5 lakhs.

In support of the proposed retrenchments, it is said that the cost of administration per head in Sind is Rs. 7; while in the other provinces it is as per table below:

	Expenditure per head based on the budget estimates for 1929-30
	Rs.
Madras	4.188
Bombay (including Sind)	8.291
Bengal	2.554
U. P.	2.729
Panjab	5.549
B. and O.	1.800
C. P.	3.792
Assam	3.920

[It will be seen that the expenditure per head in the Presidency proper must be much greater than Rs. 7 to give an average of Rs. 8-5 annas for the whole province]

The incidence of land revenue per head of population in the different provinces are shown below:

	Rs.	As.	P.
Madras	2	1	9
Bombay (including Sind)	2	10	9
Sind	3	3	0
Bengal	0	10	2
U. P.	1	9	7
Panjab	2	8	4
B. and O.	0	7	4
C. P.	1	9	5
Assam	1	7	3
N.-W. Frontier Prov.	1	2	2

It will be seen that the incidence of land revenue per head is the highest in Sind in the whole of India; and to this an additional impost of 1 anna per Re. 1, i. e., some 3 annas per head must be added.

The basic figure for Sind's expenditure on such nation-building activities in education, medical services and public health, agriculture and industries is only 44.35 lakhs out of a total of basic expenditure of 230.43 lakhs. As a result of several measures of retrenchment ordered since 1st April 1931, a saving of 5.29 lakhs (the figures for the saving in medical expenditure is not available) has been effected in these departments.

The separationists propose further retrenchments and reductions. It is a legitimate assumption that separated Sind shall provide the same standard of administration as exists at present, and shall not restrict the educational and other amenities as are freely open to its residents at present. The proceedings of the Sind Sub-Committee of the First Round Table Conference amply show that the main reason for demanding separation from Bombay by the Muslim separationists was the alleged neglect and step-motherly treatment of Sind by Bombay. Sir Ghulam Hussein Hidayetullah definitely charged the Bombay Government with neglect, saying:

"Now, with regard to education, in two other divisions of the Bombay Presidency and the City of Bombay they have Government Colleges of all kinds, engineering, medical and others. Poor Sind has not got one Government College."

Sir Muhammad Shafi went even further and said:

"What has been the step-motherly treatment that Bombay has extended to Sind? When I was in Sind one thing that struck me more than anything else was the fact that though Sind has been under the control of the Bombay Presidency for nearly a hundred years, even now no University has been established in Sind. Sind ought to have had a University of its own a long time ago. No Government college—engineering, medical or even arts—has been established in Sind up to this time, with the result that the students from Sind who pass their Matriculation examination and want to prosecute their studies further have to go to Bombay a thousand miles away from their homes, in order to receive University education in Bombay and to obtain their degrees."

It is a strange commentary on these speeches that the Muslim members of the Sind Conference headed by Khan Bahadur Md. Ayub S. Khurho, M. L. C. instead of

making an estimate of the cost of establishing a University and professional colleges of all sorts and adding it to the basic expenditure, limit themselves to the contribution Sind will have to make for having a few seats reserved, at the sufferance of Bombay, for Sindhis, (as if the 1000 miles' distance has vanished) and are keen on retrenchments or reductions in what little money is being spent for education in Sind.

Then again, the charge is not wholly

true. If there is one engineering college at Poona, there is another at Karachi. If there are 2 law colleges at Bombay and Poona, there is at least one at Karachi. Perhaps the reason for not establishing a Govt. medical college in Sind is that there is a medical school, established by a non-Muslim there; and the attendance of Muslim Sindhis is meagre.

But what is good logic elsewhere is no logic with Muslim separationists. Ergo, Sind must be separated!

SOCIAL LIFE IN GUJARAT

BY SAUDAMINI MEHTA, B.A.

GUJARATIS are well known as business men throughout India and yet, strangely, Gujarat is predominantly an agricultural country and the bulk of its people are peasants. A true picture of social life in Gujarat must, therefore, depict its village life too. But having very little experience of rural life, I shall mainly speak about the life in the town.

In Gujarat, as all over India, the family is the pivot on which the whole social life turns and in the family the mistress of the house is the central figure. To my mind, the place women occupy in society is one of the most important points to be examined in a sociological study of any country. The position of women indicates the stage of civilization of the people. Gujarati women enjoy a high position in society. We never had the purdah system in our province. Apart from being responsible for the physical and moral degeneration of a race, this purdah system is also responsible for preventing men and women from enjoying a happy domestic life. Women in our province come more in contact with men in their daily life than in other provinces. Among the rich, the majority of women are not highly educated but they take considerable interest in their husbands' business. There are instances of many rich widows

who are ably conducting the business of their husbands. In the middle class, women are the constant companions of their husbands and mix freely with the men friends of their husbands and their relatives. Among the working-classes almost every woman has some occupation besides her own household duties. The farmer's wife works with her husband in the field, the wives of potters, the *dhobis*, the tailors and the weavers share their husbands' work and accompany their husbands and other men-workers throughout the day.

Recently, women in Gujarat have been taking up professions for their livelihood. There are a number of women teachers in primary schools as also in girls' high schools. The number of women doctors and lawyers has increased considerably in the last five years. There are so many educational and social institutions which are run by men and women together. Gujarati ladies have been elected members of the Bombay University for the last ten years, while in Calcutta it was only a year ago that Mrs. P. K. Roy became the first lady member of the Senate and that too on the nomination of the Government. Gujarati ladies have been elected in the municipalities and local boards ever since 1925. Though the number of women graduates in Gujarat is smaller than that in Bengal, the

educated women there occupy more high posts in public life than in this province. Women of Gujarat will ever remain thankful to Gandhiji for the position he has given them in the political sphere. It was Mahatma Gandhi who gave them the opportunity of taking part in the struggle for national freedom. Women have earned great respect for themselves by joining the Satyagraha movement.

Turning from this, we come to literature and the fine arts in Gujarat. In literature Gujarat is far behind Bengal. In poetry and prose and especially in short stories and social novels, Bengali literature is far superior to any other literature in India. Among the modern poets in Gujarat Kavi Nanahlal, Narsimhrav Divatia, "Kalapi" and Manishankar Bhatt are considered first-rate. In prose, *Sarasvati Chandra*, the first modern novel, is supposed to be the most important book. Manilal Nabhubhai, Keshavlal Dhruwa, Ananda Shankar Dhruwa, Balvantrai Thakore, Ramanbhai Nilkantha and Ramnarayan Pathak are the well-known prose writers. There are very few good historical or social plays written in Gujarati. But Gujarat is not so poor in historical novels. Kanaiyalal Munshi has become very popular by his historical novels. In humorous literature we have very limited number of books. Among the humorous writers first comes the name of my late father Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth, and, among the living authors, Ramanarayan Pathak, Gaganvihari Mehta and Dhansukhlal Mehta are the three most popular humorous writers.

A number of Gujarati magazines are coming out every month but only two or three of them deserve to have their names mentioned here. *Prasthan* and *Kaumudi* are considered the best monthlies in Gujarati. As in other spheres of life, Gandhiji has also done great service to Gujarati literature. He has created a new style through his articles in the *Navajivan*. Gandhiji has put new spirit and new vigour in the language and has made it more expressive than it was before.

As in literature so in music and painting Gujarat is not in line with Bengal. Ten years ago music and painting were not so

popular in Gujarat as they are today. In the Bombay School of Arts there are about hundred Gujarati girls learning drawing and painting. This certainly shows how much young Gujarat values fine arts. There is a school of Gujarati artists led by Ravishanker Raval, Kanu Desai and Somalal Shah. Though few people take interest in classical music, folk-songs are immensely popular in our province.

What Gujarat lacks in high class music is adequately made up by its *Garbas* sung by Gujarati women. It is a dance peculiar to Gujarat and the artistic excellence of this form of dance and its music cannot be appreciated unless it is seen and heard. In the *Garba* dance there is colour and music, grace and sweetness. It is a beautiful art-form and a unique mode of culture and self-expression of a people. It is common to the classes and the masses. It is one of the joys of life, individual and collective and one of the finest contributions of Gujarat to the artistic heritage of India.

From music and dancing, we come to dramas and the stage. Plays performed by professional actors are poor in acting, scenery and plot. Still it would not be wrong to say that there is a bright future for the stage in Gujarat, because recently many educated and cultured young women and men of good families have been trying to revive the art of acting through amateur performances; and the public is encouraging and appreciating these dramatic entertainments.

Gujarat is particularly rich in fine architecture. It is not possible for me to describe here the beautiful designs of many Muhammadan memorials in Ahmedabad, dusty and decayed as they are at present. When I come to think about the Jain temples of Dilwara (near Mount Abu), words fail to describe the dainty loveliness of their marble carving. Some of the pillars and arches are worthy of adorning the gates of Paradise.

Let us now turn to social reform in Gujarat. When I was living in Gujarat, I thought that Gujarat was a backward province in matters of social reform. But when I came out of it I found that my impression was not correct. In education of girls, in inter-caste marriages,

in raising the age of marriage and in widow remarriages, Gujarat is not at all lagging behind the other provinces of India. The absence of the zamindari system and the influence of Mahatma Gandhi have made social life in Gujarat more democratic than in any other part of the country. There is caste in Gujarat, perhaps more rigid than in Bengal, but the higher castes do not oppress the lower castes. There has been, I think, less even of class than in most provinces. Unfortunately, the new class of capitalists is being formed by the introduction of Western industrialism. But Gandhism has not allowed this small section of rich men to dominate public life in Gujarat. This leads us to the question of the entry of Gujarat into the Western industrial system and the consequences of that system. In the year 1859 the first cotton mill was started in Ahmedabad, and today there are about one hundred mills in Ahmedabad, and a few more in other towns of Gujarat. Even in Bombay a number of cotton mills are owned by Gujaratis. In the last decade there was a gradual immigration from the villages to the town, due to the relative barrenness of the soil and the attraction of higher wages in the cotton mills. Unfortunately, the factory system is developing abuses similar to those which disgraced its early history in Europe. Thanks to the efforts of Sreemati Anasuben Sarabhai, a well-known labour leader, the condition of mill hands in Ahmedabad is comparatively better than that of labour in several other places.

Lastly, we take up the festivals in Gujarat. To speak about our festivals is very pleasant as it brings back many delightful memories. Most of the festivals are essentially religious and they are considered as holy days. "Diwali" which is our greatest festival has no religious significance. It comes in the month of Ashvin which ends the Gujarati year. People make merry and enjoy these holidays after toiling hard throughout the whole year. In the month of Shravan, on every Monday fairs are held in all the towns and villages. These *Melas*, as they are called in Gujarati, are great centres for amusements; and children love to go there and buy toys and sweets from these fairs. For small unmarried

girls there is a big festival in the month of Ashadha, called *Goro* from *Gauri Puja*. In the Hindu family, as a rule, boys are more welcome than girls but during the five days of *Gauri Puja*, the girls have their *Raj* in the house; the mothers pay all their attention to the performance of this *Vrita* (वृत्त) of their daughters. Delicious dishes are prepared for the girls who take only one meal during the festival. Mothers take great care to dress their daughters beautifully for the evening function of *Garbas* which are sung on all the five days. *Dasherah* and *The Dole Puja* which is known as *Holi* and other festivals which are common throughout the country are also celebrated in Gujarat.

I shall end this short paper with a small sketch of the characteristics of Gujarati men and women. The people of Gujarat are hard-working, practical and calculating. They are not by nature proud. Gujaratis are slow to laugh, slow to quarrel and slow to die or to kill. Gujarat is at present one of the most advanced provinces in India but it is not the habit of Gujaratis to make a show or to boast of what they have. They are silent workers and believe in the constructive programme of Gandhiji. Shree and Saraswati (श्री, सरस्वती), the goddess of wealth and the goddess of learning are favourable to Gujarat at present. Gujaratis know how to make money, but they also know how to give away money in charity. Gujaratis have no provincial feeling. Some of the rich men of Ahmedabad and Bombay who have never seen Calcutta and transact no business on this side have donated thousands of rupees to Shantiniketan, J. C. Bose's Institute of Science and Chitta Ranjan Seva Sadan. So also in Maharashtra more than five arts colleges are run by the money of Gujarati merchants.

Whenever and in whichever corner of India, there is famine or flood Gujarat is ever ready to help the poor people in plight. I sometimes feel that *Laxmi* does not leave Gujarat because of this noble quality of its inhabitants. Gujaratis are adventurous people, they have gone to all parts of India and have even gone out of India, to Burma, South Africa, East Africa and Europe for business. Women of Gujarat are bold, full

of commonsense, thrifty and well known as good housewives.

The educated men and women in Gujarat are not as "anglicized" as in Bengal and Panjab. If you go to a rich Brahmo house in Calcutta, you would take it from its furniture and other arrangements to be an Englishman's house. The "anglicized" Bengalis and Panjabis have almost ceased to be Indians. They eat on the table, the men dress like Europeans and the women except their saris try to imitate Western women in their costumes and jewellery. But if you go to Gujarat, you will not find this blind

imitation of the West. We, Gujaratis, are by nature people of simple habits : and Gandhiji has taught us the *Mantra* (मंत्र) of plain living and high thinking. In spite of our acquiring wealth by means of Western industrialism, we adhere to our old and simple ways of life. Gandhiji has done immense good to Gujarat ; it is he who aroused the political consciousness of the people, it is he who made them realize that they had the capacity to be free and the strength to endure the hardships of the struggle for national freedom. Gandhiji has shed a new light on the path of life of Gujaratis.

SOME ASPECTS OF JAPAN'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By SASADHAR SINHA, B. sc. Econ. (Lond.), Ph. D. Econ. (London).

INTRODUCTION

SINCE the war, Japan has reached the cross-roads of her economic career.

Never before in her history has she been faced with such serious economic problems. Before the Meiji Restoration (1868), Japan was to all intents and purposes a closed "economy." True, in her period of isolation, poverty was general, but at the same time each generation was compelled to practise the frugal habits of their forefathers. In the words of Lafcadio Hearn, Japan had in this way "reduced the cost of living to a figure far below our Western comprehension of the necessary." But since 1853, when Commodore Perry violently pushed open the gates of Japan to the world outside, the economic structure of the country had undergone quick changes. Japan has faced the new economic situation with surprising energy and insight. She was quick to realize that unless she inaugurated a speedy reorganization of her economic structure, she would be swamped by superior external economic influences ; for the experience of others had taught her that economic stranglehold from abroad was bound sooner or later to culminate

in the suppression of political liberty at home. At each stage of Japan's economic development, the State has, therefore, taken a predominant share, by direct initiative and encouragement. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the vast progress that Japan has made would ever have become a reality without the intimate association of the State. The co-operative tradition of the Japanese people made the process easier, for in the case of Japan there was no hampering economic doctrine to contend with, nor was there the opposition of vested interests to bar the way of progress.

THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

In considering the economic life of Japan two important facts emerge. In the first place, Japan, unlike other advanced industrial nations, is a country of very limited agricultural resources. In the second place, her population is increasing at a rate scarcely exceeded elsewhere. In regard to the first, it may be pointed out that the total area of Japan is about 39,114,858 chobu (1 chobu = approx. 2½ acres), of which between 15-17 p. c. only is available for cultivation. On the

other hand, despite the economic depression since 1920, there has been not only no abatement in the annual increase of her population, but the rate has actually increased. For example, in 1920 the annual increase was 684,765, while in 1925 and 1926 the corresponding figures were 962,695 and 961,906 respectively. Considered in terms of food, the situation is becoming one of increasing seriousness. This for two reasons. In the first place, the demand for the staple food of Japan—namely, rice, is increasing not merely in correspondence with the increasing population, but it is at the same time becoming accentuated by a gradual change in the people's food-habits—namely, by the substitution of rice for inferior foods. In other words, with the rise in the standard of living, people are consuming more rice per head and less of a mixture of rice and barley, which was customary among the poor. In the second place, it is clear that Japan has reached the margin of intensive cultivation, by means of which alone she was able to feed an ever-increasing population. It is interesting to note that between 1897 and 1925 there was an increase of 52 p. c. in Japan's rice production while in the same period her population increased by 41 p. c. only. The rate of consumption of rice, on the other hand, had risen in the same period by 72 p. c. In short, Japan is no longer self-sufficient with regard to food, her agricultural productivity of cereals having failed to keep pace with the increased demand. None the less, she is not yet faced with any actual shortage of food. This is shown, in the first instance, by the fact that even during the lean years of food-production there was no actual increase in the quantities of food imported from abroad. To take a typical year, *viz.*, 1921, a year of unusually bad harvest, there was an excess of export of rice to the amount of 234.4 million kilograms, while in 1919, a year of very good harvest, the excess of import of rice over export was 3,756.8 million kilograms. This incongruous situation, in fact, points to a surplus of food-production in Japan, which in normal years is lost either through destruction or transformation into some "material of less physiological value,"—namely, polishing or manufacture of rice

into Sake (the Japanese wine), etc. As Dr. Grey puts it: "At the present time the total imports of food-stuffs do not amount to 10 per cent of the consumption and there is no doubt that the waste of food exceeds the figure." The net import of rice, *i. e.*, the import of rice less the export, in 1925 was only 4.61 per cent of the total rice consumption, or 3.08 per cent of the total cereal consumption of the country. As matters stand now, in her supply of cereals, Japan is practically self-supporting, and if her rice were a little less polished she would be entirely so.

The crucial problem is thus not one related to the quantity of food, but the increasing cost of production and consequently one of increasing food-prices. Self-sufficiency with regard to food is hence to be interpreted not in an absolute sense but relatively, *i. e.*, whether the home-production of food is economically worth-while. Akin to the problem of food of Japan, is the larger problem of the agricultural workers themselves. Despite the rapid industrialization of the country in recent years, agriculture still remains the main economic support of the nation, and employs about 48.2 per cent of the Japanese population. The agricultural population itself can be classified into four classes according to the size of their holdings:—(i) Peasant farmers owning no land of their own or less than $\frac{1}{2}$ cho; (ii) Middle-class farmers composed of those who till lands varying between $\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 cho; (iii) petty landlords owning 3 to 10 cho; (iv) landlords owning more than 10 cho. On further analysis, it will be found that the peasant farmer families represent about 62 per cent of the total rural community and number about 4 million families or sixteen million people. The land under their cultivation, on the other hand, forms only 8.9 per cent of the total arable land. Obviously their condition is extremely miserable. The upper stratum of the middle-class farmers is tolerably well-off, but the lower stratum of the same class does not fundamentally differ from the peasant farmers. This class represents about 33 per cent of the entire rural community and the area of land cultivated by them forms about 40.8

per cent of the total arable land. The petty landlords are a small community and with middle-class farmers form the bulwark of the State. Like the other two classes, this class also is in the grip of general agricultural impoverishment. The landlords, on the other hand, are the most prosperous and the most rapidly increasing community and represent the invasion of capitalism in agriculture. It is estimated that in the course of fifteen years (1911-1926), their number has increased from 44,419 to 50,062. It is important to note that, although they form only 1 per cent of the entire rural community, the land under their direct possession is about 24 per cent of the total cultivable land. Nor is this all. The smallness of the agricultural holdings alone is no index to the acute economic distress prevailing among the large majority of the cultivators. The extraordinarily high rate of rent on the one hand, and the extent of agricultural indebtedness on the other, must be taken into account in order to appreciate the real state of affairs. It will suffice to indicate that, according to the Agricultural Bureau and Forestry Department, during the five years (1915-20), the rent for paddy fields (which was paid in kind) amounted about 46.9 to 50.5 per cent of the gross produce. On the other hand, it has been estimated that rural indebtedness has increased from Yen 1,615,177,000 in 1914 to Yen 2,138,976,000 in 1919 and Yen 5,107,830,000 in 1924. It is clear that after the payment of rents, interest on agricultural loans, and debts of other description, the margin of income remaining is extremely meagre. Indeed, but for the other subsidiary employments, like silk-worm rearing, silk reeling, etc., for many it would have meant actual starvation.

INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF JAPAN

The extraordinarily rapid progress in the industrialization of Japan since 1914 is without a doubt, mainly due to the abnormal war conditions, "but at the same time it may be said that it was also the ripened fruit of Japanese efforts for the past forty years." Since the war, she has become conscious of her immense industrial potentiality, and, incidentally, industrialization has supplied

Japan with a possible solution to the twin problems of over-population and diminishing returns in agriculture, which have haunted her since the turn of the present century. Like the over-populated nations in Europe, Japan has also attempted the remedy of emigration in order to relieve the pressure on the land,—and her territorial ambitions on the mainland of Asia can in part be attributed to this motive, but the policy has proved totally inadequate, for, except in Brazil, the Japanese are everywhere either unwelcome aliens or expressly forbidden to immigrate. The policy of internal colonization, especially in the northern island of Hokkaido, has had a similar fate, because to the Japanese its climate is far from hospitable, nor is the soil fertile. The more far-seeing Japanese thinkers, however, have envisaged another solution of the problem of over-population, namely, the deliberate limitation of families, but the Government has, so far, stoutly resisted its adoption as a national policy. Of late, even in the Government circles there is a significant change in this direction. The question is, will it bring immediate relief to the country? It is obvious that, even if the limitation of the family were to become the national policy, it would only very slowly affect the economic situation of the country. The only remaining solution then lies, as indicated above, in a conscious and well-planned industrial policy for the country, by means of which alone there is any hope that the increasing population can be maintained at a decent standard of life, for no other branch of economic activity is as productive.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS DIFFICULTIES

The path of industrial progress in Japan is beset with difficulties unparalleled elsewhere. Modern industrialism is rooted in the two basic raw materials, namely, iron and coal. Japan possesses neither of these raw materials in sufficiency. To take the instance of coal first, it has been estimated that Japan proper possesses deposits containing about 7,970,000,000 metric tons of coal and that its supply is at present adequate is proved by the fact that the net import of coal is little.* But so

* The paucity of coal in Japan is however not without its compensation. It is well known that

scattered is its distribution and so remote are the coal mines from the centres of industry that the high production cost of coal, coupled with the relatively high freight charges, tend to raise the prices unduly. The immediate repercussion on the expansion of industry is prohibitive. On the other hand, in iron also Japan has a large potential supply—although its quality is not all that may be desired, but here again its scattered distribution and the prohibitive price of coal prevents the iron and steel industry from flourishing. The consequence is that Japan is to a large extent dependent on foreign supplies.* The slow development of the manufacture of machinery and ship-building is obviously related to the same cause. This is another source of hindrance to her future industrial progress, because as long as she is in the leading strings of outsiders for her requirements of machinery and the like, the capital cost of her industries must necessarily be very high.† Among Japan's manufacturing industries the cotton industry represents the largest total value of production. In comparison with her trade rivals she is at a disadvantage as regards raw materials, because the sources of supply of raw cotton lie outside

her borders; but the distribution of its supply being world-wide the future of the industry is secure.

The uneven industrial development of a country, which indeed is a characteristic feature of Japan, is often caused by the paucity of capital available for industrial purposes. The paucity in Japan no doubt has been in part due to Japan's unwillingness to borrow from abroad, but in recent years the latter tendency, *i. e.*, the unwillingness to borrow from abroad, is becoming less evident. Nevertheless, the exceptionally high rate of interest prevailing in Japan is a positive indication that sufficient capital,—whether on account of actual scarcity or insecurity of investment,—is not forthcoming. To this must be added the loss of capital as a result of natural calamities. The difficulty, however, is apt to be exaggerated. For, not only is the volume of investment of Japanese capital abroad much greater today than before the war, but the amount of reserve created during the war, by the cotton industry for example, is so large that the scarcity of capital will not be felt by that industry for a long time. On the other hand, the rate of dividends in all industrial undertakings in Japan is relatively higher than elsewhere. This, of course, is in harmony with the prevailing rate of interest. The real source of danger in this respect must, however, be sought in other directions. In the absence of a system of public audit in Japan, not only is it possible to conceal the true state of affairs of an industry, which is often done, but actually to mislead people by declaring a high rate of dividend out of the capital resources of the undertaking. Last, but not least, is the unsoundness of the Japanese banking system itself—which produces from time to time serious disturbances on the capital market. This, in part, is due to the Japanese social attitude, the "national love of compromise and dislike of pushing things through to a crisis." The result has been that the Government has often resorted to inflation, in order to bring relief to distressed banks, and many a business concern has been kept afloat by generous bank loans. Despite the fact that the co-operative genius of the Japanese people has normally made

Japan is a country of swift streams and consequently of immense potential supply of electricity. The enormous development of hydro-electricity in recent years and its wide use for industrial purposes points to the extreme modernity of Japan's industrial growth.

* In this connection the importance of Manchuria to Japan must be mentioned. Manchuria is not only rich in agricultural resources but also in the possession of valuable minerals. Japan already controls half of the coal deposits of Manchuria (*i. e.*, 1,500,000,000 tons), which is nearly double the coal reserves of Japan proper. On the other hand, Manchuria possesses extensive deposits of iron ores, although of a somewhat inferior quality. The total production of pig iron in Manchuria has increased from 80,444 tons in 1921 to 276,000 tons in 1928. Finally the prospects of an oil-refining industry in Manchuria are also considered not unfavourable. The vigorous policy Japan is pursuing in Manchuria, which of late has come to a head, can now be viewed in its proper perspective.

† The following remarks of Mr. Arno Pearse, Secretary to the International Federation of Cotton Manufacturers, are worth quoting:—"The building of the automatic looms shows also what progress has been made. Even today, with the exception of the mule (and that is no longer considered an essential machine), one can buy all other machines of Japanese make; Japan has made such progress in engineering that within a few years very little textile machineries will be imported from Europe."

it possible for economic changes to take place smoothly, financial crises, which have inevitably followed, have made them all the more severe. On the other hand, even in the course of normal business, the Japanese banks are apt to keep insufficient reserves so that in times of financial panic the whole banking system is thrown out of gear.

The acquisition of industrial skill presupposes a conjunction of several factors. In so far as the technical knowledge and skill and energy of the leaders are concerned, Japan has made enormous strides "as is evident to anybody who compares the volume and range of her manufactures today and 20 years ago." In the domain of technical education also the progress made by her has been the object of general admiration abroad. But the same could by no means be said about skilled work. Apart from other considerations, the comparatively slow progress made in industries like iron and steel must in part be attributed to the lack of sufficient skill on the part of the workers. Indeed "the absence of a class of skilled factory worker is a natural consequence of the lateness of Japan's industrial development on modern lines."

Finally, in order to arrive at a correct appreciation of Japan's economic difficulties, her dependence on international markets for the disposal of her manufactures must not be overlooked. A single illustration will suffice. In the words of Dr. Harada, "the value entering into the export trade amounts to 25 to 30 per cent of the total production of the manufacturing industry" of Japan while the corresponding figures for the U. S. A. does not exceed 5 per cent. Two considerations are relevant. In the first place, the reason for this is that the domestic demand for goods manufactured on the basis of mass production is to all intents and purposes nonexistent. It follows that while the U. S. A. with an enormous domestic market and high wages can occasionally resort to "dumping" her surplus manufactures in foreign markets, Japan has to wage a war of indiscriminate price-cutting in order to maintain her markets abroad with the inevitable sequel of low wages at home. For, "the success of 'dumping' largely depends on the existence of

stable or wide domestic markets." In the second place, the high protectionist policy of foreign countries is bound almost automatically to affect her foreign trade. It is when the full meaning of these difficulties is understood that it is realized why Japan has been chary of industrialization at any cost. Agriculture at least affords her a relatively stable food supply while her industries hold out only doubtful prospects of security.

THE INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION OF JAPAN: ITS MAIN PHASES

It is a curious coincidence that each stage of industrial progress made by Japan should have been marked by a war, in two of which she herself was directly involved, while her participation in third, although nominal, was none the less vital to her progress. The two successful wars, with China and Russia in 1894 and 1904—separated exactly by a decade, are important but probably not primarily, because they correspond to two decisive phases in Japan's industrial expansion. It is probable that their psychological aspect is even more important. For the first time in her history, Japan became conscious of an economic future, undreamt of before, on which the vision of an empire was superimposed after her victory over Russia.

At the beginning of her economic career, Japan's industries languished from the inadequacy of capital. The huge indemnity she received from China supplied the requisite fillip towards the first stage of her industrial revolution. The abrogation of the unequal treaties, on the other hand, marked the first recognition of Japan as a modern power. From then onwards, she ceased to be in the economic leading-strings of foreign powers. The freedom to protect her "infant" industries behind a tariff wall was its most important aspect. Unlike its predecessor, the war with Russia, however, brought Japan no indemnity. Nevertheless, the absence of any direct financial gain on this occasion was more than balanced by territorial accessions. The "protectorate" over Korea was shortly to be followed by its annexation, while the establishment of a "sphere of influence" in Manchuria, where Japan supplanted Russia, was

generally regarded as the prelude to the same procedure.

With the world-war, the third and the most decisive stage in Japan's economic evolution was reached. Indeed, apart from this as Mr. Ueyhara puts it: "Japan would still have been in the position she was before so far as her economic development was concerned." Far away from the theatre of war, her geographical situation itself became a matter of capital importance to Japan. She partook of all the advantages accruing from the war, but had none of its real responsibilities. The effective elimination of almost all foreign competition, to which was added the war-demand of belligerent nations, caused an expansion of her manufacturing industries, *viz.*, machinery, ship-building and electrical enterprises, which in normal circumstances would never have come about. The volume of her foreign trade reached dizzy heights. Ever since 1900, with the only exception of the years 1906 and 1909, the balance of trade had continued, year after year, to be against her. The advent of the war changed the "adverse" trade-balance into a favourable one which continued throughout the war. The total excess of exports above imports reached, during this whole period, *i.e.*, 1915-18, the colossal figure of Yen 1,408,000,000. The excess of invisible exports, on the other hand, stood at no less a figure than Yen 1,400,000,000. Japan was thus not only able to liquidate her previous indebtedness to foreign countries, but the rôles were reversed. At the end of the war her credit towards foreign countries amounted to Yen 2,800,000,000.

The value of her foreign trade alone is no index to Japan's industrial expansion. The progress made in industrial organization, improvement of industrial skill, inauguration of new industries, in short, in industrial efficiency in general, is far more important; for in the last resort, it is pre-eminently in these latter respects that Japan will have to depend for her future economic progress, nay, even for the maintenance of the ground she has so far gained. From her large foreign trade and the variety of her manufactures, it is evident that Japan has advanced all along the line. "Indeed it is probable that

her industrial efficiency is at a higher point than it has ever reached before."

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing analysis, an attempt has been made to bring the fundamental fact home that, placed as she is, Japanese agricultural production is inadequate for her needs. Despite the fact that agricultural output of the country has more than doubled itself within the last forty years, it is recognized that the rate of increase of agricultural output by methods of intensive cultivation cannot be maintained without an enormous increase in the cost of production. Such a policy is economically unsound. Meanwhile, the population of the country tends to increase at an alarming rate. The country-wide agricultural distress is a clear indication that the expansion of Japanese industry is not fast enough to be able to absorb the surplus population of the land.

The war-period saw an unprecedented development of Japanese industries. Japan became for the first time a solvent nation. At the same time the volume of her credit abroad mounted up. The shipping lines of Japan spread their tentacles all over the globe. Finally Japanese labour in general enjoyed prosperity as never before.

With the return of the normal international trade, formidable rivals have again returned to the scene. Many of Japan's artificial advantages ensuing from the war have disappeared.

Since 1919 her international trade-balance has returned to its pre-war condition. Since 1920, there has been acute economic crisis throughout the land. The final readjustment of the post-war economic situation has, however, been delayed by two important circumstances. Firstly, the inadequacy of the banking system. The absence of adequate machinery for the control of credit allowed the war-boom to continue much longer than it would otherwise have done. The crisis of 1927, therefore, when it finally did come, was all the more severe. In the second place, the terrible earthquake of 1923 must be mentioned. By diverting attention from the more fundamental problems it created a further check to the process of reorganization.

The post-war period furnishes a most interesting episode in the history of Japanese labour. It is known that the traditional attitude of Japanese workers towards employers—namely, the so-called master-servant relationship has facilitated the economic evolution of Japan. The docility of labour, however, has been taken too much for granted. The economic crisis, since 1920, has strikingly brought to a head the undercurrents of change that have been slowly but steadily revolutionizing the outlook of the Japanese labour. The accelerated frequency of strikes since 1920 is only its outward manifestation. It is clear that the leaven of popular education, better labour organization, and finally the economic prosperity itself, have all contributed in bringing about the change. This is a healthy development, but nevertheless disquieting for Japanese industries, for with the demand for higher wages, shorter hours of work, better housing, etc., Japan's relative advantage in respect of labour-cost will probably disappear, thus opening the country to still keener competition.

The acuteness of Japan's economic crisis, however, has had one beneficial result. The leading men of the country have been suddenly awakened to the unstable foundation of the economic structure of Japan. The somewhat naïve optimism, which has often been attributed to the Japanese by foreign critics, has yielded to a critical attitude on matters economic. The doctrine known as "Sangyo-Rikkoku" (founding the nation upon industry) emanates from the Government itself. It is a clear index that the period of economic self-sufficiency is over. From the point of view of labour, the impact of the crisis on public policy is even more significant. The progressive attitude of the Japanese towards labour legislation since the war is an indication that the powers that be are not blind to the real situation. In short, it is increasingly realized that the key to the industrial future of the country is dependent even to a larger extent than elsewhere upon the rapid rise in the efficiency of labour.*

* This article is the summary of a chapter in the author's thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London.

THE PROBLEM OF THE DELINQUENT AND NEGLECTED CHILD

BY MRS. CHARU-PRABHA MUKERJEE

ADAPTATION to environment is one of the fundamentals for the peaceful passage of life through this world. Maladjustment results in doings outside the normal.

This fundamental truth is more than applicable in the case of the inexperienced child. Adults little realize how much adjustment and readjustment the child's surroundings demand from him—how far short he, coming into a new world, falls in responding correctly to the given stimuli unaided by right surroundings and wise personal guidance. A delinquent child is therefore primarily a maladjusted child. This state is mostly due to :

(i) Wrong or improper environmental conditions.

(ii) Inherited tendencies which environment could have rectified.

(iii) Injudicious and capricious dealings of those in authority.

Broadly speaking, these are the causes of the anti-social habits of children.

In the West there has been a distinct change of values with regard to the importance of child life. The growing interest in children's behaviour—their right to a happy and healthy childhood, has given a new aspect to the whole question of the misdeemeanour of children. The State has stepped in to help private effort or, where private effort has failed, has taken the initial steps to help and guard young children from the dangers surrounding them, thereby helping

to train good and honest citizens of the future. In most cases the greater part of this work has been in charge of women as magistrates, as probation officers, as heads of institutions. In all cases the methods of procedure are very simple, dealing not so much with law, but with the expert advice of psychologists, doctors, religious instructors, homes and schools trying to find out by observation, sympathetic understanding and tact the causes of the anti-social acts of children. It is in this sphere that woman could be of immense help.

If India there are two distinct Acts.

(a) The Reformatory Schools Act of 1897, which is an all-India one. The result of this Act was the establishment of reformatory schools where young people are sent and kept till they are eighteen years of age. There are two such schools in Bengal, one at Alipore and another at Hazaribagh in Bihar.

(b) The Children Act was promulgated in England in 1908.

In India :

Madras Children Act, 1920.

Bengal Children Act, 1922.

Bombay Children Act, 1924.

These Acts are applicable only to the Presidency towns and suburbs.

As far as is known there is no children Act in the Indian States.

The main provisions of the children Act are :

1. *Remand Homes*. These places are ostensibly for the detention of children while their cases are under consideration.

In Calcutta the Remand Home for boys is at 85, Lower Circular Road. The Juvenile Court also sits there. The Rescue Home for girls is at 45, Lower Circular Road.

The underlying object of establishing these homes was not only for the detention of pending cases but primarily for a closer observation and examination of their behaviour with a view to a better and deeper understanding of the cause of their misbehaviour.

There are very few facilities for these things in the Remand Home here ; but in spite of this, ready help is always forthcoming from the Mental Hygiene Society and the Experimental School of Psychology, which are themselves in their infancy.

2. *Establishment of Juvenile Courts.*

This has been a great blessing for it makes a sharp distinction between adult and juvenile offenders.

The relations existing in this court being of a friendly nature and the procedure being simple the children are not overawed by the paraphernalia which exists in an ordinary court of law, nor do they feel that they are being judged and condemned as hardened criminals.

The atmosphere could be bettered and the relationship made less awe-inspiring, if there were women magistrates sitting with the special magistrate. The women magistrates could deal with the practical problems and difficulties of the child, while the special magistrate could deal with the intricacies of the law. But Calcutta, unlike Western countries and unlike Madras and Bombay, has no woman magistrate and a mere man is left single-handed to cope with this important piece of work. There is, we trust, some hope in the near future for this defect being remedied.

3. *Better organization and closer supervision of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools under the Education Department.* Being under the Education Department and not under the Jails Department as before, has this advantage that these schools have a chance of being run as educational institutions and not as jails, which alters the whole view-point of the boys and the authorities.

The relationship between the Juvenile Court, the Reformatory and the Industrial schools should be a closer one, the reason being that most of the children are sent from the Juvenile Court, and it is the duty of the court to follow up and take an interest in the boys sent there. The women magistrates should be visitors as well as members of the committees of these institutions.

4. *The Institution of the Probation System.* Probation work in connection with juvenile offenders is the corner-stone for the successful working and solving of the whole problem. Probation officers are people who are appointed for befriending and supervising delinquent children discharged on probation from the Juvenile Court.

The proper place for children is the home

and as far as possible they should be restored to their lawful guardians. A probation officer should be a person with sufficient imagination and active sympathy to gauge the wants of the child, make suitable provision for his working and leisure hours and by his attitude evoke in the child and his guardians a feeling of trust and friendliness, and by his unobtrusive ways change an undesirable home into a desirable one. This is where the whole importance of good probation work should have its beginning. It is needless to say that some of these probation officers should be women. In Calcutta there are three paid men probation officers and one paid woman officer and a couple of honorary women officers. They work on the lines suggested above. But the whole scheme is in its initial stages as much in its personnel as in its workings.

There are play centres for these boys as well as other boys of the locality in different parts of Calcutta, such as, Park Circus, Ripon Square, Marcus Square. These are run by various bodies with local help, which is most important.

The Juvenile Court has to deal with another class of children. These are the neglected and destitute children.

Any observant person passing through the New Market by day or night will be struck at the number of children who seem to have no visible means of livelihood and whose presence there seems to be superfluous. One might well ask, whence come these and wherefore? These children come from all parts of India—some have bad homes, some have none and some prefer the adventurous life of the pavements, some earn a livelihood by washing up in the tea shops, some by doing odd jobs, others just living on the refuse thrown away, others by stealing; and who can blame them when hunger urges?

A centre has been opened and very ably run by a section of the Bengal Presidency Council of Women at the Calcutta Government School of Arts, Calcutta. Here they are taught to work and play together. The 3 R's are taught, the tutor being paid by the Corporation. Hand work and games are taught, the class meets regularly. It is very

difficult to bring this class of boys under any kind of discipline, but the monthly display that they give testify to the work that is being done in this connection. Such boys in various numbers are to be found in most parts of Calcutta.

Cinemas, picnics are provided for them, and shelter at night during the rains is provided to a few through the kindness of the Corporation.

A great deal, of course, remains to be done.

1. The Children Act should apply to the whole of India, *i.e.*, extended to the districts and not confined to cities only.

2. After-care of follow-up work. When these children are released from reformatory and industrial schools, an after-care association should be formed and run on right lines with the weight of public opinion behind, so that the good that has been done to the child should not be wasted for want of proper care and supervision on their release.

The After-Care Association of Bengal has so far confined its activities to young people released from reformatory and Borstal schools. The Association tries to find work for the boys and a hostel has also been started at Alipore, where some handicraft is taught them.

As yet there is no after-care for girls who are released from certified homes. There are two in Calcutta. The Salvation Army Home and the Govinda Kumar Home, Panihati, for girls rescued under the Immoral Traffic Act, *i.e.*, minor girls taken from undesirable surroundings where they may find accommodation and be provided with further training to fit themselves for a useful career. As yet public opinion is not enlightened enough to recognize this need and give tangible effect to this by throwing open such institutions as provide instruction for the means of earning one's livelihood.

Girls released on probation, *i.e.*, girls allowed to go back to their husbands and parents on condition that they live in wholesome surroundings, have found it extremely difficult to get such accommodation in respectable localities, as the landlords or co-tenants are very reluctant to have them as tenants.

3. Shelter for the night to be provided for homeless children with a simple free meal at night so that they have at least one square meal a day. The cost would not be much. There should be local people who would take charge of this.

4. There ought to be a centre for the observation of the mentally and physically deficient children in Calcutta run in conjunction with the Reformatory, Industrial and Juvenile Court. A representative of the institute should always be present in the Juvenile Court.

5. An All-India Probation Act which

would enable imposition of specific conditions of a constructive nature when children are let out on probation. At present conditions are imposed but there is no legal authority behind them.

The demand for these things should come from the various associations of women in Bengal. Very little is given as a free gift. To be really effective one has to adopt the tactics of the unfortunate widow demanding in and out of season that these things must be, till, if not for justice—but for one's peace of mind these things shall be.

INDIAN LANDHOLDERS AND THEIR FUTURE

By R. V. M. G. RAMARAU

Yuvarajah Saheb of Pithapuram

If there is any section, in India, that is on the verge of ruin it is the landholders. The magnitude of the disaster that is awaiting the zamindar in the very near future, can hardly be exaggerated. It is only with alarm that a prudent zamindar can think of his future. Yet how few of the so-called landed aristocracy think to-day of their future and even if they do, how few think rightly, and even the voice of these few is lost in the dreary desert of indifference of the many. Instead of being up and doing to ward off the imminent danger, the zamindar is drowsily indifferent to all these live issues which are conspiring together to crush the whole of the landed aristocracy in this country. Nothing can be more foolish and pathetic than this culpable laziness of the zamindar who is certainly going to pay heavily for his ignorance and "security." Even at this eleventh hour the zamindar should awake from his stupor and try to make the best of a bad bargain. The days of the zamindar are numbered and inevitable is his fall. Fall he must, but let him not fall without a fight.

The old days are gone. The 'graciousness of the lord' and the 'loyalty of the peasant,'

have lost their meaning. Monarchy and its autocracy are things of the past; democracy is the dominant ideal. The very words 'lord' and 'servant' are ridiculed, 'liberty, equality and fraternity' is the battle cry of the modern democrat. The mightiest monarchies have been turned into democracies. Even in a country like England or Japan, where still the shadow of monarchy lingers, there is no real monarchy at all; there exists only a limited monarchy, which is akin to democracy. The great Bourbons of France are gone, the pompous Hapsburgs of Austria are no more, the supreme Czar of Russia is a figure of the past, the ambitious Kaiser of Germany is *non est* and the King of Spain is an exile. The trend of political thought is towards independence and denial of authority. Whether in the East or in the West democratic ideals are held in high esteem. When such is the case throughout the world, it is not at all surprising to note that the landlord in India has fallen on evil days. As the mightiest monarchs fell, the fate of petty landlords may better be imagined. As a matter of fact in a perfect democracy like that of Russia, a landholder has no *locus*

standi. And Russia is a neighbour of India. If Russia makes up her mind to introduce Communism in India, it will do so. If Communism or Bolshevism prevails in India, the landlords and the more powerful ruling chiefs will be wiped out. Then, nothing can save them. But that is fearing the worst.

Even without Communism the zamindar's fate is sealed. He is not liked by the common people. His own tenants hate him like poison. And in the future legislatures of India, whether provincial or central, the peasants and the commoners will be in an overwhelming majority; they will be all in all. In an autonomous legislature the majority can do whatever it likes. In a self-governing country all the so-called safe-guards are not worth the paper they are written upon. The real safe-guard of any class or section lies in the goodwill of the masses of the people, and the zamindar unfortunately can have no claim whatever to the goodwill of the people.

Representatives of the people in the legislature will generally look upon the zamindars as enemies of the peasants and people, though really zamindars should not be the enemies of the peasants, and *vice versa*. The landlord and the peasant are essentially one, they are two aspects of the same thing, two flowers out of the same stem. They should be co-workers, working for each other's benefit. But that is taking too bright a view of the thing; that is what it ought to be, not what it is. There exist two parties, the zamindari party and the peasants' party. The zamindar distrusts the peasant and the peasant has no faith in the zamindar. This mutual suspicion will prove ruinous in the long run. Even if no such parties exist in a particular locality there are mischief-makers to create them. Thus the zamindar has alienated himself from the sympathies of the people. To some extent he is responsible for this state of affairs, though some of the responsibility must be borne by the peasant also. But the greatest amount of this responsibility must devolve, though not apparent at first, upon the shoulders of a mischievous third party that is at the root of all these troubles. Whoever may be responsible, the trouble is

great. And the representatives of the peasants who will be in a majority will always try to have their revenge on their enemy, the zamindar, by ruining him in all possible ways. Measures will be passed that will injure the zamindar. His income may be disproportionately taxed, he may have to pay succession duties and as in other countries his estates may be confiscated as nationalization of land is assuming the aspect of a practical ideal; so that the palace of the zamindar will be turned into a poor house; he may be deprived of everything, his position, property and titles, and he may be driven out into the wide world penniless. The peasant may be expected to say, "he is served right, for once he tyrannized over me in all possible ways." The zamindar may say, "May be, yet I do not deserve all this treatment."

Whether the peasant should be congratulated upon or the zamindar should be sympathized with is a controversial point and is a matter of opinion. But it is a settled fact, that the zamindar's future is very gloomy. If any one doubts it, he may look back. 'History repeats itself.' The French Revolution can reveal to the most optimistic zamindar what the fate of landlords will be at the hands of infuriated peasants and commoners, when the latter will have full control over the destinies of a country. Who can question their actions and who can check them?

A glance at the more recent Russian Revolution too will justify the worst apprehensions as to the fate of the landlord. The Royal family there was butchered, the nobility were deprived of their all and they had to flee for life from their country, which became too hot for them even to stay, and they had to earn their daily bread in foreign countries by doing the humblest of works. Some of the Russian nobles are working in places like Paris as taxi-drivers. Some of them are working on ocean liners as petty officers, leaving their families in foreign countries to look after themselves. They might have deserved this treatment or might not have. But from these illustrations the zamindar can form some idea of his impending fate by thinking over the causes and effects of the

Russian Revolution and by comparing those circumstances with our present-day ones. Imagine any Indian Maharajah or a Zamindar selling fruit in London or polishing the shoes of a resident in a hotel, while his wife and children will be working as scullions in the kitchen! A pathetic position, but in all probability a certainty.

Hardly a year ago we witnessed what happened in Spain. The titles of the nobility were abolished. Money was not allowed to be transferred from the national banks to banks in foreign countries and the lands of suspected grandees were confiscated. Even in conservative countries like England, notwithstanding the existence of a House of Lords, the English aristocrat is gradually being brought down by heavy taxation to the level of an ordinary commoner. The succession duties and the like are forcing the Lords to sell away their lands and houses. They are not able to maintain their former position and are on the verge of bankruptcy and poverty. All this is due to the dislike of the people towards the landlord. Therefore no sane landlord with even a rudimentary knowledge of the history of the world can reasonably cherish any hope that prosperous days are in store for him. As already stated, his money, lands, and palaces will be confiscated and he will have to thank his stars if his family and his own life are spared. These are not apprehensions based on groundless and imaginary possibilities, but are genuine warnings founded on certain facts that the future will bring about.

Now we come to the question 'what should the zamindar do?' He must realize that he no longer is what he was. He should no longer swank with pride. He must tone down his own estimation of himself before he is forcibly brought down by someone else. He cannot remain aloof like the Olympian gods away from the toiling masses. He must move freely with his peasants, and the common people and live and feel with them. There is no use in trying to grumble about the lack of refinement among the commoners. As a matter of fact, are all zamindars refined? Certainly not; and refinement does not mean merely outward polish and manners in society,—and even that

many lack for want of education,—but it means real enlightenment of the soul. Such refinement can be found alike in the rich and the poor. Moreover, where does the question of refinement come in, when his very existence is threatened? The landlord should make common cause with the people and must feel himself to be one of them. He must be the natural leader of the people. Zamindars must try to emulate Lafayette and Tolstoy. Even then it is very doubtful whether he will be loved and trusted; so bitter is the general feeling towards the unfortunate landlord. No doubt some foolish and cruel zamindars deserve it, but there is many a good and kind-hearted zamindar who suffers for no fault of his own. Anyhow the zamindar may try sincerely to win the hearts of the people by various honest means. There is a remote chance of his being liked even by a few commoners. He should not try to win the hearts of the people for his own benefit alone and he must not be a hypocrite. His love for the people must be genuine and spontaneous. If there is a reward for him, he may congratulate himself; if there be none, it will be no fault of his. He will at least have the satisfaction of having done his best.

At present the national movement for freedom is waxing very strong. Thousands of people are rotting in the jails regardless of severe injuries caused by 'lathi charges.' Patriots in this national struggle are sacrificing their wealth, position, future, their houses and even their lives for their country's sake. Barring a few zamindars, what had the landed aristocracy done to further the national cause? Did it even, out of pity, spend one pie in this struggle or did it ever shed a tear of sympathy, having seen so much misery in the country? Far from it. It must be admitted that the zamindar is in a dilemma. To support the national movement for liberty or not is the question. Selfishness and timidity are dragging him from patriotism and bravery. He, instead of being the natural leader of the people, is acting as their foe. He is joining those forces which are determined to crush the mighty national spirit for freedom. He is acting the rôle of the French nobility during the French Revolution and if he continues in that rôle, he must accept the natural conse-

quences. But, it is much safer for him in the long run, to follow the example of the British aristocracy. They led the people and secured privileges for them. Lords temporal and spiritual championed the cause of the nation and made King John sign the Magna Carta. And again in the Revolution of 1688 the Lords played a prominent part. It was Lord Somers who actually drew up the Reform Bill. Thus they served their nation, though not wholly without selfish motives, and gained the favour of commoners, if only for the time being. But the zamindar has not the nerve likewise to champion the cause of his country. Moreover, to know and serve his people properly, the zamindar need not take lessons from foreign countries. If only he can look back to his own *sastras* and ancestors, he will be benefited. The *sastras* say that a ruler is the guardian of his people. He protects the people as a father protects his children. Our ancestors gave up their lives for their peoples' sake. One of the chief attributes of Rama, the ideal Hindu ruler, is that he was very dear to his subjects. To please his subjects, it is said, Rama even exiled his dear wife. Leaving his beloved wife may be wrong, but the ideal for which he strove to please his subjects is praiseworthy. Did not Shivaji fight day and night without repose o

liberate his people and his country from the thralldom of the Mughals? Hence it is the duty of the zamindar not to alienate himself from his people. All his loyalty to the British Crown has proved futile. The Communal Award, in which the zamindar's interests have been ignored by not giving them sufficient representation in the future legislature, has let the cat out of the bag. Even the present legislation has a tendency counter to the zamindar. Thus the zamindar has neither the people's affection, nor the ruler's patronage.

Therefore, it is high time he realized his position and rectified his mistakes. He should act irrespective of any selfish motives and should act according to his conscience, heeding that 'call' which mysteriously comes to every thinking person. The zamindar must understand that his lot is with the people and so he must sympathize and side with them in their legitimate aspirations. In their happiness he should be happy, and in their sorrow, sorry. His policy must be one of give and take and the zamindar and his tenants should work together for a common cause. Forget and forgive must be their motto. In such a mutual understanding alone lies the only hope of the zamindar living peacefully, not as an aristocrat, but as a contented middle-class man.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and the Indian classical languages are reviewed in *THE MODERN REVIEW*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—Editor, *THE MODERN REVIEW*.

ENGLISH

RAMON LULL. *By P. G. Bridge. The Christian Literature Society for India 1932. Price, 12 annas.*

The life-story of Ramon Lull (1232-1315 ?), a Spanish mystic, is a beacon light to the seeker after truth in their spiritual pilgrimage. A strong soul, strong in never-failing optimism. Lull was born to pleasure, plenty and luxury; but the appeal of the Cross was persistent and succeeded at last in reclaiming him from foolish and iniquitous ways. He became an enthusiast in the cause of the Crusade, and learnt Latin and Arabic with the zeal of a student, for these were the languages then of use to a missionary. He braved the fury of the Moors and stuck to preaching the message of Christianity among the followers of Islam, laying down his life at the ripe age of more than 80 years, while loudly proclaiming the truth of his religion in North Africa which caused the crowd to stone him to death.

The book is divided into ten chapters, each followed by typical passages selected from the writings of Lull, and the author has tried, in a simple style, to explain the teachings of the mediaeval Spanish mystic by profuse citations from other devotees of the same bent of mind. It is, therefore, an admirable introduction to a period of Western mystic literature.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD OF RELIGION. *By Ganga Prasad, M. A., M. R. A. S. Published by the Arya Samaj, Madras. Pp. X+248. Price Rs. 8 only.*

In this book, the author contends that in spite of differences on many points the religions of the world all agree in certain fundamentals. And "these common truths and principles are ultimately derived from the Vedas" (p. 3)—which is equivalent to saying "that the five religions Mahomedanism, Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism and Zoroastrianism can be ultimately traced to the Vedas." (P. 8.)

His proof consists in showing that, first, Islam is mainly based on Judaism. This is done by pointing out the similarities between the two religions in ideas,

doctrines and practices. In the next place, he tries to show that Christianity is based chiefly on Judaism and partly on Buddhism. The connection between Christianity and Buddhism is not unknown to students of history. Then he proceeds to show that Buddhism is derived from Vedism. This part of his argument is rather brief—possibly because he feels that much proof is not needed here. The next step is to show that Judaism is based on Zoroastrianism. This consists in showing that (a) Abraham and Zoroaster were contemporaries and may have met and that (b) contact between the two peoples in Alexandria (3rd century B. C.) and during the Babylonian captivity was a fact. Besides, there are the similarities in doctrines and ideas. The last part of the argument is obviously to show that Zoroastrianism is based on the Vedas. This is done by stressing the linguistic and doctrinal similarities between the two.

While we appreciate the industry of the author and the pains taken by him to establish his conclusion, we are afraid his arguments will not carry conviction to an unbelieving mind. It is a truism to say that all religions agree in certain essentials; but this may not mean more than that all religions are religions. The individual peculiarities of a religion are as much part of it as its similarities with other religions. These, therefore, should not be overlooked. For instance, though Christianity arose out of Judaism, the differences between the two were quite important; had it not been so, Christ would not have been crucified. And if Buddhism were only a reform movement in Hinduism, the subsequent struggle between the two could not be explained. As the author himself suggests (p. 46), if Buddha had based his teachings on the authority of a correct interpretation of the Vedas, he would have become another Dayananda Saraswati—i. e., a Vedic reformer. But that was not the case and the hostility between the two religions was there. To say, therefore, that all religions sprang from the Vedas means no more than saying that the entire human race sprang from one original couple. This only indicates the likeness that is there, but does not explain the differences.

We may add just one word more. Do the Vedas contain nothing but what the new interpretation ascribes to it? We have yet to find a spiritual interpretation of the dialogue that was to pass between the queen and the priest in an *asvamedha* ceremony. There must be some picking and choosing, therefore. For the good of humanity the most rational procedure seems to be not to claim all wisdom for one of the books of the world, but rather to emphasize the fact that truth has manifested itself in all climes and all religions—though, it may be, in varying degrees. And instead of holding that one's own religion is the fountain-head of all others, the sanest view for a modern man is to hold that there is a fundamental unity in all religions.

A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE VEDANTA.

By Dr. Saroj Kumar Das, M. A., Ph. D., University of Calcutta.

This book comprises the Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellowship Lectures of the University of Calcutta for the year 1929. There are twelve lectures in it in which an attempt is made to present the essentials of the Vedanta philosophy in a systematic way.

The book has no index but has a somewhat heavy list of *corrigenda* at the end, which, nevertheless, is "by no means exhaustive"; for this, however, the author makes ample apology in his preface. But an index would have been more welcome; and the value of the book could also have been immensely enhanced, if the author had cared to add some marginal notes to the leading paragraphs.

Dr. Das is fully alive to the existence of the various schools of Vedanta, but he is inclined to think that many of them do not reflect the true Vedanta. And "they all point, by force of their unconscious logic, to *Advaita-Vedanta* of the Sankarite type as their natural culmination" (p. 22). But, curiously enough, Dr. Das has warned us in the preceding page of his book that to regard the philosophy of Sankara as the *Vedanta par excellence* is "perilously near the *ipse dixit* of a dogmatist or propagandist." And he also adds that "there is nothing sacrosanct about any commentary, however august be the name associated with it as its author" (p. 22). What obviously he intends to say is that Sankara's interpretation of Vedanta is the correct one, not because Sankara has given it, but because on examination it is found to be the correct one. Dr. Das makes no secret of his predilection for Sankara. In fact, his lectures are an exposition of the *Advaita Vedanta*; and towards the end, when he comes to the consideration of the ethics of Vedanta, he pits himself against what is known as personal idealism and strenuously defends absolute idealism or, what is the same thing, *Advaita Vedanta*.

Dr. Das, it seems, has little faith in historians of Indian philosophy. There may have been histories of Indian Philosophy which are neither history nor philosophy and perhaps Indian only by courtesy. But that is no reason why a historian should be compared to an ass who only carries a load the value of which he cannot comprehend (p. 23). Chronology may be a difficult thing with regard to Indian thought, but certainly it is not impossible. And there is such a thing as logical sequence also. Surely this ought to be traceable in the thought-movements of India: and it ought not to be a matter of no importance even to be a philosopher.

Taking the book, as a whole, however, one cannot but admire the lucidity of Dr. Das's exposition. And his extensive knowledge of Western thought has enabled him to give excellent references for parallel reading. Besides, he has given to his style a literary finish which cannot fail to attract readers who have no professional interest in Philosophy. And serious students will find in this book sufficient materials to form a comprehensive idea of Sankara Vedanta in all its aspects.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE.

INDIAN RECORDER. April-June 1932.
Published under the auspices of the Indian Journalists' Association, 22, R. G. Kar Road, Shambazar, Calcutta.
Royal 8vo. pp. 324. Khaddar-bound. Price Rs. 3-8. Postage extra.

This is the first volume of a quarterly publication undertaken by the Indian Journalists' Association. It satisfies a need which has been long felt. In it the editors, Messrs. Ramananda Chatterjee, Mujibar Rahman, Mrinal Kanti Bose, etc., have tried to provide a helpful digest of the outstanding events of the quarter both in India and in the Indian States. "The constitutional and communal issues before the country have been presented with leading opinions on the subject; the proceedings of the central and provincial Legislatures and those of the Houses of Parliament in connection with India have been incorporated; the progress of the civil disobedience movement and the working of the ordinances in operation have been recorded; the reports of the various Committees published during this quarter have been summarized; the notable law-cases have been enumerated; the principal resolutions adopted in the various political conferences held during the quarter have been embodied; finally, a chapter has been added to briefly deal with the news of the quarter bearing on education, riots and crimes, terrorist movement, labour, foreign affairs, trade and industry, movements for social upliftment, proceedings under the Indian Press Act, Indianization of the army, natural disasters, etc. In short, in the light of their experience as journalists who have constantly to look to sundry reference books for our daily work, the editors have tried to make the publication useful by including in it the maximum of valuable information within the limits of space available." It should be in the hands of journalists, publicists, members of the legislatures, men of business, students and the educated public. A good index has increased its usefulness.

INDIAN FINANCE YEAR BOOK, 1932.
Published by the Managing Editor, Indian Finance, 25D, Swallow Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.

This is a very useful book of reference on India's trade, finance, industry and economy. It contains articles and statistical tables on all aspects of Indian economic activity, budgets of the Central and Provincial Governments and Railways, and currency, monetary, banking, insurance, transport, and public utilities sections, agricultural statistics, and industries.

SANSKRIT

MAHAYANA-VIMSAKA OF NAGARJUNA,
edited by Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya, pp. 44. Rs. 5.

THE CATUHSATAKA OF ARYADEVA,
edited by Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya (Part I), pp. 308.
Rs. 8.

SCHOOLS AND SECTS IN JAINA LITERATURE by Amulya Chandra Sen. Pp. 47. Rs. 4.

NAIRATMYA-PARIPRICCHA, edited by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya, pp. 22. Rs. 2.

These publications bear testimony to the sound work that is being carried on by Sj. Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya and his pupils in the University of Visvabharati. Three of these publications, viz., Nos. 1, 2 and 4, contain comparative studies in the Buddhist literature. Principal Bhattacharya, who has devoted his energies for some years past to the study of the Tibetan language, has utilized his knowledge of the language in the reconstruction of Buddhist Sanskrit texts, which are either partly preserved in Sanskrit, or completely lost in their original but preserved in their entirety in a Tibetan translation. Such is unfortunately the case with a very considerable section of the Buddhist literature. The large number of texts belonging to the different schools of Buddhism are lost in their original and only preserved in Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian translations. It is the imperative duty of those who are conversant with those languages to restore the original texts by translating them either into Sanskrit or into any other language. Translation into Sanskrit is a most difficult task, because in many cases we are not acquainted with the real technical terms, but when such a translation is done we get something which gives an approximately true picture of the original. Principal Bhattacharya is one of the very few competent and devoted workers in this field and the publications named above show the nature of the work done by him or under his guidance.

The most important of the series is No. 2, the *Catuhsataka* of Aryadeva. The famous Aryadeva lived most probably in the 3rd century A. D. His work was commented on by Candrakirti towards the middle of the 7th century, but both the original and the commentary were lost to us for a long time till the late MM. Haraprasad Shastri discovered some fragments and published them in 1914. The work is distributed in *karikas* (slokas) of Aryadeva and the *vyakhya* or the commentary of Candrakirti. Dr. P. L. Vaidya in 1923 published a study of the last nine chapters of the work—*Etudes sur Aryadeva et son Catuhsataka*. He compared the original of this portion with its Tibetan translation and wherever the *karikas* were wanting either wholly or partly, he had recourse to the Tibetan translation for restoring them in Sanskrit. In 1925, the Italian orientalist, Prof. G. Tucci, published an Italian translation of the last eight chapters of the work from its Chinese translation. There were many inaccuracies in Vaidya's restoration of the *karikas* in Sanskrit and he had practically left the commentary unstudied, but Principal Bhattacharya has taken pains to make a thorough study of the text over and over again and, after comparing it with the Tibetan translation, restored the missing portions not only of the *karikas* but also of the commentary of Candrakirti. This work, as is characteristic of his deep scholarship, satisfies all the exigencies of modern

critical method. Tibetan passages are given along with their Sanskrit equivalents and, wherever necessary, comparative readings of the different xylographs of the Tibetan text are indicated. Complete indexes of Sanskrit *karikas*, Tibetan *karikas*, quotations from canonical texts, etc., are given, and these will be found to be of much help in the study of the book. The book in short is a valuable contribution to the study of Buddhism. We hope the first part of the work, as promised by the editor, will come out ere long.

The *Mahayanavimsaka*, which also has been similarly translated and restored by Principal Bhattacharya from the Tibetan translation of the text, is of secondary importance. The original is lost to us except two verses preserved in quotations. The work however exists in a Tibetan translation and also a Chinese translation of the 10th century. The author of the text, Arya Nagarjuna, is obviously a later personage of that name who did not flourish before the 7th century A. D. Though the work is not so important as that of Aryadeva still it has been restored by the editor from different sources with great care and critical acumen.

In Publication No. 3, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature* by Mr. Amulya Chandra Sen, a large mass of useful material has been collected from different texts of the Jaina canon. Many of the schools and sects mentioned were already known from the Buddhist sources but supplementary information about them from the Jaina canonical texts form a welcome contribution to our knowledge about them.

No. 4, the *Nairatmya Paripriccha* edited by Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya was not known in its original for a long time. It existed only in its two Chinese and one Tibetan translations. Mr. Mukhopadhyaya undertook to reconstruct it from Tibetan under the able guidance of his teacher Principal Vidhusekhar Shastri. But before the book could be published, Prof. Sylvain Levi discovered a copy of the Sanskrit original of the text from Nepal and published in *Journal Asiatique*, 1928. Though this has taken away a good deal of the value of the present publication, still it will be of some use to us as it contains the Tibetan text and gives us an illustration for testing the value of such reconstructions as compared to their original.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

HINDI

देव-चतुर्दशी—Swami Satyadev Paribrajak. *Satyaganthamala*, New Delhi. July, 1932. Re. 1.

The author has extensively travelled over Europe and America and has seen much of men and things. In his earlier days, he had attempted sketches and stories, but the cause of direct propaganda soon absorbed his attention. He has now retired from active participation in propaganda, and resumed story-writing, of which the first attempt has resulted in the book under review. Six of the stories (there are fourteen pieces in all, whence the name, *Chaturdashi*) are new, some of the rest appeared in various journals; two have been adapted from western sources. The book will have a wide appeal and will exert a healthy influence.

आलमगीरके पत्र By Shantipriya Atmaramji.

Published by Jaydev Bros., Baroda. Price Annas Ten only. 88 pp., 1932.

This is published on the basis of Mr. S. N. Gurtu's unpublished English book and is included in the

Sri Sayaji Sahitya Mala. Eighty-three letters, some in full and the rest in excerpts, have been quoted, dealing with different subjects, like the discreet behaviour of a prince towards the petty officials, and partiality in the case of the inefficient. The letters are mainly addressed to princes and ministers, and the editor's occasional notes are distinctly helpful. The introduction, comparing and contrasting Akbar and Aurangzeb, is a readable one.

A word of appreciation is due in this connection to the Sayaji Sahitya Series, about 200 in number, mostly in Gujrati, but some also in Marathi and Hindi. The cause of vernacular literature has thus been much advanced by the patronage extended to it by the State of Baroda.

वैदिक-त्रिनय Vol. I. By Abhay Vidyalkar. Gurukul Visva-Vidyalay, Kangra, Hardwar. Price, unbound Re. 1-8, bound Rs. 2. 1938 Samvat.

'Out of evil cometh good,' this is finely illustrated in India at the present moment; thousands of Indians are rotting in prison, but the jail life has given them leisure and some of them have put it to good use by writing books. "Stone walls do not a prison make," and the Lahore jail is presently termed Krishna Bhawan! Under such circumstances was the book written. It is a book of daily prayers compiled from the Vedas and the author has tried to get at the meaning of the *mantras* and to put them in tune with the temper of each particular day which he has ascertained through meditation. The first volume covers the four months, *Chaitra* to *Asharh*. Each day has its own Vedic text cited at first, with suitable pious thoughts and textual interpretation. Each month has its breathing exercise and the thoughts that should accompany such exercise. There is prefixed to each season an account of its proper diet, etc. An index of the *mantras* has also been given. The introduction is specially remarkable, detailing the history of the compilation, suggestions about the reading of the text, the special *chhandas* and physical exercises suited to the seasons, etc., etc. The work thus shows originality of outlook, and deserves wide publicity in circles which profess admiration for ancient Indian culture.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

BENGALI

PORT-ARTHURER KSHUDHA : Suresh Chandra Bandyopadhyaya. Messrs. M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta. pp. 158 Price Re. 1. 1932.

Readers of the *Prabasi* had the pleasure of reading this book in instalments as it had appeared there in serial form. It was translated from Lt. Sakurai, a young Japanese officer who took part in the attack on Port Arthur and who having lost his right hand in the fight, penned his reminiscences with his left. There is some scope for improvement in diction, but on the whole the translation has been so well done that it reads like an original work and, what is more, there is a literary flavour which will interest and delight even those to whom the fight round Port Arthur does not excite any curiosity. We specially refer to the hair-breadth escapes of the bold lieutenant and the death-defying prowess of the Japanese soldiers, whose exploits the reader is bound to follow with breathless admiration.

YAKSHA-PRASHAMAN. By Dr. Bidhu Bhushan Pal, L. M. S., Amas Eight only. 1932.

This is a handy booklet of 44 pages, giving an account of tuberculosis, how the bacilli enter our body, prevention, treatment, etc., and gives general directions regarding bath, diet, change of place and general conduct. It is, therefore, a book of information suited to all conditions of men in our country, in view of the fact that the disease is fast advancing all over India. General education is necessary to check it, and the book is an attempt in the right direction.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

TARKASANGRAHA OF ANNAMBHATTA—edited and translated into Bengali with annotation by Pt. Rajendranath Ghosh. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1. Published by Babu Kshetrapal Ghose, 6, Parshibagan Lane, Calcutta.

The *Tarkasangraha* is a beginner's manual of Navya-Nyaya and is easier and briefer than the *Bhasapariecheda* of Visvanatha. The influence of Navya-Nyaya dialectic and of its methodology and terminology on the sister schools of philosophy in India is pronounced. The result has been that advanced study of any Indian system of thought is impossible without a grounding in Navya-Nyaya. We, therefore, welcome the present publication, which, though a beginner's manual, has its own use and importance. The editor has adopted a scientific plan in placing the topics under separate heads. The translation is faithful and lucid. He has added explanatory notes which would not only help the student to understand the text, but would expand his outlook and rouse his curiosity to extend his studies further afield. Relevant portions have been quoted from the *Bhasapariecheda* and placed in the foot-notes. The tabular division and classification of the topics is an innovation of the editor and it will serve its purpose. The entire text of the *Bhasapariecheda* has been given in the appendix and this will facilitate comparative study. In fact, no pains have been spared to make the book highly useful to beginners and teachers alike. We hope that the editor would supplement it by a similar translation and exposition of the *Dipika*, the commentary by the author himself. We strongly recommend the book to all who are interested in Navya-Nyaya.

SATKORI MUKHERJEE

MARATHI

BHARATAVARSHIYA PRACHIN CHARITRA-KOSH : By Vidyavidhi Siddhesvar Shastri Chit Rao. Managing Director, Bharatavarshiya Charitra Kosh Mandala Ltd. 53, Shanwar Peth, Poona No. 2. Price Rupees Twelve. 1932.

This is the first volume of a proposed big encyclopaedia of Indian biography in Marathi. It deals with names of persons to be found in the Vedic and Purana literature. The second volume—*madhyayugina*—will, it is announced, not only cover the entire mediæval period but will come up to as late a date as 1818 which year is probably supposed to be a landmark in the cultural history of modern India. It is however difficult at this stage to account for the preference for this particular year. The third volume *arvacina* is to cover a period of more than

a century (1819—1930) and so very important to the historian of the modern age.

It is true the different encyclopædias and dictionaries in some of the Indian vernaculars are found to give accounts of many a mythological and historical person. But still the want of a separate dictionary of biography was always felt very keenly by scholars as well as general readers. It will be a relief to the reading public to find that this long-felt want is at last going to be removed by the Bharatavarshiya Charittrakoshmandal and also by Pandit Sashibhushan Vidyalkar of Rangoon, about twenty parts of whose *Jivanikosh* in Bengali have already come out.

The work under review will be highly welcome to students of Indology as elaborate references to original sources have been given in most cases. There are, of course, some instances of the absence of any reference (*cf. nakulisa, Mandas*, etc.) and of the incompleteness of the accounts given (*cf. nakulisa* who is simply disposed of as being the author of a system of Pasupata philosophy; *Indradyumna* whose leanings towards Saivism is described in the *Kumarikakhanda* of the *Skandapurana* are entirely left out). Some unfortunate omissions of names were also noticed (*e. g. Indrasena*, son of Indradyumna, a story of whom is related in the *Kedarakhanda* of the *Skandapurana*).

In spite of these minor defects the book will prove to be very useful to the lay public as also to students of Indology. The printing and get-up of the work is beautiful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

GUJARATI

FULWADI by V. R. Shelat, B.A. (Hons.) printed at the Borsad Printing Press, Borsad. Paper cover: Pp. 100. Price Re. 0-12-0 (1931).

Ras or songs sung by women, forty-six in number, some republished and some published for the first time, are to be found in this collection. They are well composed and give promise of better work. They show an amount of pathos and feeling, suitable to the present stirring times.

KHADI NUN VYAPAK ARTHASHASTRA, by N. N. Parekh and J. G. Gandhi. Printed at the Utkrishta Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 278. Price Re. 0-12-0. (1931).

R. B. Greig of Kotagarh, Simla Hills, wrote a book called *Economics of Khaddar* reviewing the "home-spun" movement, not from a political stand-point, nor with the sense of heart-burning engendered because of

the "economic drain" due to the commercial exploitation of India by foreigners, but from a dispassionate, neutral and scientific point of view. The above book is a translation of that one, and gives in great detail the reasons which go to show that the economic salvation of India lies this way: it, also discusses the limitations of machinery and altogether makes out a strong case for Gandhiji's favourite theory of the homely spinning wheel—*Charkha*.

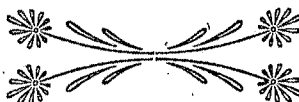
BHAILAL VYAS NAN SAMSMARANO: by Dayashankar Bhaishankar Shukla. Printed at the Jain Vajayananda Press, Surat. Cloth bound with a port-ait. Pp. 371. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1931).

This is an *In Memoriam* volume. Bhailal Vyas was a man of humble means and a Government servant. He led an extremely straight official life, and was still able to do good wherever he was. The condolatory letters printed in this book show in what high regard he was held by those who came in contact with him. He was besides a writer, a poet, and a thinker. It was an exemplary life he lived, and the book is likely to inspire others to live such a life.

DARSHANIKA: by Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Madras. Printed at the Khadayla Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 415. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1931).

This long poem of 6000 lines, in which philosophy is woven into pretty poetry is remarkable for many things. In the first place it is an unusual thing for a member of the Parsi community to show such close acquaintance with correct Gujarati and that too in writing metrical verses. Secondly, it is difficult to weave philosophy successfully into poetry; few poets like Tennyson and Shelley have been able to do so. Thirdly, for a Parsi to be a student of Hindu philosophy and Yoga is out of the ordinary run, and Khabardar is nothing if not a philosopher and a Yogi. Gujarat has ovated him only recently on his completing the fiftieth year of his life, right royally, thus giving an index of his popularity in this province. The poet lost his elder daughter, aged 21, Tehmina by name, and instead of writing *In Memoriam* verses and thus obtruding his domestic sorrow on the public, he diverted his feeling of sorrow into another channel and produced this highly valuable long poem. It deals with the ephemeral nature of the world and its enjoyments, and after going through the gamut of life, its song and development, the fog of religion and the Yoga of Eternal Life, merges with Universal Love. We congratulate the poet on turning out such admirable work, lying on a sick bed, with racking pain, showing that the pain pained in his body, but that his soul was free.

K. M. J.



RAY'S FROM SPACE

By SHYAM N. SHIVAPURI, B.SC. (HONS.), M.SC.

IT was known a decade ago that electricity from a charged electroscope vanishes, even if the apparatus be kept insulated from all conducting bodies around. It was Goekel who went up 4½ kilometres in a balloon, in 1909, and discovered that the rate of discharge of the electroscope was considerably greater in the upper atmosphere than on the earth. This shows that, apart from the radio-active bodies in the material of the electroscope and the earth, there is *something* else which is instrumental in discharging the electroscope, and that this *something* increases in quantity or intensity as we ascend upwards. No material particles are known to come from heavens, therefore, that something can be a type of invisible ray only, which possess the property of ionizing the atmosphere through which they pass and of making it conducting.

For about fifteen years little interest was taken in this peculiar phenomenon. Then, in 1923, Professor Millikan began a remarkable series of experiments which have attracted world attention and focussed the eyes of the scientists on these novel type of rays—now named Cosmic Rays.

What are these cosmic rays, and whence do they come? So far scientists have been little able to answer these queries with any degree of exactness. However, some facts have been discovered by Millikan and others, and hypotheses have been built. The physicist attempting to explain this phenomenon satisfactorily may be compared to a man who, having seen a violin once, should essay to construct a model of a piano by listening to the sounds made by it when thrown down-stairs.

Early in the present century, it was found that these rays are much more penetrating than X-rays, or Gamma-rays from radio-active bodies. The latter pass through many solid substances, and X-rays enable photographs to be taken of the bones of the body, but they are completely 'stopped' by a lead sheet

only a fraction of an inch^o in thickness. Surprisingly, cosmic rays pass readily through five yards of lead.

Do the rays come from the stars? Sir James Jeans has shown that it is not so. If they did, we should receive by far the greatest amount from our nearest star, the sun. In that case far more cosmic rays would reach us by day than by night. Millikan has shown that the intensity is uniform throughout day and night, that the intensity is independent of the position of the sun, Milky way, or other celestial objects.

Do the rays come from upper regions of our atmosphere—stratosphere, as it is termed? If it were so, then the intensity should be the same all over the earth, for the depth of the absorbing air traversed will be equal everywhere. Millikan observed that the intensity varies slightly with the barometer, as a result of small changes in the depth of the atmosphere blanket, induced by the alternate heating and cooling of the gaseous matter through which the rays reach the earth.

Thus it is conclusively shown that the origin of the rays is not in the heavenly bodies. "I conclude," says Millikan, "that they do not come from the masses of matter in the universe, but from the interstellar space." Dr. Somerville regards that "the rays come from the space between the stars." According to him, "that is agreed upon by practically all the scientists who are engaged in this research."

The question naturally crops up whether there is anything filling the interstellar space or is it all vacuo? If the latter view be correct then the cosmic rays cannot have their origin in this space. The answer to this question has recently been received from the Noëman Bridge Laboratory, Pasadena, U. S. A. Dr. Bowen showed that hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, helium, carbon and sulphur exist out there, giving radiations in regions which may be many light years

away from the stars. (One light year is the distance travelled by light in one year = 5,800,000,000,000 miles approx.).

Another very important fact that Millikan discovered was that the rays were unaffected by the earth's magnetic field. He compared the intensity at Pasadena lat. 34° N. and then at Churchill, Manitoba (Canada), lat. 59° N., the nearest settlement on earth to the north magnetic pole, and found both to be very nearly the same. In the words of Millikan :

Before the rays entered the earth's atmosphere they have not traversed any amount of matter which is comparable in thickness with the atmosphere, if they did they would necessarily be mixed with secondary Beta rays which would be directed into earth most abundantly along the earth's magnetic lines and would therefore enter it in the neighbourhood of the magnetic poles. If they come even from the remotest exteriors of the stars they would be mixed appreciably with the magnetically deflected Beta rays.

This is another convincing proof for the fact that rays originate in the interstellar space.

A third and a very important fact was discovered by Millikan and Cameron in a balloon flight (15½ kilometer), through 92 p. c. by weight of atmosphere. They found that all cosmic rays are not equally penetrative ; there are soft rays which do not penetrate all the way into our atmosphere. Millikan calculated that soft rays have 90 p. c. of the total energy of the cosmic rays which enter the atmosphere. Soft rays have an energy of 25,000,000 volts, being ten times as intense as the Gamma rays from thorium, and they pass through five times as much water.

Very recently, this year, Professor Piccard made a wonderful balloon flight of more than ten miles and found that cosmic rays are stopped to some extent by the hundred miles or so of air through which they have to penetrate to reach us. The higher he ascended the heavier was the ray shower. He found that at an height of ten miles they were beating against his instrument like drops of rain during a heavy shower.

What is the source of all this energy ? Some think that matter is being annihilated in the stars, and this destroyed matter transforms into energy and comes as cosmic rays. But, as Millikan showed, they have nothing in common with the stars. Some think there

are cosmic electric fields. If this is assumed, then, in order to account for the uniformity of intensity of the rays on the earth, we have to rejuvenate a geo-centric theory of the universe, which has been dead to the science since four hundred years.

In the darkness, Millikan has lighted a beacon for our guidance. He has postulated an atom-building process in the depth of space. It is known that matter is composed of very small particles—atoms. The atom consists of a nucleus with a positive charge, which varies from element to element, and a number of negatively charged particles—electrons—rotating round the nucleus at a distance. This is Rutherford-Bohr theory of atomic structure. The number of the electrons is sufficient to neutralize the positive nucleus charge, and varies from element to element. Hydrogen has one positive charge called proton and equal negative particle rotating round it. Helium has four protons and four electrons. The four protons and two electrons form the compact nucleus mass and two electrons revolve round it. Thus there is one striking difference between hydrogen and helium. Hydrogen has a purely positive nucleus with all negative electricity outside, while helium has a nucleus in which are packed four positive particles and two negative particles. If we determine the weight of hydrogen and helium atoms we find that the latter is not exactly four times heavier than the former, as we should expect, but slightly less than four. It is the co-existence of two electrons with four protons in the nucleus which causes a slight diminution of mass.

This loss of mass appears in the form of energy, and is emitted as cosmic rays. The transference of mass into energy and *vice versa* has been theoretically proved and embodied by Einstein in his energy equation. From this equation we can calculate the energy which would appear on the disappearance of matter, equal to the difference in atomic weight of helium and four times the atomic weight of hydrogen. On calculation it was found to be 25,000,000 volts—a remarkable coincidence with the energy of soft cosmic rays.

This coincidence proved that helium is

built up from hydrogen. Now, why should we stop at helium? It can be postulated as an extension of the helium-building hypothesis that other heavier atoms are built from lighter elements and the difference in mass appears as cosmic rays. If this theory is correct, the matter is constantly built up in interstellar space. Millikan says:

I take it that the cosmic rays are the wireless signals of the building in interstellar space of at least some of the heavier elements out of the lighter.

On closely scrutinizing Millikan's hypothesis, one finds that there are outstanding difficulties which lack explanation, and there is a strong body of opinion in favour of a very different interpretation of facts discovered by Millikan. Some of them are discussed below.

For the formation of helium out of hydrogen as Millikan postulates, four atoms of latter must come together at the same instant. We can imagine the space to be a large room with perfectly elastic walls. Hydrogen atoms are perfectly elastic billiard balls, bounding at random so that they would never come to rest. It would be seen that considerably large number of collisions will take place between two atoms, and the chance of three of them coming together is very small indeed, especially in case of hydrogen atoms which are relatively few in space. The chance of four colliding together at the same moment is vanishingly small. This means that the chance of formation of helium out of hydrogen is practically nil and the quantity built up, if at all, is more or less quite incommensurate with the amount of cosmic energy received.

Another difficulty has cropped up this year. At the beginning of the present year an isotope of hydrogen was found. (Isotope of a substance is another substance which has identical properties, but the weight of one atom of which is different, *i. e.*, the nucleus of which has different mass.) It was discovered that traces of hydrogen atoms, consisting of one electron and two protons in the nucleus; and one electron rotating, exist along with the ordinary hydrogen. If Millikan's assumptions are to be taken as correct, such atoms would be built up by the collision of two

simpler hydrogen atoms. The chance of the building up of the isotope is greater than that of helium. This is, however, very hypothetical since the proportion of this newly discovered isotope is so small that its mass has not yet been discovered accurately.

There is yet another difficulty. Astronomy tells us that as stars grow older, they get lighter since the radiation they emit comes from the disappearance of their mass. The difference between the masses of hydrogen atoms and one helium atom is much too small to account for such a loss of mass as is found by astronomers in the stars that are getting old. So it would appear that there must be some other mechanism for the disappearance of mass. It is thought that under certain conditions a proton and an electron may collide and disappear, their combined mass appearing as radiation. This annihilation of matter is supposed to occur in the interior of stars. This can account for the origin of cosmic rays. But it has been definitely established that these rays do not come from stars. Accordingly, it can be postulated that it is by the annihilation of matter in the interstellar space that we get the cosmic phenomenon. This is another hypothesis very much supported by Dr. Somerville; and one quite at variance with Millikan's. In support of his theory Somerville writes:

The present scientific age is but a flick of camera in the ages since the Universe began. Thus all we are able to see is a snapshot of the process taking place, and a snapshot is not enough to tell us all about those processes. Still we can draw inferences from a snapshot. When we see a photograph of a train, with lots of steam coming from the engine, and trailing back over the carriages, we say that the train is moving forward. But it is just possible that the train is going backward, with a very strong following wind, to blow the steam faster than the engine. It seems to me that Prof. Millikan, who has based his theory on a very remarkable coincidence between the experimental wave length of some of those cosmic rays, and the calculated wave length for the formation of helium and hydrogen, is trying to explain away some of the facts in a similar improbable manner. So much of the evidence points the other way that many people feel that these cosmic rays are not produced as he thinks they are, but that the train is moving forward and that it is by the annihilation of matter that the rays are produced.

Quite recently Professor A. H. Compton organized expeditions to study the cosmic

phenomenon, and collect data under varying conditions on this earth. Some half a dozen parties were sent to different parts of earth. One under Professor Binnede of F. C. College, Lahore, visited the Himalyan heights and collected some valuable data. When the detailed results of these expeditions, along with those of Professor Piccard's historic flight, are worked out the scientist will be called to decide between the two rival hypotheses, but it is well to remember, as P. Carus remarked, that "at the bottom of all cosmic order lies the order of mathematics, the law that twice two is always four."

The origin of cosmic rays has got to be finally established. It should be borne in mind what G. K. Chesterton has written in *St. Francis of Assisi*, that "it is also true that man sees more of the things themselves when he sees more of their origin; for the origin is a part of them and indeed the most important part of them."

However the layman is not in the least concerned with the theories about their origin. He is more interested in what potentialities the cosmic rays possess. His attitude is somewhat like this: now that we have got this thing, and that we cannot dispense with it, how are we to utilize it.

Have cosmic rays affected the existence of man? Have they, with their enormous energies, any influence upon our lives? Advance has been made in finding out any plausible and probable influence. Theories have been advanced. Let us examine some of them. One difficulty about the theory of evolution is that we cannot see why and how

big leaps forward were taken. For millions of years there existed an animal almost of the size of dog. Then, suddenly, it decided to become a horse. It increased its size and altered its shape. There are similar "jumps" in the evolutionary history of man. Something is needed to cause the jump. That something may well have been the cosmic rays. In every second they are breaking up millions of atoms in everyone's body. It may be that it was owing to the effects of cosmic rays that man became what he is today.

The enormous extent of the energy the cosmic rays possess was been recognized early. Can it be harnessed? Man has put water-power under slavery; he has utilized the caloric energy of coal; he has exploited steam power; he has generated and harnessed electricity. Can he put cosmic rays under yoke? Experiments are being conducted to accomplish this Herculean feat, and the outlook is rosy. It shall not be fantastic to think that a day will come (it is not very far) when the cosmic energy will replace other forms of energies, when the good, economical housewife will throw away her stock of coal and her electric heater, and instal in their place a cosmic ray stove.

Medical men have shown that hard rays from radium can cure even the worst form of cancer. The problem of cancer research is being attacked ever more vigorously and scientists claim that cosmic rays can be utilized for cancer cure. It is hoped that very soon, when cosmic rays come under harness, sanitariums will be opened for cancer treatment.

Cosmic rays have an interesting present and a glorious future.



PICTURES OF LIFE IN CALCUTTA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

BY PROF. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A., D.Litt.

A certain Mrs. Belnos, probably of Portuguese origin, published from London in 1832, exactly a hundred years ago, a work entitled *Twenty-four Plates Illustrative of Hindoo and European Manners in Bengal*. This is a large-sized work, about 20 inches by 11 inches. There are in it $24+1=25$ monochrome lithographs, with descriptive letterpress in French and in English on alternate pages. The original pictures were painted by Mrs. Belnos, the lithography was executed by A. Colin—he may have been English, but the plates use French in noting the name of the artist and the lithographer.

Mrs. Belnos in her English introduction has described herself as “a native of the country,” i.e., of India. She was thus born in India, and belonged to a community established here for some time. She used to observe Indian life in all its details from her very childhood, and the daily life of the people as well as their feasts and festivals were carefully noted by her. She seems to have lived mostly in Calcutta, but she also saw a good deal of the Bengal countryside, and the Indian life in all its picturesqueness that she saw around her had a great attraction for her.

Her book of plates received the approval of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, and a letter from Graves C. Haughton on behalf of the authorities of the Society, and another from Raja Rammohun Roy are printed in her work as indicating the *imprimatur* the artist-authoress received for her work from the premier orientalist society of England and one of the foremost Indians of his day who happened to be in England at the time of the publication. Raja Rammohun Roy's letter runs as follows :

48, Bedford Square.
March 5th, 1832.

Madam,

I have with great pleasure looked over your drawings and read your descriptions of them,

and I now have the satisfaction to inform you, that they are true representations of nature, so much so, that they have served to bring to my recollection the real scenes alluded to of that unhappy country.

The drawings are so expressive in themselves that the descriptions however excellent, are scarcely necessary to any one acquainted with India.

I have retained the copy handed over to me, and wishing you every success in your present undertaking.

I remain,
Madam,

Your most obedient Servant
Rammohun Roy

Mrs. Belnos

A copy of the book is in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and 10 out of the 15 plates in it are published once again herewith. We have here pictures of Calcutta life—specially Bengali life—as it was a century ago. For Bengalis the value of these pictures, in reconstructing their social history, can be well imagined. The artist was a daughter of India, although of foreign extraction ; whatever she painted she did it with a certain underlying sympathy ; in the features of the Indian men and women she has brought in that suggestion of health, beauty and gracefulness, which as we find from books and pictures by other European writers and artists, had not as yet vanished from the physique of the people of Bengal. The average Englishman, although he might come out to India to shake the pagoda tree and after a strenuous or easy existence here looked forward to go back home as a *nabob*, were in those days less self-conscious, and were possessed of a little romance, of a sense of wonder, and of a sense of fellow-feeling with other races such as would be regarded as vulgar and improper now-a-days. He was not yet accustomed to divide mankind into three groups of ‘Britishers, foreigners and niggers’. He came to India with a certain sense of awe and respect for the wonders of this romantic land of the East, whose civilization was for him much older than that of the other lands

he was acquainted with. The romantic glamour was still there. In those days, too, the abject and most unlovely poverty that has now become the portion of India was yet to come. We have to remember that it was not yet the age of machinery : life was simpler, and saner. India was quite self-contained, the people had not yet given up their traditional way of life. And this life was picturesque to the extreme, and free from that aspect of sordidness which is now in evidence everywhere. In their daily life, in their gestures and movements and in their converse and commerce, there was a certain atmosphere of unstudied grace with the people of India that could not but catch the eye of anyone of an artistic temperament on the look out for the picturesque. The average European artist who came to India a hundred years ago and left a record of his or her impressions of scenes and sights and of men and manners of the country was consequently in a better position to appreciate Indian life than it is possible now. As a result there is nothing in the usual pictures of Indian men and women done a hundred years ago by artists from Europe which would give cause for annoyance or resentment in us at the present day. The men show noble and handsome features, the women are graceful ; and above all, they look well-nourished. The artist's sympathetic eye and his careful hand, eager to record his impressions properly, are evident everywhere ; and his impressions, to judge from the results achieved in his pictures, were generally favourable, and frequently flattering, at least to the externals of Indian life. There was probably faultiness of execution in depicting accurately the racial type and mannerism—our national *cachet* and character probably eluded their brush or pencil ; many of the details of our external life probably they also could not render properly, through ignorance : but we do not find any contemptuous treatment of Indian manhood and womanhood in their serious work. Indian subjects and Indian life at the present day do not seem to attract the British artist so much. It would seem that at present there is less of artistic talent among Britishers in India that it used to be in the days of John Company. The fact is that

there is not much need for it now : the camera records and sends home the impressions, and painstaking picture-making is no longer so necessary as before. But when a British artist, especially a journeyman artist, turns his attention to Indian life and Indian themes now-a-days, we very frequently miss in their work that indescribable charm of sympathetic study which characterizes the work of, say, a Daniell. Contrast for instance, the bronze relief depicting a *Suttee* scene which is at the base of the Bentinck statue in front of the Bengal Legislative Council Building in Calcutta (I do not know when this was made and who made it—but the classical feel certainly indicates a great sympathetic attitude of the artist towards his subject), with similar bronze reliefs at the base of the Victoria statue or with the bronze groups round the Curzon statue in the Victoria Memorial grounds in Calcutta. I prefer the former, where the artist put in a certain amount of idealism in his picture of an Indian theme. In the others the attitude is frankly Anglo-Indian, of the 'Behind the Bungalow' type. This unsympathetic, detached, and more or less disdainful attitude is most noticeable in the figures of Indian men and women drawn by non-Indian artists in some of the railway posters published and exhibited in public places by the Indian Railway Board : in these Indian types are consciously or unconsciously made to approximate to the usual 'nigger' type which some commercial posters specialize in, in which the figures are made black, barbarian and brutal,—a travesty of and an insult to the Indian type of humanity. And yet the Indian tax-payer pays the journeyman artist who insults his kind in this way, drawing them against the background of an Indian palace or temple or mosque. This is an outrage for which there should be some remedy. The legislature or some other suitable body competent to deal with it should put a stop to the exhibition of these posters within and outside India : we should spend public funds at least on artists who understand us and who can be relied upon to give a sympathetic rendering of the Indian physical type. It must be said, however, that not all British artists are lacking in sympathetic observation. The types

of the Indian sepoy and *sowar* drawn by Captain Lovett, Mortimer Menpes' drawings of Indian scenes and types, and J. Lockwood Kipling's sketches, for instance, are free from the above criticism.

To come back to the work of Mrs. Belnos. In Mrs. Belnos' drawings we find both the excellences and the defects of contemporary European picture-making of Indian subjects. She could not exactly make out certain things in the dress of her subjects—this is her ignorance. Her art inspiration is that of the West, and for this reason she could not always get at the genuine Indian type, especially the female type,—she could not avoid a certain European character in their faces. This inability of hers is quite excusable.

The pictures can now be considered. On the original paper cover there is a picture (repeated inside the volume) of a Brahman seated under a tree in front of a sheet of water reading a palm-leaf manuscript. His bamboo umbrella and his *hooka* are by his side. His sacred thread is made to pass over the wrong shoulder, but that is a minor detail which can be neglected. It is quite a dignified figure, which has been reproduced in photogravure as the frontispiece to R. W. Frazer's *Literary History of India*.

The plates have titles in French and in English. The first plate has this letter-press in English—*A Hindoo returning from Callee Ghaut* (Fig I.) The authoress says that when a kid is sacrificed by decapitation in the Kalighat temple there is quite a scramble for the headless body among the pilgrims. In Mrs. Belnos' picture we see a pilgrim who has managed to obtain the headless trunk of a sacrificed goat returning home. He has the usual flower garland round his neck which pilgrims wear. On the way he has met two women of the town. The man has been drawn with fine features and splendid physique: the long locks he wears are to be noted—this was a fashion among most sections of the Bengali people, which is now entirely gone. He wears the peculiar Bengali slippers with the toe upturned, of the two women one has on thin clogs of wood. The authoress says that women of this class used to wear this kind of

foot-wear. Their faces, however are more European than Indian.

The second, third, fourth and fifth plates are not reproduced. A Hindu woman serving her husband with food: a Hindu mother casting into the river her dead child; a dying Hindu brought to the Ganges; two Muhammadan women setting adrift offering to the Ganges—these are the subjects of these. The fourth plate (Dying Hindu) has been reproduced in Z. A. Ragozin's *Vedic India* (Story of the Nations Series).

The sixth and seventh plates (Figs. 2 and 3 in this article) illustrate the *Charak* or hook-swing festival procession which used to form quite a noteworthy affair in the years' round of feasts and holidays in Bengali Calcutta of the olden time. The last week of the last month of the Bengali year is dedicated to a great popular festival in honour of Siva, in which all sections of the Hindu society, particularly the lower classes, take part. The festival is current throughout Bengal, and is of high antiquity. It is known as *Gajan* or *Gambhira*. On the last day of the festival, which is the last day of the Bengali year, there used to be a grand *finale* in the shape of the *Hook-swing*, which is explained later on. In this festival, the greatest enthusiasm is manifest among the lower classes, down to the lowest; and members of these, men and women, take up, for the month, the vow of *Sannyasa* and become devotees of Siva, and, as such, they cease to be counted among the lowly—the upper classes regard them with the respect due to *Sannyasis*. Temporary booths with the symbol of Siva are erected, to which or to permanent temples these devotees repair for worship, dressed in the holy man's saffron garb and wearing the Brahman's sacred thread, and after the afternoon bath covering their forehead with sandal paste. There is much dancing and moving about in procession to the music of big drums and gongs. The last three days witness a number of ordeals which the devotees in a passionate faith in Siva undergo as a test of their faith, *e. g.*, jumping from a high platform on vegetable slicers (shaped like a scythe with the handle made into a seat to squat upon while doing the slicing), rolling over thorn bushes, and swinging with hanging head over a fire;



1. The Return from Kalighat

and on the final day, some of these devotees would pass large iron hooks through the flesh of their back, and, suspended from the top of a high pole by means of those hooks as well as a bandage round the trunk, would be swung on high round and round the pole. In

connexion with this Hook-swing festival, as minor austerities the devotees would wander the streets in procession, some masquerading in character, others dressed in *chelis* or red, orange, purple, or green silk *dhoties* of ceremony with twinkling anklets and gold ornaments,



2. Charak Puja (a)

and most of them would be doing gruesome penances quite voluntarily. The nature of these penances is illustrated in the plates.

In Fig. 2, we have as central figure a fine Bengali of the lower classes, who has passed coir ropes through the flesh of his sides, the



3. Charak Puja (b)

ends of which are held by two men in front and behind, and all the three are dancing. The man to his right is executing a dance movement, while the youthful figure to his right holds a thick iron pole which he passes and repasses through a slit he has made in his tongue. Fig. 3 illustrates the same

subject. Two of the devotees are in costume, one as a woman and the other as some character wearing a hat; one man passes a bamboo pole 'half an inch in diameter' side-ways through a slit in his tongue; the man in the centre is doing some thing really gruesome—he has a live snake through the slit of his



4. Village Women

tongue. His neighbour to the right has passed the handle of an iron cooking ladle through the flesh of his side and is burning incense on the flat of the ladle. The boy at the right edge is getting ready the iron spike to be thrust through his tongue. All these

self-inflicted tortures the people would undertake most cheerfully, to fulfil a vow. Life among Bengali Hindus has decayed considerably during the last hundred years : as a people we are now suffering from racial consumption—the future is most gloomy



5. The Cloth Merchant

for the Hindus of Bengal, despite the intellectual attainments of the handful of upper classes. The Hindu masses are dying out—slowly in some parts, rapidly in others. The Hook-swing festival existed in all its glory when there was a zest in life and a healthy optimism in Hindu society, when social abuses, now the bane of Hindu society, were not at all so virulent; and these social

abuses are mostly the result of maladjustment with a growing economic crisis. The Hook-swing festival is still in vogue, but all its glory in Calcutta is a thing of the past: Calcutta is now less than half Bengali, and the Bengali artisans and labouring classes have now dwindled to nothing, Bihar and Orissa and U. P. immigrants have ousted them. In the country-side, the increase of the Muhammadan



6. A Hindu Interior

population and the decrease of the Hindu lower classes has taken all life out of the festivities where they are still lingering, in East and North Bengal; in West Bengal, malaria and the chronic state of economic distress have led to the same result. We have plentiful allusions in Bengali literature to the Hook-swing festival. There is a saying that in the last month of the Bengali year, when the drum music of this festival is heard, the devotee of the lower classes feels a sort of tickling sensation in his back which can only be cured by passing the hook through it. The Government put a stop to the piercing of the flesh in this festival about sixty years ago. Now they swing round from the tall pole, but they hang by means of bandages tightly bound around the trunk.

Plate seven, not illustrated, shows a rather idealized picture of a Hindu lady of high rank tended by her women attendants taking her bath in the Ganges.

Plate nine, not reproduced, shows a cruel custom said to be in vogue in North Bengal. If a baby was persistently ill, it would be exposed for three days in a basket hanging from a tree in the outskirts of the village. If it were found living still, which was exceedingly rare with the beasts and birds of prey about, it would be taken down, and once more an attempt would be made to nurse it back to health. The picture shows a father and mother in a forest, the mother hanging the basket with the baby from the tree. This picture in its theatricality is not much of a success.

Plates ten and eleven are not shown here. Plate ten depicts two Bengali villagers leaving their native village for a long journey, with their clothes and necessities done into bundles, and doing obeisance to some respected Brahman. This picture has been reproduced in Ragozin's *Vedic India*. Plate eleven shows

some palankeen bearers from Bihar celebrating the Holi festival by singing and dancing.

Plate twelve (Fig. 4) gives a group of village women in their daily avocations. One is making curry paste on a stone palette with a pounder. Two are fetching water. Two are occupied with spinning and reeling. An old woman smoking a *hooka* and is having her head attended to by a girl: this one, and the woman in a coloured skirt with shoes on, seated before the spinning woman, are not Bengalis. The group is a composition the figures being brought together as in a Types from the Army' picture.

Plate thirteen (Fig. 5) gives us a bit of European life. Two Hindustani cloth dealers from Bara Bazar have just sold some stuff



7. Nautch at the Residence of a Wealthy Bengali

to the lady of the English official—she has it on her left arm. The gentleman is paying them in gold mohurs, and the dealer is respectfully asking for more money as his proper price. Dacca and Santipur muslins, Benares broadcloth and such other fine products of the country are his stock-in-trade. The Englishman is smoking the *hookah* with the long snake-pipe—a luxury which the Englishman did not disdain to copy from Indians. The stalwart bearer is fanning with a huge palmyra leaf fan, with gilt and colored decorations; his bare body, even in presence of the *Sahib* and his lady, is to be noted. Outside we get a glimpse of the proportions and surroundings of the *Sahib's* dwelling in the column in the outer veranda and the distant trees in the compound.

Plate fourteen (Fig. 6) gives us a

charming sketch of the interior of Hindu cottage in or near Calcutta. The young wife is cooking. Her two children are rummaging the basket of rice in play. The furniture and household articles are depicted with great fidelity, from the box and bedding to the hand-painted picture of Ramachandra pasted on the wall and the bunch of bananas hanging from the bamboo roof-frame. The *charkha* or spinning wheel beside the up-standing bedstead in noticeable. We have here quite a charming domestic scene, and the simple and happy life of the family is abundantly evident.

The four plates, number fifteen to number eighteen, illustrate the *Nautch*, so characteristic of high Indian society in those days. The Indian imitation of Mid-Victorian period has all but banished the



8. Nautch



9. Bengali Banian's Visit to an English Civilian

Nautch from good society—at least in Bengal. Two of these pictures are reproduced here. (Figs. 7 & 8). In one a rich Bengali gentleman is giving a *Nautch* party in his home—the *Nautch* is on, the dancing girl and her attendant musicians all dressed in their characteristic garments are giving the performance, and the host is receiving one of his principal guests—a high English official. The place is brilliantly lit with candles in chandeliers. The loose robes of a Bengali Hindu of position are to be noted. The well-known Deb family of Calcutta—the Sobhabazar Raj family—were in the habit of holding *Nautch* parties, particularly, during the time of the *Durga Puja*, the national festival of Bengal held in autumn; and to these parties most European residents would be invited,—dinners à l'Européenne being included. The Deb family *Puja Nautches* formed quite an institution in Calcutta a hundred years ago, and in this picture the host is probably Raja Sir Radha Kanta Deva, the most illustrious and learned



10. The Performing goat

scion of the family, well-known in the field of Sanskrit studies as the patron of the great Sanskrit lexicon *Sabda-kalpadruma*. Fig. 8 gives another scene in connexion with the *Nautch*—the woman is singing before two European ladies who are surveying her in all her finery with a feminine and critical interest. She must be given some silver as a largesse, and one of the European gentlemen is fumbling his vest pocket for some rupees. Standing behind the ladies in respectful attention is probably the host, who is some well-to-do Bengali financier of English merchants (*Mutsuddi* or *Banian*), and talking to him is some foreign merchant, Persian or Armenian.



11. Beggars



12. The Pedlar

Plate nineteen, not shown here, gives the figure of an adjutant bird—the carrion-eating *hargila*—standing on the corpse of a young Hindu woman floating on the river; a gruesome sight common enough in those days when a proper cremation or burial was as often accorded to the dead as not.

Plate twenty (Fig. 10) shows the *Bandarwala*—his trained goats and monkeys are showing the usual tricks before two English children attended by their *ayah* and servant with a parasol.

Plate twenty-one (Fig. 12) is a counterpart to plate thirteen. A *Boxwallah*—a hawker who visits peoples' home with articles of haberdashery—is selling some foreign stuff for the lady's dress. The *durzee* or tailor is ready, behind her: he and the lady's *ayah* are both in expectancy of some commission from the dealer. The dealer and his partner are Bengalis. He is driving a bargain with

the usual polite gestures. The coolie who has carried the heavy box is seen seated on his haunches dozing on the veranda outside.

Plate twenty-two (Fig. 11) gives three beggar types of Calcutta. The scantily dressed couple with the children, the man and the boy with one-stringed lutes, are *Jogis*; who used to come every year, and come now-a-days too from outside Bengal on begging tours in Bengal. The bearded man in the middle is a Bengali *Bairagi*—a member of one of the various ramifications of the Vaishnava Sect in Bengal. He has on a patch-work cloak, and a cap. The dignified blind old man with the boy leading him is a Muhammadan *Faqir* or mendicant.

Plate twenty-three (Fig. 9) depicts the visit of a Bengali *Banian* or business man to settle some financial affair with an English civilian who is preparing to go out. In the foreground are to the left the

Sahib's macebearer (*Chobdar*), who is more important a personage than the head butler in an English mansion, and to the right is the *Sahib's* Bengali *Mohurrir* or clerk and accountant. The servants of the *Sahib* are in the background. He is going out in a *palankeen*, which has lanterns fixed to it, and four *Rowany* or up-country bearers with uniforms of white coats and red turbans and sashes carry it. The Bengali gentleman's *palankeen* is carried by four stalwart Oriya bearers, who are smoking their *cheroots* (*pika*); and the umbrella-bearer who has come with him carries a huge bamboo and palm-leaf umbrella which cannot be closed. Locomotion, dress and everything has been almost revolutionized during these hundred years.

The last plate, not reproduced, shows a number of men of the lowest classes about to flay a dead ox by the river-side.

On the whole, the illustrations are full of interest. There are similar other books and illustrations and all these require to be carefully studied,—and the pictures should be

made available in reproduction—as valuable materials to reconstruct the social and cultural history of India a hundred years ago and more.

RURAL WELFARE METHODS*

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[With reference to "Review of Rural Welfare Activities in India 1932" by C. F. Strickland, C. I. E. Preface by Sir Francis Younghusband and Foreword by Lady Irwin. Oxford University Press, 1932.]

It is a strange argument in condemning a public institution to predict that it may or may not continue far into the future. The same prophetic utterance could be made with impunity of any institution in this world where, for all we know, whatever *is*, may or may not always be. Our concern as workers, however, must solely be to preserve the present efficiency of our working, to explore, initiate and stabilize, to guide our ceaseless efforts along creative paths of self-development. We must leave it to ex-servicemen and soothsayers to deliver oracles, safe in the assurance that their contemporaries lack the omniscience to judge. But we can ignore them.

Question: Whether leadership in Sriniketan can eternally perpetuate itself. We would in answer put another question: Have the founders of any organizations ever been succeeded by their exact duplicates? And has any institution failed because this simply cannot happen? Arnold of Rugby was a rare personality; can all the subsequent headmasters of Rugby claim equal distinction? India, for instance, could not reasonably expect all its Viceroy's to be like Lord Ripon or say, like Lord Irwin. This is obvious enough to any resident of modern India. We can only leave the door open for personalities to come and take their proper place. In our own Institution in Sriniketan the atmosphere is certainly

more favourable than in most others for inspiring gifts of leadership, for developing initiative, for imparting creative urge of ideals which disciplines manhood and shapes character.

As to our "unscientific" systems. We admit we may lack the full-fledged machinery of science, but we certainly possess the vital gift of sympathy. The latter I consider to be far more indispensable in dealing with one's fellow-beings, in pursuing all manner of rural work. You cannot deal with humanity merely through expensive systems. And here is an example. An agricultural continent like India, whose economic resources have been and are being ruthlessly drained dry, preserves at its head, as is well known, the most expensive civil administration system of the world. And yet what is the result? Complete devastation in place of villages, famine, dried-up waterways, very systematic absence of education, sanitation and medicine. This by way of what the present Governmental system has done to rural India. As to science, to take a single instance, Bengal is being strangled to death by the water hyacinth. To my friends I once observed, that to get rid of them, one had only to spread a few plants in German river-beds—they would know at once how to deal with them. Officials in India who condemn us for lack of science and system must truly possess the colossal powers of self-deception attributed to them. Pitiably indeed is the fate of India where neither science, nor human sympathy have any scope in their Government. In our own Institution our workers have a natural sympathy for their suffering brethren, for in work and in play their mutual association grows intimate is

* The issues raised in Mr. Strickland's book in his criticism of Sriniketan are made evident in this article. No quotations are, therefore, necessary in this connection. R. T.

continuous. Due to their profound concern for the well-being of villagers, whom they do not consider to be a problem but as part of their own social being, our workers are inevitably led to devise means wherewith to mitigate their suffering. This brings in science, which has to stand the test of honest conscience and of daily utility, a harder test surely than that to which theoretical criticisms by an alien superciliousness dare submit. In a perfectly natural fusion of science and sympathy lies more claim for our work to survive than there ever could be in hardened foreign systems devised by unsympathetic rulers and imposed upon us regardless of their fitness or applicability. Our work

indeed has every reason to continue, for it is spiritually in link with our traditions of social service and depends for its existence on the goodwill of our people. Obviously this could not be said of the Indian Civil Service, which today is avowedly militaristic, and hardly civil; and which surely does not serve our social needs.

To me the most painful surprise is to find Lord Irwin's name associated with the book by implication. This seems to be one more proof of what a thoroughly efficient, and I dare say scientific system, can do to alienate the sympathies of the very best of individuals sent out to serve the people of India.

ITINERARY OF THE PERSIAN TOUR

By K. N. CHATTERJI

DR. Herzfeld was waiting for us at Persepolis. This famous archaeologist is now engaged in excavation and restoration work at this and nearby sites. He stays here all the year round with an young assistant.

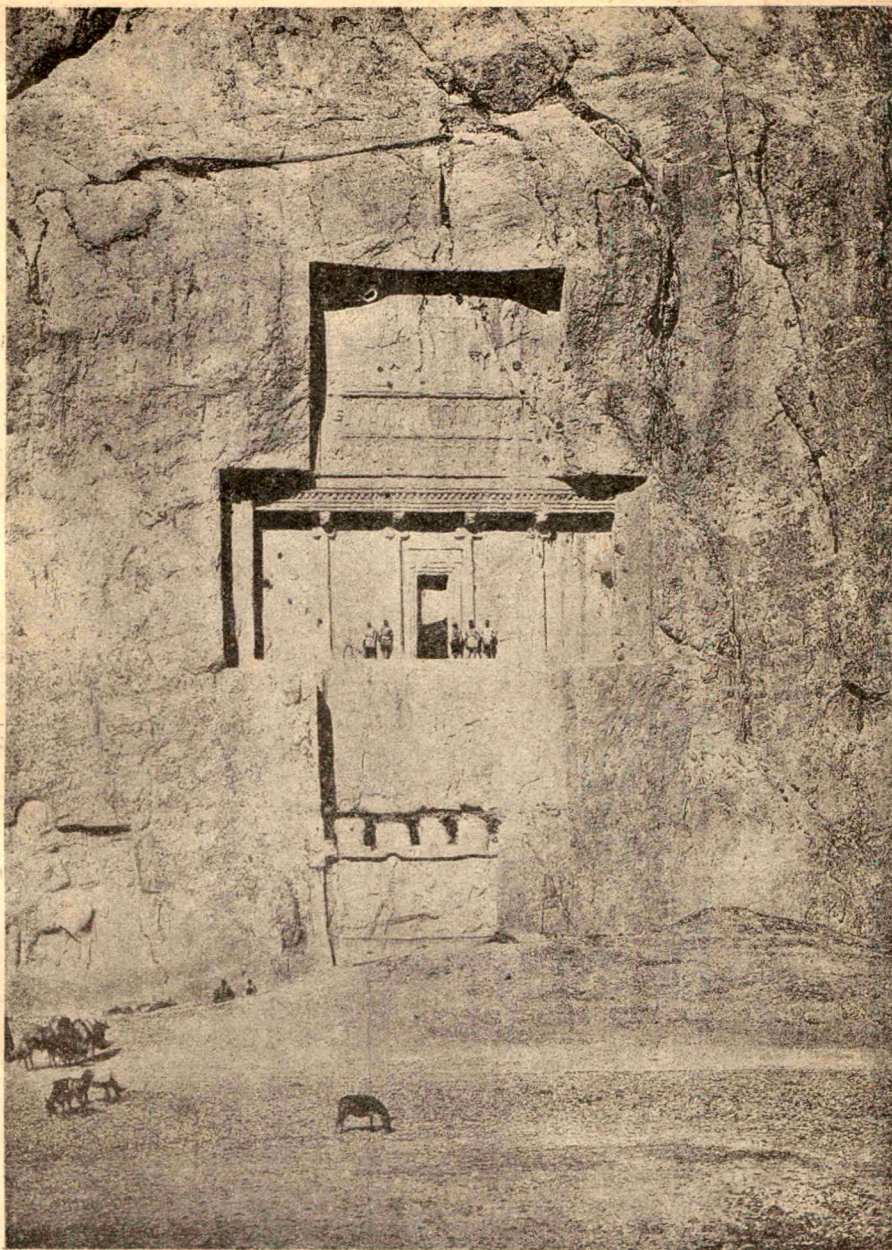
We heard that some ancient cave-burial sites have been found containing the remains of wealthy Zoroastrian commoners, proving thereby that this form of funeral was practised as well as the well-known method of exposing the remains to vultures. Dr. Herzfeld wanted some Parsi scholars to come and be present at the opening of these tombs. He was not very pleased when I mentioned the name of an anthropologist friend of mine, having thought that my friend was an archaeologist.

The Poet arrived and Dr. Herzfeld hastened to welcome him. In consideration of the length of the journey still before him, he was shown a few of the more remarkable sights and then taken to the reconstructed library of Artaxerxes, which Dr. Herzfeld considers to be the spot where Alexander the 'Great' started his famous incendiary

exploit during the mad drunken orgy after the occupation. We were shown some beautifully decorated earthenware pots recovered from a recently discovered neolithic site in this neighbourhood. The design and the motifs on one completely reconstructed pot were similar to those found by Sir Aurel Stein in the prehistoric sites of Hindukush and Baluchistan. We heard that Sir Aurel Stein was on his way to see these. With regard to the scarcity of female figures in the bas-reliefs Dr. Herzfeld told the Poet the story of a Parthava prince* who went to Rome to be invested with a crown. Sea voyage being prohibited to a Zoroastrian he went by the land route accompanied by his royal consort who went veiled on horseback.

While this and other interesting stories were being told I slipped out to see what there was to be seen as the time was all too short. Four cruciform burial caves could be seen in the hill-side. Of these only two were hurriedly seen, the most

* Probably Tiridates, who was crowned by Nero in A.D. 66.



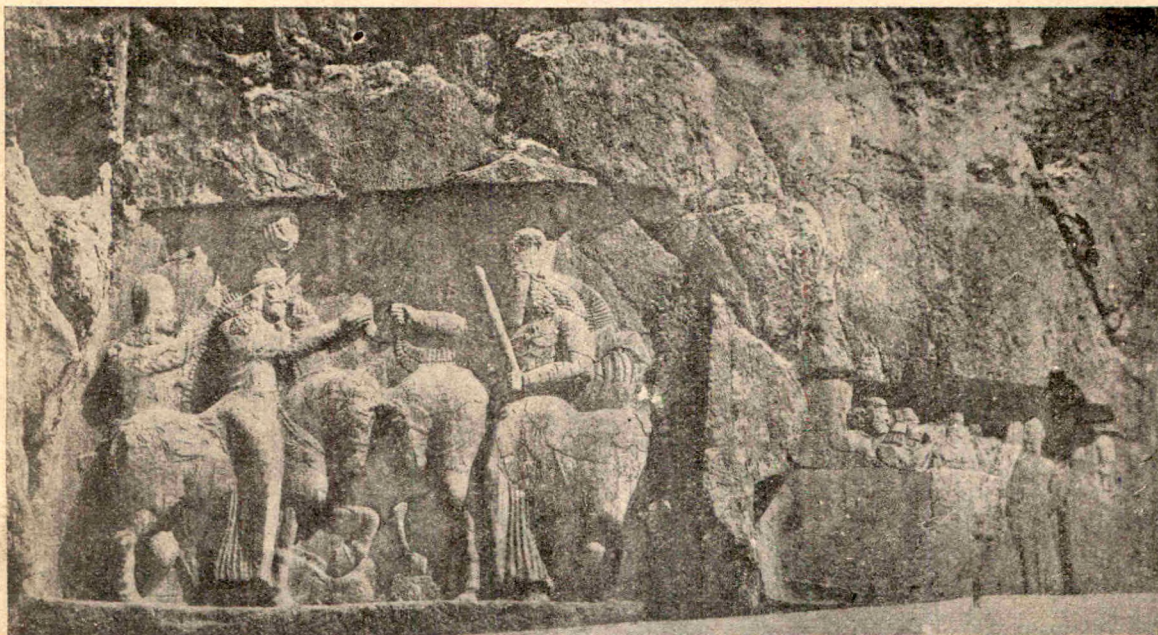
The Grave of Darius. Naksh-i-Rustam

distant being that of Darius the Great, the other that of Artaxerxes. Above the entrance door of the caves the king is shown in bas-relief standing before a fire altar, a bow in one hand and the other raised in salute to Ahura-Mazda depicted above him.

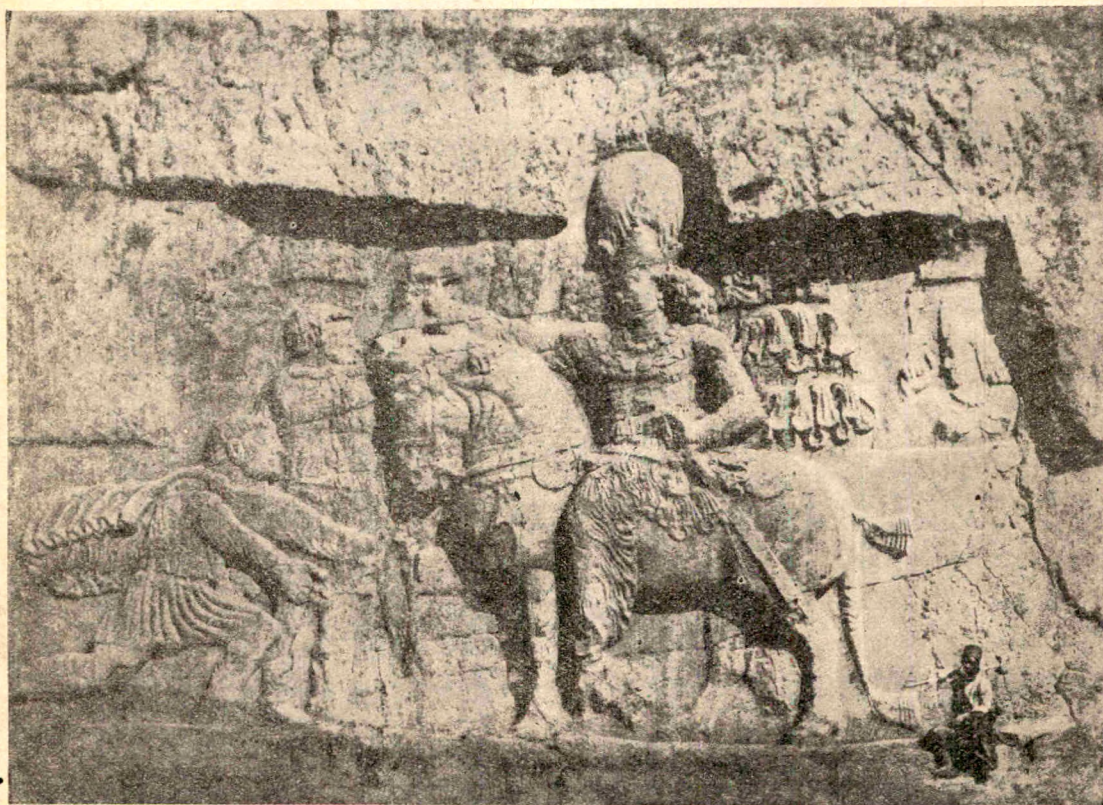
The hill-sides near these caves contain Sassanian bas-reliefs as well. Could not see

them as carefully as I would have liked due to shortage of time. But in one gigantic relief Shapur the Great was met with again in the dress of a handsome cavalier, with the defeated Emperor Valerian kneeling in supplication before him and standing by his side was Cyriades of Antioch.

These bas-reliefs are known locally as



Ahura-Mazda and the First Sassanian King. Naksh-i-Rustam



Shapur the Great, Emperor Valerian and Cyriades of Antioch. Naksh-i-Rustam

Naksh-i-Rustam, as folklore has seen in these the exploits of the legendary hero Rustam. Strangely enough, these legends of Rustam are known to all but hardly anyone knows about the glorious campaign of Shapur the Great against the mighty Roman legions. Perhaps that is so because there is no epic written about Shapur and Valerian. Let us hope that, with the renaissance of Iran, a new Firdausi will arrive who will sing about the real glories of ancient Iran and the Irani heroes of yore. If the metre be good and the phrases well polished then it will not be long before all Persia rings with the words of the new Shahnama, for if there are any people on earth who are as a nation fond of poetry then they are the Persians.

* * *

Soon it was time to make a start and be on our way to Isfahan. So taking a last regretful look at this wonderful store of ancient Iranian monuments we had to make a start. Monument is a poor word to describe



Officers in the New Army of Persia

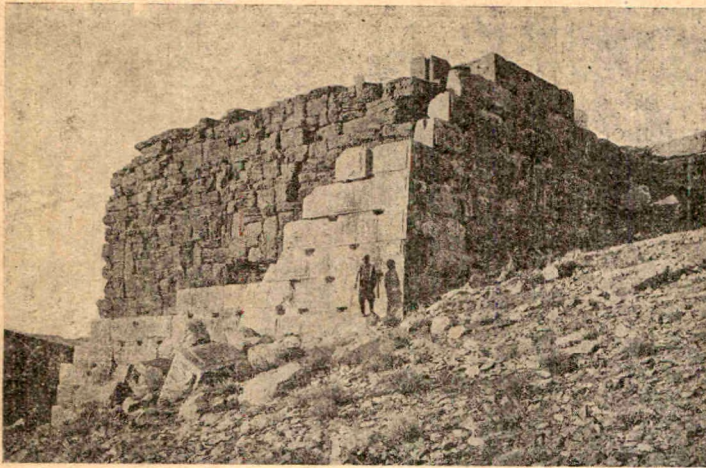


On the way to Isfahan. Nomad Shepherd

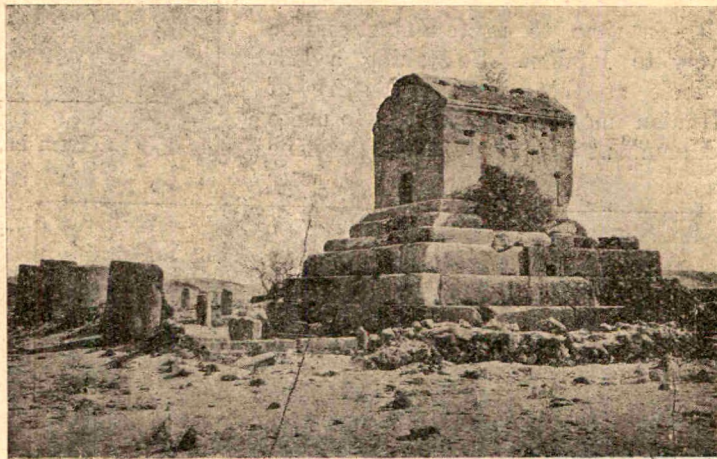
this glorious pile of Achaemenian (and Sassanian to a far lesser extent) achievements. Present-day Persia is poor, with that sharp cleavage between the very poor and very rich as can be seen in our own country. Here also there is no affluent middle-class of gentry. Corresponding to those of western

countries, there are only small groups of people who are precariously climbing towards wealth—as in India—who, if they fail, are resolved again into the very poor and if they succeed, become of the very rich. But the house is being put in order at the present day with the indomitable will of the Royal head behind it all and may be we shall again have an Iran that, with its well-to-do artisans and citizens, will be able to make a fresh start and resume its individual path towards the apex of civilization.

The car started on its way and soon Persepolis was out of sight. There was a distant range of hills on the left. Pointing to one group of peaks and clefts, the Persian official in my car said, "Il est la bas que dost le Grand Cyrus."



Pasargadae. Palace Wall

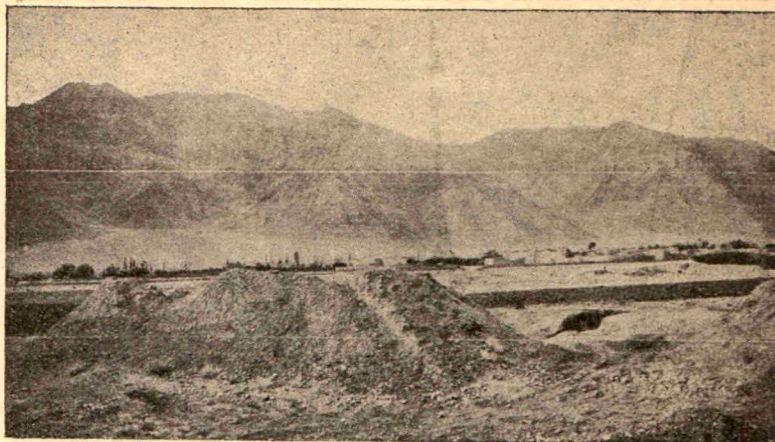


Pasargadae. The tomb of Cyrus.

Cyrus the Great—the Great Kurusha, son of Kaiaubja—under whom the Persian armies marched from triumph to triumph, conquering Western Asia, the Ionian colonies and islands, Egypt and many other lands! Naturally I was extremely anxious to get at least a hurried glimpse of the historic site containing his tomb and the remnants of his palaces. On asking how far the place was from our next halt I was told “five farsakhs” which was an indefinite distance—the farsakh being a very elastic measure—but evidently not very long.

Soon after we reached the village (or country town) of Saadatabad, where in a pleasant and shady garden we sat down to a

rather late lunch by the side of a stream of running water under the spreading branches of a chestnut tree. Broaching the subject of a visit to the tomb of Cyrus at Meshed Murghab (modern name of Pasargadae) I found a lack of enthusiasm everywhere, even amongst our Zoroastrian friends. Everyone was thinking about the length of the road before us till we reached Abadeh—our resting-place for the night. So in the end I had to persuade our friend the Persian Education Officer to make a detour with one car and take me near enough to see the ruins from a distance, since—so I was told—the car could not approach nearer than about



On the way to Isfahan. View of hills with a village nestling near them.

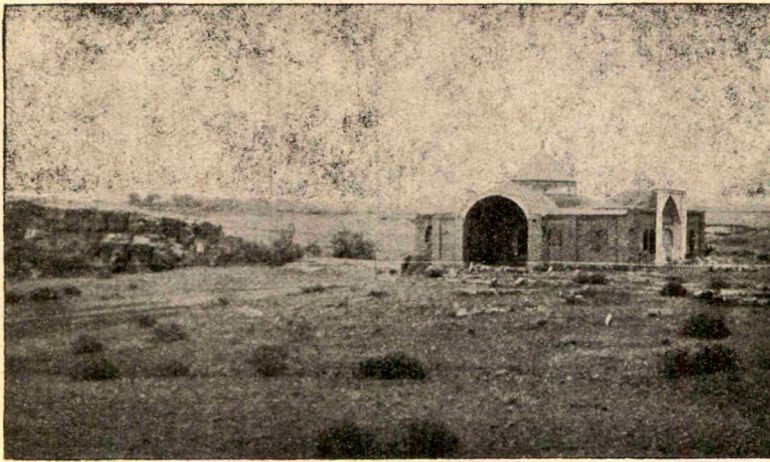


ay to Isfahan. A break-down

And that was all
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One feels that
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Naksh-i-Rustam and
be left practically

*

Again the long winding road flanked by the rolling moors and waste lands and the strange and picturesque hills. Hills and mountain chains always had a fascination for me and I have seen them in three continents. But though I had seen far mightier ones or those that are more lovely, these hills and mountain chains of Persia somehow seemed to be far more impressive, perhaps because of their ever changing rugged shapes and because of the wonderful play of colours. Here were cloud-capped sheer walls of purple, there again were the fantastic pillars and battlements of tawny red, and again gigantic



On the way to Isfahan. A roadside Tea-house.

Rugs are also woven here but they are not of any distinctive design or quality in this land of wonderful rugs and carpets.

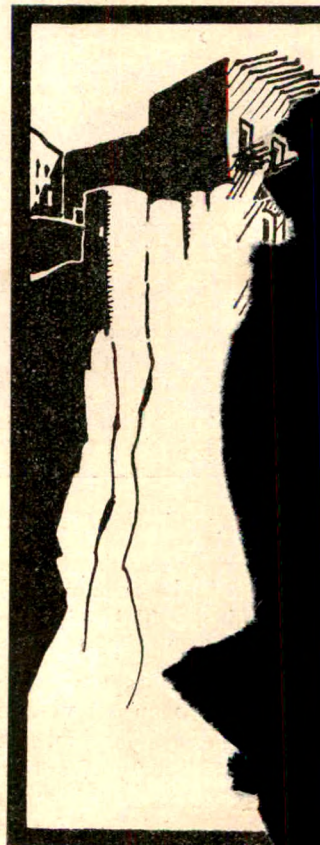
After a wash and brush up we had some tea and then went to the Zoroastrian cemetery to attend a ceremony at A r b a b Kaikhosrow Shahrokh's son's tomb. This unfortunate young man was shot down and killed by a band of robbers on the outside this town.

mosques with dome and minarets, and so on, so that it seemed in the dim misty half-light of the late afternoon as if we were passing through a vast deserted city of titans of which colours ran through the entire gamut of the spectrum.

The car gave a few jolts and then suddenly stopped, thereby effectively bringing us down to realities. And the reality consisted of a howling bitter cold wind with rain sleet and an occasional shower of hail thrown in, an open car with a choked petrol pipe, about twenty or thirty miles from anywhere! The pipe was cleared and the siphon primed—the car started with a roar and we heaved a conjoint sigh of relief. We were passing some very high mountain peaks and we could see a snowstorm raging round them. Further on the car went down into a rolling valley which was somewhat sheltered against the wind. There were cultivated fields and in the distance a large village surrounded by tall waving trees. We halted by a picturesque little wayside tea-shop with a petrol depot in an annexe. About an hour later we reached Abadeh in the twilight of the evening.

* * *

Abadeh is a small town. Cultivation, orchards, wood-carving and the making of a peculiar type of canvas shoes are the main occupations of the people. The wood-carving is like exceedingly fine fretwork with a lot of intricate decorations in low relief.



broad daylight
was on his way

companions, for receiving a college education. Considering those times one must say that the present Government has made travelling safe beyond all measure in a very short time.

The cemetery consisted of a large courtyard enclosed on all sides by a high wall. There were rooms all round the yard containing graves and candles burning in tall glazed candlestands by their side. In one such room we all gathered together in front of the grave of the departed. Prayers were recited in silence while the youngest son of the Arbab lighted and placed candles all round the grave. Prayers having been said we all paid our respects by saluting the grave and then took leave in silence.

Next morning we were again on our way to Isfahan. The roads gradually improved as we approached the great town. We passed a number of nomad bands moving towards the upland valleys with their flocks. The goats were shaggy coated with long horns, the sheep were all of the fat-tailed variety.

The hills again were the only diverting factor in the dreary vista of wide waste lands. Wherever there were mountain streamlets there as if by magic the light and dark green of Cork fields and orchards would bring a relief by contrast of their bright colouring to the monotonous grey of the moors.

We were slowly descending into the lower valleys along a winding path. At the end of such a bend we saw the sandy bed of a rivulet in the offing with a peculiar rocky island in the bed of the stream. The rock seemed as if some one had carved a number of high narrow and uneven houses out of the rock. Coming nearer we found that to be really the case. This rock has really been shaped into a weird little village with only one entrance and a whole series of rickety and craggy structures perched at all elevations and angles along the rock wall. This was our impression of Yazdikhast.

FRANZ JOSEPH HAYDN—THE PERSONALITY OF A FAMOUS MUSICIAN

(1732-1809)

By D. NADKARNI

IT is exactly two hundred years since Franz Joseph Haydn was born in a little village of Croatia. As far back in 1732, when he was born, change came but slowly in the pleasant little villages of Europe. Many to this day stand untouched, uninfluenced even by the fringe of modern times and events and remain as rustic as they were nearly two hundred years ago. As we note their rustic and rugged simplicity, we can picture to ourselves how much more provincial must have been the life in such a little sleepy hollow as Rohrau in 1732 when the only means of transport and communication was the postillion. People consequently were seldom alive to the rumours of any wars. Culture was just blossoming. The townspeople went about their affairs unconcerned about events not immediately connected with their business and bosom, and were content to vegetate in a sleepy existence. It was a matter of supreme indifference to them whether an alien horde was advancing on Vienna so long as a Sobieski was there to

defend their city. Wars might rage in the neighbouring countries if only peace reigned in Croatia. An abysmal indifference and conceit held the people under a vice-like grip. What mattered anything else if they could only rest assured that Austria was shoulder-high above other nations and that somewhere in the wide, wide world, great pioneers were sweating their way to ideals in education and culture that one day was destined to make life easier to bear. Such was the epoch in which Haydn was born.

There has been a surprising amount of controversy regarding the precise ancestry of Haydn. Some claim that he was originally of a German stock, but the extensive researches of Sir W. H. Hadow definitely point to the fact of his family being of a Croatian extraction, a fact that throws a flood of light upon the distinctly Slavonic character of much of his music. Haydn's father was a wheelwright who had twelve children and was the first to recognize the musical abilities of the boy.

at a very young age. The father himself had some musical talent natural to him and he could play the harp "while he knew not a note of music." Haydn's mother was a typical *Hausfrau* of the peasant class, and though a plebeian by birth was said to have had most refined and cultured ideals before her.

Haydn first attracted attention outside his own home in a curious way. In his house, there was much impromptu music, the star performer being his father who supplied the harp. Little Haydn who could not have been but a mere child at the time, and who had an admirable faculty of mimicry, is said to have imitated the fiddling of the local school master using for the regulation of violin, a stick of wood. One day, one Johann Mathias Frankh, a relative, who chanced to be on a visit to the Haydns, was very much intrigued to see how well the little fellow kept time even on his improvised and make-believe violin. He thereupon insisted on taking young Haydn under his care, and in 1733 trained him as a chorister. Frankh also taught him to play the violin, the harpsichord, and at the age of six he was able to sing masses in the village church. It is said that once he was called upon to play a drum in a local procession. This unusual request was in every sense a tall order, for the boy being too tiny to carry such an unwieldy thing, it was strapped to the back of a hunch-back who marched ahead of the infant drummer. In 1740, on a recommendation from the Dean of Hainburg, he obtained a situation under Reutter, the Kapellmeister of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. Here Haydn became a member of the choir school (cantorei) founded in the early fifteenth century. The boy was to receive very meagre creature comforts plus some rudiments of education and training in violin, clavier, singing, Latin and religion. It was his mother's ambition that he was to be trained for the priesthood. But under Reutter, Haydn received hardly any human treatment. He was neglected, and abused at every seasonable opportunity, and when in 1749 his voice broke, Direktor-General von Reutter took occasion of a boyish indiscretion to turn him out into the streets.

It is an in exorable law in the development of music that all significant phenomena must struggle for recognition. Penniless, threadbare, hungry, now left to his own wits and resources, Haydn had to fight a lone battle with a broken sword. As a pariah he wandered the streets of the great city which now boasts of him as one of her proudest possessions. Later in life the composer, in a spirit of detachment, would say that he received but two lessons in composition from the severe Kapellmeister. The experience, unpleasant as it was, was not without its redeeming side. The routine of the choir school and the constant pining for better music, aroused and goaded the boy's innate instincts and led him to study for himself. There is no finer example of Heaven

helping those who help themselves than young Haydn battling against his limitations at this time. He begged six florins from his father and purchased Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* and Mattheson's *Vollkommener Kapellmeister*. It required a supreme mental confidence and the patience of a Job to wade through two of the dullest, dreariest and driest text-books in music. At long last, he got through his self-prescribed curriculum so thoroughly that he produced results that were marvellous to many.

In such a storm-tossed career Haydn was now plunged. Adversity loves company, and Haydn at this time struck up a friendship with Spangler, a tenor with very slender means, and a wife and child to look after. Nevertheless, he invited the hapless Haydn to share his room with him which subsequently became the roosting place of the composer during many a difficult time. Other friends came to his aid and this helped to a great extent to round off the sharp corners of his life. Later he was able to indulge in the unusual luxury of a garret of his very own where, in the company of a broken clavier, a printing salesman and a cook, he claimed to be "too happy to envy the lot of kings."

Haydn at this time was fortunate to attract the attention of Metastasio, the librettist and poet who lived in more pretentious rooms in the same building with him. This marked the beginning of a change in his fortunes. His friendship resulted in tuitions which brought him some little measure of competence, but what proved to be the most important event, was his friendship with Porpora, then one of the most distinguished musicians in Vienna. Haydn was grateful for every change that brought him nearer to the great master, even to "valeting and blacking his boots" and doing other menial work. But he received no compensation of any kind from Porpora save a few fugitive educational crumbs that sometimes escaped from the vast store-house of the master, and which Haydn devoured greedily.

Haydn was passionately devoted to the works of Emanuel Bach. The latter seemed to appreciate the preference the younger musician showed to his work in comparison with that of his father, Johann Sebastian Bach. The "Württemberg" Sonatas of C. P. E. Bach of which he made a detailed study gained for him his earlier acquaintance with the principles of musical structure. His first work, a comic opera, entitled "Der Neue Kreumme Teufel" (The New Crooked Devil) was successfully produced, but subsequently the score was lost and has never since been recovered. Fortune now claimed him as its belated favourite. His reputation increased by leaps and bounds, and commissions followed in rapid succession. Just what could be the extent of his income at this time is not possible to know, but it must have been sufficient to lead him to a marriage. Mrs. Haydn, née Anna Maria Keller, and the daughter of a barber, was senior to her lord by three

years. "Her conceit and extravagance were said to have caused her happy lord far less worry than her persistence in using his manuscripts to curl her hair or as platters for her tarts."

In 1791, Haydn visited London under the impressario, John Peter Salomon, a noted violinist. The journey took fifteen days. In London he was fêted like a prince. His first concert took the Londoners by storm. But the audience soon had a surfeit of the good things that came from the composer and got tired after the element of novelty had died out. Haydn then tried a change of front and subsequently produced his "Surprised Symphony" with its explosive fortissimo followed by a long pianissimo. "There all women will scream," prophesized the composer, and sure enough the "Surprise" proved to be a scream wherever it was produced.

Honours now were showered on him and he had to run the gauntlet of degrees, the most important being the Doctorate of Music conferred on him by the University of Oxford. The thesis which won for him this high honour was the "Canon Cancrizans a tre" on the words "Thy voice, O Harmony, is divine"

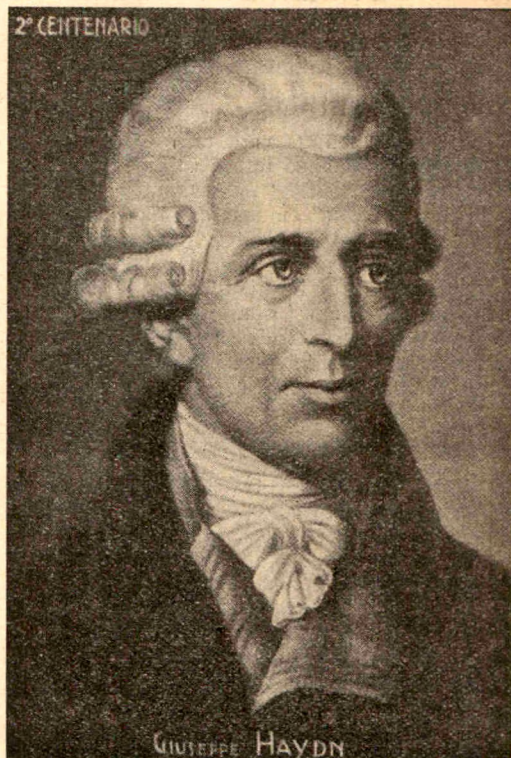
In 1792, on his way back from London, Haydn met Beethoven, which proved very fortunate for the latter. Taking the occasion of a *cantata* which he had produced and which immensely pleased Haydn, he induced him to visit Vienna. The same year, Beethoven became a pupil of Haydn. But their relations were destined to be short-lived through the diversity of their views. Beethoven, the iconoclast, persistently upset the established rules of music with a vehemence that Haydn, who was a stickler for tradition, could never understand much less forgive. After a time, Haydn lost all interest in Beethoven who was reported to have often said that he never learnt anything from his master who never would correct his mistakes.

Haydn's second visit to London in 1794 created a furore, like his first. He was lionized everywhere. His six new symphonies created for his "Salomon Concerts" were received with a tremendous approbation, and some impressionable Frenchmen who were a part of the vast concourse assembled in the Hall, disturbed the renderings in a fit of emotional zeal. Haydn himself conducted these symphonies, seated at the pianoforte, according to the custom of the times.

In 1797, he brought out the "Austrian Hymn" (the String Quartet, Opus 76. No. 3, known as "Gott erhalt Kaiser" (God save the Emperor) which so much pleased the Emperor that he presented him with a gold casket bearing the insignia of His Imperial Majesty in relief. This composition, which is mainly a Croatian melody, Haydn ennobled and enriched into the greatest national hymns ever known to music.

When we take a survey of Haydn's epoch, ideals of the greatest truth and highest beauty are noticeable in his time. The style of Haydn is determined by the string music which he composed

in profusion. His operas despite their melody and daintiness no longer hold the stage today. His masses in which he "praised God with a cheerful heart" have suffered the fate of all old-fashioned ideas at the hands of the severe decorum of our latter-day times. Of his oratorios the "Creation" alone has survived the passage of time. In all these compositions, Haydn's style and idiom belong to a dead generation and rather serve to remind us as monuments than landmarks; their beauty and originality seem more to record the end of an epoch than usher in a new era in the development of music. But as the first great master



Joseph Haydn
1732-1809

of the quartet and the symphony his claim is indisputable. The quartets especially show a greater width of canvas in variety and originality of structural invention than those of any other composer with the exception of his erstwhile pupil Beethoven. Haydn, with Beethoven and Mozart, forms a trinity, and the epoch of these great masters marks the richest period of German music. Theirs was a "classic" period, by virtue of their work serving as models for all time to come. The most intimate fusion of

form and content is characteristic of their compositions which have in them the absolute denial of everything banal and trivial. The two opposites, Art and Nature, unite here in a combination that is altogether too wonderful for words. Haydn, essentially, had the qualities of a pioneer. The important changes which he wrought in melodic idiom are discernible throughout his compositions. In his time, and even before, instrumental music had all the ceremonial courtliness of phrase. But Haydn broke through the convention by introducing his native folk-music and many of his own tunes in utter disregard of tradition. The change at first threatened to throw him into disfavour for ever. It was feared at the time that the artist in him was subordinated to the missionary of innovations. Critics, accustomed as they were to decorum and polite formalism, censured the change as undignified. But their vitalizing freshness, the sunny child-like cheerfulness and melodic beauty soon silenced all critics. This, more than any other influence in the eighteenth century, served to establish "naturalism" in musical composition. Haydn's music was a combination of the seriousness of North German schools and South German gaiety. The distinctly Slavonic character of his compositions is illustrated from the string quartets: Op. No. 1; Op. 33, No. 3; Op. 30, No. 1; Op. 77, No. 1; and the Salomon symphonies. In fact, there is hardly an instrumental composition of his that does not show the Croatian influence. He based his ideals on the folk-songs and folk-dances of his native Croatia; and his greatness lies in idealizing these simple themes. The old German and Slavonic dances and songs of the people idealized in a form raised to the highest sphere of art, are what one notices in Haydn's compositions.

Haydn made Homeric contributions to instrumental, particularly chamber music. Bach had made the form of suite a complete whole. His son, Philipp Emanuel, had extended the form of the sonata. But it was left to Haydn to establish for all time the art-form of the sonata, its members and construction. His orchestras are full of colour and life because he introduced into them what has since been known as the "Haydn-form" after him. He brought out the peculiar characteristics of each instrument and wrote out themes especially suited to them. In a sense, this form was anticipated by C.P.E. Bach, Scarlatti and Archangelo Corelli, but it was Haydn who gave it the clearness and symmetrical precision of a plan.

It is impossible to find from the portraits of Haydn any outstanding qualities of greatness. He was average to a degree, and perhaps had

more handicaps in point of facial disfigurements than any man. He was disfigured at a very young age as a result of small-pox; in addition a virulent form of polypus flattened his nose and a very thick underlip contributed its share to the damages. He was of a dark and swarthy complexion which won for him the sobriquet of the "Moor". Art, however, is kind to geniuses. His eyes alone were his saving grace out of an altogether unattractive personal appearance. They were so soft and kind that they mellowed his entire expression. He was, in fact, known as one of the merriest of composers. The liveliness of his music seems to be but the reflexion of the real Haydn—a Haydn who had screened himself behind a rough and repulsive exterior.

His compositions include: 104 symphonies, 10 overtures, 76 quartets, 68 trios, 54 sonatas, 31 concertos, and a large number of divertimentos, cassations, and other instrumental pieces, 24 operas and dramatic pieces, 16 masses, 3 oratorios, two *Te Deums* and many smaller pieces of Scottish and Welsh national melodies.

The strain of composing the "Seasons" and such a vast volume of work proved to be a rake's progress, and was already telling upon his health. He grew weaker day by day. When on his completing the 65th year, a performance was arranged, in his honour he was so weak that he had to be carried to his seat in the auditorium in a sedan chair.

"There, seated in company of the élite of the town, the noblemen and nobilities, protected from the bitter east wind by the scarves and silks of Princesses and Duchesses," Haydn feebly greeted an audience which rose as one man to pay him their homage. At the chorus "And there was light" the audience were moved alternately to tears and applause; but Haydn raised a feeble hand to exclaim "Not I, but a power from above created that." At the end of the performance Beethoven who was in the concert-hall, knelt and kissed the hands of the aged master. When he was being carried out, he bade the bearers pause at the threshold of the stage-door and raising his hands cast his last blessing to the orchestra.

With the capture of Vienna in 1809 by the French the patriotic heart of Haydn suffered a terrible jolt. On the 26th of May he suffered a skinking spell, and yet in such an enfeebled and precarious state he asked to be carried to his pianoforte where he played the Emperor Hymn three times. Death occurred five days later. After his death funeral services were conducted in different churches. As an evidence of the universal esteem in which he was held by everyone, even the officers of the invading army attended many of the services.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Simon Commission in India

Dr. J. T. Sunderland is contributing a series of articles to *The People* of Lahore on "India's Future." His reading of the situation in India during the Simon Commission's visits there is very interesting. The following is taken from the first article of the series :

What India understood the Commission's task to be, was, to go to India, to proceed carefully, of course, so as not to create alarm, express to the Indian people everywhere (the dear Indian people) Britain's great interest in them, her care and affection for them, her sympathy with their "very natural desire" for "self-government" and her "intention," her "purpose" (if they remained loyal to her and refrained from agitation) actually to grant them "self-determination," "self-rule," *after a while* as soon as, by her training and education she should have elevated them to the point where it would seem to her wise and best for them to have it; and then, (besides administering to them this soothing syrup) to do something else, *infinitely more important, namely, to formulate and bring back to England a plan for an Indian Constitution which would be* Lloyd George's "Steel Frame,"—something *strong enough to prevent any further possibility of India's being lost to Great Britain.*

I say, the Parliamentary debates (as also many speeches of prominent political leaders outside of Parliament and the general trend of newspaper discussion) convinced India that essentially *this* was the real aim and purpose of the British in sending to India the Simon Commission.

This view was strongly confirmed to India by the Commission's *personnel*. The Commission was composed *wholly of Englishmen*. Not a single Indian was allowed on it. Later, also, when the Commission had done its work and issued its report, the Indian people saw, or believed they saw, as clear as the sun at noon that they had not been mistaken as to the Commission's purpose. On studying the report, with care, their practically universal verdict was that, behind its soft words, its real meaning was not freedom in any form for India, but, as they had discerned from the first, *indefinitely continued and more rigorous bondage.*

With the Indian people holding such a view of the Commission, of course it was inevitable that when it arrived in India to begin its work it would receive anything but a welcome from them. As a fact, it was met with open hostility nearly everywhere. The people had no ear for its soft words. They wanted freedom, not words without meaning. To be sure, the Government officials and the employees of the Government co-operated with the Commission, as did considerable number of extreme Conservatives; but the great majority of the people boycotted it. Indeed, the hostility to it was so

great and so general that it had to travel by night and order its train schedules to be kept secret, and in many places it had actually to hold its sessions in buildings surrounded by barbed wire fences and heavily guarded by police, to prevent being attacked.

Such was the opposition which the Commission received on its two visits to India.

The Genesis of the Indian Round Table

In the same article Dr. Sunderland traces the origin of the Round Table Conference idea in the minds of the Britishers. He says :

How was the report of the Simon Commission received in *England*? To India's regret and indignation, though hardly to her surprise, she found it received there with widespread (though not universal) approval. There were strong voices against it, but on the whole it was popular in England; it had a large sale. All the militarists, the imperialists, the rule-India-with-a-strong-hand people, probably a clear majority of the Conservative Party, would have been glad to have Parliament go forward at once to frame a constitution on essentially the Simon Commission lines and force it on India. But—No! The wise heads, the more cautious men, saw that this would never do. The feeling in India against the Simon plan was so intense that to try to put it in operation would set the whole country on fire.

What then must they do? Give up the idea, and do nothing? But was that necessary? Could not essentially the Simon idea be carried out in *another way*?

It was plain that in creating the Simon Commission they had offended India by the autocratic manner in which they had done it. They had not consulted the Indian people. Probably their appointment of Englishmen alone on the Commission, and the exclusion of Indians, was a blunder, for India looked on it as an insult. They had done everything in a high-handed way. Seemingly this was all a mistaken policy. They must try another plan. What should it be? The answer at which they arrived was the London Round Table Conference plan.

They must conciliate the Indian people. Instead of building *against* India, as the Simon plan proposed, they must, at least in appearance, build *with* her. Instead of excluding Indians from their councils, they must take pains to include them; instead of failing to consult them, they must at least seem to consult them in every possible way (although, of course, *giving them no power—retaining all decision in British hands*). Thus they hoped the Indian people, instead of feeling offended and humiliated, would have their pride flattered; and the British Government could go

forward and quietly build its "steel frame" constitution with probably much less danger of opposition.

Within a few months the first London Round-Table Conference was summoned.

Dominion Status not for India

In the first Round Table Conference all the Indian delegates demanded in one voice immediate grant of dominion status. The Britishers fight shy of the term, dominion status, and in the last two Round Table Conferences studiously avoided using it. Dr. Sunderland offers in *The People* the following comment on this attitude of the Britishers :

To show how completely the subject was ignored in the Conferences from first to last, two specific illustrations may be cited. The first Conference was honoured by an address from the King, but he did not even mention Dominion Status. Both Conferences were opened and closed by addresses from Mr. MacDonald; but Dominion Status was not even mentioned by him in any of them.

To understand the full significance of all this it should be called to mind, not only that the term Dominion Status was scrupulously avoided throughout the first Round Table Conference in London, but that it was equally shunned throughout the second London Conference. Indeed, it has been carefully avoided in all the pronouncements of His Majesty's Government. Both its Government of India Acts of 1917 and 1919 and its other official utterances, instead of employing the word: Dominion Status, use such expressions as "responsible government," or other elastic terms, which may be interpreted to mean almost anything. Some of the expressions most commonly employed by all the British officials are "a large measure of government," "a large measure of constitutional freedom," "a large advance in constitutional government," "a large broadcasting of Indian freedom,"—these and such as these, but never such definite expressions as self-rule, or self-government, or dominion status like that of Canada and the other Dominions.

Once, in an announcement made by Lord Irwin, when he was Viceroy, that high official stated that "responsible government included, by implications Dominion Status." But that statement, as many will remember, caused a storm of protest in Parliament, and it was not until Premier MacDonald smoothed matters over by denying that the words necessarily contained any such implication, that the storm subsided.

All these things seem to harmonize with the very noticeable fact that ever since Mr. MacDonald attained power he has carefully avoided the words Dominion Status not only in the Round Table Conference but everywhere else. Before he attained power, both he and the Labour Party used the expression freely and often. Both promised again and again that if given office they would grant to India such a status without delay; Mr. MacDonald said "within a few months." But since he became Premier the lips of all seem to have become sealed. If any official employs the words (which is very seldom), it seems always to be in some ambiguous way that may be interpreted to mean whatever is desired, or else the time at which it is to be reached is in some entirely indefinite future.*

Thus the whole Dominion Status idea, as the British Government envisages it, seems to be a mere mirage a mere "will-o' the wisp," "now you see it and now you don't." Earl Russell, when he was Under-Secretary of State for India, declared that India already has Dominion Status. This is a sample of the vague, fast-and-loose, meaningless ways in which all words and expressions are employed which are supposed by the world to promise India self-rule. India is more and more coming to understand how little they mean, even if the world does not.

Women-Poets of Andhra

An idea is abroad that women of India suffered from disabilities in various walks of life in the past. Not to speak of the good old Vedic or post-Vedic times, women of India of the middle ages also took part in social and political activities. They cultivated literature and became authors of books on various themes. There were many women poets of distinction all over the provinces of India. Mr. V. N. Bhusan acquaints us with some of the prominent women-poets of Andhra in an article in *Triveni* :

Kuppamamba of the thirteenth century was an unfortunate young girl-widow who sang sweetly of her saddest thoughts; and these poetic wallings are suspected to have been made use of by Ayyalaraju Ramabhadra Kavi—one of the *Ashtadiggajas* of the Court of Krishnadevaraya—in his famous work, *Sakala Katha Sara Sangraha*. Next, Kumari Molla of the sixteenth century has, by her single work of translation,—*Ramayana*, which even today is extremely popular, taken an abiding place in the galaxy of our literary stalwarts. To the same century belongs Mohanangi, daughter of the great royal poet and patron of letters, Krishnadevaraya. Born of a highly cultured father, she inherited all his literary talents and was a centre of attraction in the learned assemblies of her father's Court. She encouraged in all ways those that thronged around her, and on one occasion bought for a fancy price the poems of a certain poet that hawked them along the city streets for the sake of bread. She was also the author of the no-longer-extant *Marichi Parinaya*—a *kavya* of great charm and invaluable merit that won the appreciation of the Court-poets of the time.

Next, we have Muddu Palani of the eighteenth century—a courtesan attached to the harem of Pratapasimha of Tanjore, whose work *Radhika Svantvanam* is still read for its splendid descriptions, situations and delineations of character. Muddupalani is also the translator of the famous *Saptapadi* songs of the celebrated Dravida poetess Andal collected under the caption: *Tiruppavai*. This work which is regarded as a monumental one in that language is still the 'song celestial' of the devotees of the Vaishnava cult. Belonging to that band of seekers of refuge in God through love, Andal treats of the loves and longings of the milkmaids of Brindaban for Krishna—their hope and consummation. This, Muddupalani translated with felicity and fidelity, but only the first ten out of a set of thirty songs are extant.

In the nineteenth century we come across Tarigonda Venkamamba, a widow who, ere she enjoyed connubial life, by the strength of her radiant

spirit and song most miraculously turned her tears of sorrow into flowers of worship to the Almighty Giver of all good gifts. With a sincerity and simplicity all her own, she lived for a time within holy shadows of her village temple, and spent the remainder of her existence on the serene heights of a sacred mount. Three of her important works—*Venkatachela Mahatmya*, *Muktikanta Vilasam* and *Bhagavata*—are most enthusiastically read for their spiritual tone and ethical outlook. To this same period belong two others—Bapamma, with her *Minakshi Sataka* and Ratnamamba with her *Venkataramana Sataka*. These two works, though small in compass, form a distinct contribution to the brilliant *Sataka* chapter in Telugu literature.

Adult Education in England

Both adults and children lack education in India. Free and compulsory primary education has solved the problem of the education of the child in many countries. A system of adult education obtains in England. We can profit by it if we introduce some such system in the land. Mr. E. W. Franklin has traced the history of the adult education system of England in *The National Christian Council Review*.

The early years of the nineteenth century in England present many interesting points of comparison with India today. They were years (1800-1850) of political unrest, which led up to the Chartist agitation and the Reform Act of 1832; of discontent caused by mechanical and industrial revolution; of high prices and low wages caused by the Napoleonic War just ended. The average literacy was very low, yet the desire for knowledge was widespread. Consequently, as in India today, the increase of literacy was the most urgent political and educational need.

The first experiments in adult education owed their origin to religious and philanthropic sentiment. The Adult Schools taught Bible reading and the three R's. The ruling classes and the Established Church were afraid of the effects of too ambitious instruction, but believed it was their duty to break down illiteracy and improve the moral condition of the working classes. Though Bible study remains an essential feature of these adult schools, they now devote increasing attention to social and political problems.

The Chartist leaders, inspired by Robert Owen, deduced the significant connection between poverty and ignorance. The cult of physical science was growing. Attempts were made to provide instruction in scientific principles and in their application to industry, which would render the worker at once more contented and more efficient. Dr. George Birkbeck was the founder of the Mechanics' Institutes, which were opened in large numbers between 1815 and 1850, and provided classes, lectures and libraries. In 1851 there were 610 Mechanics' Institutes in England, with a membership of over 600,000, and they arranged 3,054 lectures. By that year, however, the movement had spent its force, and largely changed its character, the chief reasons being—firstly, that voluntary lecturers replaced paid lecturers and hence teaching became unsystematic and less serious; and secondly, the control and

management of the Institutes passed out of the hands of working people.

The Act of 1839 made elementary education compulsory and the Act of 1831 made it free; and these prepared students for the various facilities for advanced adult education.

Trade unions and co-operative societies lent strong financial support to the founding of colleges for working people. The first People's College was founded at Sheffield in 1842. The London Working Men's College was founded in 1854. Charles Kingsley, Ruskin, Rossetti, Lowes Dickinson gave their services to it. One thousand seven hundred and eighty students entered its classes in 1929-30. Ruskin College was founded at Oxford in 1899. It is residential, and receives about 50 students. The London Central Labour College was formed in 1910. Its supporters condemn the 'academic' education provided by the W.E.A. classes. *Plebs* (a monthly magazine of the supporters of this college) insists with alliterative emphasis that 'We want neither your crumbs nor your condescension, your guidance nor your glamour, your tuition nor your tradition.' No students are admitted unless they are prepared to support its revolutionary aims.

Other colleges for working people are Morley College, London; Fircroft, Birmingham (an imitation of Danish Folk-School); Wood-brooke Settlement, Birmingham) a residential college founded and influenced mainly by the Adult School Movement and the Society of Friends); and the London Working Women's College.

Sadhu Navalrai

Mr. T. L. W. has the following about life-story of Sadhu Navalrai in *The Young Builder*:

Navalrai was born at Hyderabad on Thursday the 18th May, 1848 of a rich family.

There were very few schools in those days and those also existed in big towns only where the *Akhunds* taught Persian. Sadhu Navalrai too learnt Persian while a young boy. After this he joined the Anglo-Vernacular School at Hyderabad in order to learn the English language. In 1860 he went to Karachi, his father being transferred to that place, and joined the Government High School there. In November 1862 he appeared for the Matriculation Examination at Bombay but did not come out successful.

He then joined the Revenue Department and during the time of his service passed all the departmental examinations of that Department and thereafter studied law and passed the Higher Pleader's Examination in 1867. He then translated into Sindhi various books on law for the benefit of those who wanted to appear at the pleader's examination in Sindhi and got them published and thereby rendered great service to the Sindhi people. He published some other useful books also.

While working in the Commissioner's office at Karachi he used to read Brahma books and magazines which exercised such influence on him that he started at Karachi in 1866 a *mandali* called the *Sikh Sabha* where every Sunday he used to conduct Divine Service. Several prominent citizens joined this Mandali. In 1868 with his efforts a *Sikh Sabha* on the same lines was established at Hyderabad also. A few years later a plot free of charge was acquired from the Government and a Mandir was

situated on it. The cost of the whole construction was borne by Sadhu Navalrai himself.

Not only was he a religious reformer but a social one too. He was a great philanthropist and a highly evolved soul. He was a leader in all good work. The evils around him galled him much and he set himself to remedy them. Intemperance was rife in those days and it was he who threw himself into reforming that evil practice by yearly organizing a large Boys' Temperance Demonstration at the Holi Holidays. He did much to dissuade people from child marriage, and took a most active part in establishing the women's hospital. In the sphere of women's education also he contributed a lot, for he knew "that to raise the condition of woman was to raise the whole character of the home." He established the Shaukiram and Chandumal girls' school and himself took part in educating the girls.

He was devoted to the cause of widows also and many of them were maintained through his generosity. In fact the chief characteristic of his life was his large-heartedness and generosity. And the unostentatious manner in which he practised his generosity is most charming. "There was a humility and gentleness of spirit about him, combined with great energy and steadfastness of purpose in carrying out what he felt was for the benefit of his people. No one who really knew him, could help loving him, and truly respecting him."

All his life he strove for benefiting others without ever caring for his own interests. But he was not spared long to his people, for God too had need of him and he passed away on the 22nd November 1893 leaving his province, bereft of his help.

Indigenous Dyes

Dyeing and printing trades are to-day cent per cent dependent upon imported dyes. There is sufficient raw-material in the land for the manufacture of dyes. This is a proper field of work for our unemployed young men and women. *Scientific Indian* takes the following from *The Indian Textile Journal*. This will give the reader an idea of indigenous dyes :

Indigenous dyes are either (1) of vegetable origin such as indigo, cutch or (2) of animal origin, such as lac.

A large number of indigenous dyes of both vegetable and animal origin are being brought into use under stress of circumstances. There are *har-singhar tun, tesu*, or *dhak, haldi* (turmeric) *arusa, naspal* (pomegranate rind,) *jungli nil* (wild indigo), *lusum* (safflower), *majit katha* (cutch), *parang* (sappan wood) and lac dye. A few more were subsequently added : *peepul* roots for red, *haswel* (barbery) *roli* for yellow and *alchrot* (walnut) for brown. Black shades were produced from tannin materials, principally from *babul* bark or myrobalans with ferrous sulphate.

The only available commercial products then, as now are *haldi*, cutch, safflower, lac dye and indigo. Apart from these a number of shades are in vogue which require use of only chemicals and not aniline colours. These are chrome yellow, chrome orange, chrome green, iron buff, Prussian blue, chrome khaki, manganese bronze. Most of these find employment even in mills to-day.

Cutch is a very well-known natural dye in the armoury of dyers and printers. Its importance amongst indigenous dyes may be said to be only next in importance to indigo. But cutch, like indigo, has been unable to stand against synthetic dyes. Indigo still maintains its familiarity owing to the synthetic substitutes retaining the same name, though in mills completely and cottages largely, it is synthetic indigo that is used and not indigenous natural indigo. Different has been the tale with cutch as it has been replaced by substitutes which, being chemically different, are used under other names.

Penance and Politics

Dr. Kalidas Nag has these beautiful lines on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi in *India and the World* :

Ten Noble Peace prizes would not suffice to do justice and honour to this great peace maker of modern history who, through the last half a century, had not spent a day of his life without doing something for the better understanding and peace between the government and the governed, the employers and the employed, the privileged and the unprivileged. Gandhi brought a sincerity and a charity which, however antiquated they are made to appear by interested politicians, form nevertheless the germinal principles of life and progress in human history. The entire fabric of civilization is threatened by the burrowing of the disintegrating instincts of selfishness, greed and hatred leading to iniquity, exploitation and murder! The fountain-head of human relationship is poisoned by deadly decomposition of the vital organs of mankind. With the instinct of a prophet, no less than with the scientific charity of a physician. Gandhi felt that blood-transfusion alone can restore health to the diseased body-politic of humanity; and he offered his rich blood, to bring in new life, with a mystic passion of self-immolation, so different from our comfortable self-sacrifice! A great European harmonist, Mon. Romain Rolland, could listen, ten years ago, to the ineffable melody of love and peace in the soul of this heathen champion of Christian charity. Today the whole world is listening with rapt attention to the heroic symphony of suffering which, let us hope, some future Beethoven would weave into an immortal creation of art. No wonder then that the "Sentinel of the East," as Gandhi affectionately called Tagore, scented a new health in the historic fast of the Mahatma: "The atmosphere has been purified by Mahatmaj's penance which was undertaken not merely for the sake of any particular group of people, but for the suffering of man." Thus penance is sometimes efficacious for human politics.

Customs Amongst the Tharus

Mr. Hari Dev contributes an interesting article to *Man in India* on the birth customs amongst the Tharus. We quote only the betrothal ceremony of the Tharus from it :

After two or three years of the ceremony of 'Dikhnauri', (seeing the bridegroom) the representatives of the bridegroom's side consisting of the father, the 'Majpatia' and five other relatives or fellow-villagers take some fish, one 'Bheli of Gur', and some sweetmeats generally worth Re. 1-4 to the bride's

FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

Patriot's Catechism

When advanced European and American thinkers condemn patriotism and hold it responsible for some of the worst evils of the modern world Indian opinion is frankly puzzled. It is because Indians do not realize the difference between the conditions in this country and the West. In Europe nationalism and patriotism very often mean an aggressive attitude towards other nations of the world, while in India both of them have become almost spiritual necessities. The patriotism of the West comes in for severe satire at the hands of a contributor to *The New Republic*:

(To be recited at meetings of the D. A. R., American Legion, Navy League and military-science classes on each November 11.)

Q: Why do you celebrate this day?

A: Because it is sacred to one of God's Little Jokes.

Q: What does it commemorate?

A: The death of eight million young men.

Q: What did they die for?

A: To make the world safe for democracy.

Q: Is democracy safe?

A: Absolutely. Except in Italy, Russia, Poland and Turkey, where dictators have thrived since 1918. And of course in India, Africa, the Philippines and Manchuria, where democracy is contrary to the will of God.

Q: What was the purpose of the War?

A: It was a war to end war.

Q: And of course future conflicts are impossible?

A: Of course. Else those eight millions died in vain.

Q: Then why is every major nation spending more money on armaments than ever before in history?

A: To preserve the peace.

Q: But when a private citizen wants to preserve the peace does he threaten his neighbors by mounting machine guns in his front yard?

A: No—but nations are different.

Q: How different?

A: We common people aren't supposed to understand such matters. Ours not to reason why—

Q: Was the War sanctioned by God?

A: Certainly.

Q: Who said so?

A: God's self-appointed spokesmen, the ministers.

Q: Which side was He on?

A: Both. The crusade was preached by clergymen of every nation.

Q: Who got us into that war?

A: The statesmen, bankers, militarists, arms manufacturers and imperialists.

Q: How did they get us in?

A: With the most monumental campaign of propaganda ever attempted.

Q: Did we massacre them, one and all, when we discovered we had been duped?

A: Not at all. We still venerate and obey them.

Q: What did the War accomplish?

A: We would rather not talk about that.

Q: What are those queer things perched on every tomb-stone from the Marne to Vladivostok?

A: Those are the eight million Imps of Futility. *(The meeting closes with the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner.")*

A Depression College

In the same paper, a correspondent outlines the scheme of a college for students who cannot carry on their studies owing to the economic difficulties created by the world depression. The idea is very interesting and might well be adopted in India where the need for better education is as urgent as the means for giving it are inadequate:

Because of inadequate means many students will be unable to continue their education during the academic year 1932-33 in existing colleges. Similarly many competent teachers find themselves without appointments. It is proposed to unite some members of these complementary groups in a temporary depression college.

The proposed college, basically free from all endowments, charitable gifts and other encumbrances, is to be financed by a student fee of \$250 for one academic year of instruction, food and lodging. The explanations for this apparent miracle, whereby ordinary college expenses are reduced to at least one-third of normal, are (1) the faculty will be unpaid except for room and board; (2) room rent will amount to approximately fifty cents per month per student; (3) food is to be provided on an army scheme at a cost of less than fifty cents per person per day, and (4) students are to care for their own rooms, and take turns with such duties as waiting on table and washing dishes.

Some twenty experienced teachers with thorough academic training have already applied for positions; adequate accommodations have been obtained in Port Royal, Virginia, a quiet and beautiful village on the Rappahannock River, seventy miles from Washington, D. C.; a suitable library is assured; and the venture has won the confidence of men of acknowledged leadership in education and public affairs.

If there are from fifty to one hundred qualified students with no less than and little more than \$250 to spend on one year of advanced education, we stand ready to join them at Port Royal. If you are interested write to me at 722 Jackson Place, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Two Suicides Per Hour

Suicides in the United States have reached this appalling figure. The situation is certainly grave, and the editor of *The World Tomorrow* writes:

Every 26 minutes, night and day, during 1931 an individual in the United States ended his own life. The total number of suicides for the year was about 20,000, as compared with 12,000 victims of murder, and 35,000 fatal casualties from automobile accidents. In commenting upon these figures, which he compiled, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman says:

A review of our homicide and suicide records leads to no other conclusion than that the cheapest commodity in the United States at the present time is human life. While on the one hand this country makes the most strenuous efforts to prevent death from preventable or postponable diseases and boasts of a low death-rate as one of its most humanitarian achievements, we waste human lives by murder and self-murder on a prodigious scale, increased to stupefying proportions by automobiles, gas, firearms and other convenient means of self-destruction. Even the life insurance companies are becoming alarmed at the losses sustained through voluntary self-destruction which now cut quite a figure in their annual claim payments. Yet literally nothing is being done to aid the cause of suicide prevention, and only a feeble effort is made to reduce the toll of deaths by murder. There is the most urgent need for the organization of a national society for the study and prevention of suicide based on the sound principles of voluntary service to render aid and advice to those in desperate need.

How pitifully inadequate is the proposed solution! A national society! The malady is too deep-rooted and far advanced to be cured by committee meetings. Men kill themselves because they have failed to discover an ennobling philosophy of life and because they lack inner resources to sustain them in hours of tragic adversity.

Two aspects of our industrial civilization are responsible for a high percentage of the suicide toll: the prevailing love of money, and the terrific strain placed upon human beings by the insecurity of the capitalistic system. Numberless people are so absorbed in the frantic pursuit of things—comforts, luxuries, privileges—that their sense of values has become so perverted that financial frustration and disaster deprive them of the will to live. The present strain upon business men and financiers is appalling. In 1931 there were 26,381 commercial failures in the United States, and 1,556 bank failures, with combined liabilities of nearly four billion dollars. For every bankruptcy there are a score or a hundred other concerns which hover near the precipice, with indescribable anguish for multitudes of persons concerned. Even more terrifying is the impotence of the ten millions of unemployed. The demoralization which follows the inability of a man to keep his family above the pauper level is ghastly.

The tragedy of the present hour demands socialism and religion: a more equitable distribution of income, wealth and privilege; less competition and more co-operation; increased security through social planning and social insurance; the substitution of the service incentive for the profit motive; a philosophy of life which replaces the mad scramble for privilege and power by the pursuit of truth, beauty

and goodness; and a spiritual experience of communion with God and fellowship with man.

The Advance of Indian Women

Mrs. R. M. Gray read a paper before the East India Association on "The Advance of Indian Women," which has been published in *The Asiatic Review*. In this paper she wrote about the recent political activities of Indian women:

If women are to be judged by deeds rather than by words, it is within the Congress that they have shown the greatest courage. Everyone will not agree that Congress women's advance has been in a right direction, but no one can gainsay their activity. They have picketed, walked in processions, have gone to prison, and have proved their courage in many a dangerous riot.

The spearhead of the women's Swaraj movement is provided by the Desh Sevikas, or Storm Troops, among Congress women. They were first enrolled in 1930, and constituted a band of volunteers prepared to do active work from day to day. They are enrolled in five different categories, of whom the highest category must promise not only to serve their country loyally and peacefully, but must also be ready "to take all consequences—namely, insult, assault, and imprisonment."

About fifty Desh Sevikas went to prison during the first year. Many of them had never left their homes until the call came to them, and did not know their way about their native town. They had first to learn the courage necessary to be seen abroad in the streets. Presently they learned to walk long distances, to stand in the sun all day, to picket cloth and toddy shops, to hurry to danger points when summoned by the Congress, or the police, to remove stones, pipes, and other obstacles placed in the middle of the road to obstruct traffic, even to shed their fear of night and hooligan crowds. Every time a *hartal* was called the Sevikas came out to prevent mischief-makers from forcibly stopping trams and causing disturbances. They feel that they have been on more than one critical occasion the means of averting ugly incidents. They realize that "keeping the peace does not mean passive duty but active service." The average number of Sevikas enrolled at any one time has been about 300, of whom a dozen or more have been presidents of the Congress War Council with heavy responsibilities.

This is a real descent into the arena. In addition to these most active Desh Sevikas who have courted danger and arrest, hundreds more have joined in processions, flag salutations and *hartals*, have cooked or nursed in Congress hospitals, have hawked *khaddar*, and generally emerged from the seclusion of their homes in order to support the Nationalist movement.

This emergence of Indian women into the open has been far more dramatic and startling than the advance made by Western women during the war. In England it was an intensification of activities already carried on by women—for instance, in agriculture or engineering. In India, as they themselves say, "devotion to the work of the Motherland automatically broke the chains of feminine bondage going far back into the mists of time." One has

to go back at least to the annals of Rajasthan to find women facing violence for the sake of their country. They have even taken the lives of innocent men under a tragic misconception of their duty. One looked to the women to control their own and their sons' hysteria and emotionalism, but recent assassinations by girls in Bengal have somewhat dimmed that hope.

The Harvest of Ottawa

Economist of London summarizes the achievements of the Ottawa Conference as follows:

It may, or may not, be unfair to accuse the statesmen lately assembled at Ottawa of the intention deliberately to mystify the public as to the fruits of their negotiations. Whether hasty drafting be pleaded in defense, or whether the British delegation, conscious of their initial optimistic declarations, felt uncomfortably aware, as they surveyed the concrete results of Imperial affection, that 'there's beggary in the love that can be reckon'd,' the fact remains that the Ottawa agreements yield a significantly 'dusty answer' to those who seek for certainties in the shape of solid economic advantage. There is so much in the way of ambiguous phraseology, so much detail to be filled in where glaring gaps obtrude, that it is still impossible finally to appraise the harvest reaped at this lime-lit conference. Yet this may be said: the draft agreements, incomplete as they are, reveal sufficient indications of the trend of the concerted policy to warrant the conclusion that, from that standpoint of particular British interests and that of the world advantage alike, much more has been lost than has been gained.

According to this paper, "irresistibly generous or naively 'had for a mug,' the British Government has gone some way to turn this country fatally into a high-price, high-cost island, in return for promises whose implementation is questionable and whose value, at best, is far from substantial. It has had, on any showing, the worst of the bargain." But this is not all. The paper continues:

This said, there is little to be added. When silence falls on the nauseating symphony of Imperial wind instruments braying 'triumphal success,' the Ottawa agreements stand as the limited achievement in *£. s. d.* bargains realizable by Great Britain in negotiation with an Empire resolutely determined to protect its own manufacturing industries. They involve, on the one hand, the likelihood of some damage both to our own interests as a food and raw-material-importing country and to those of our important foreign customers, whose goods, to some extent, are to be excluded from this market. On the other hand, though the relatively restricted scope of the agreements may comfort those who feared that Ottawa might seek to create an Empire ringed universally, by an impenetrable tariff wall against the outer world, the mere fact that Great Britain has refused, for the most part, to impose, for preferential purposes, inordinate duties, is scant solace to those who hoped that the Conference might justify Mr. Baldwin's promise that it would give a lead to 'freer trade' throughout a tariff-ridden world.

Stripped of their equivocal verbiage,—the British right to sales at 'world prices,' the Dominions' right

to 'reasonable' protection, the agreement to prohibit imports frustrating 'by state action' the proposed preferences,—all of which is likely to involve acrimonious controversy hereafter, the Ottawa agreements in substance are narrow and sterile. As a prelude to the World Economic Conference (at Ottawa the bond of sentiment was surely a factor not to be paralleled at Geneva) they are a bitter disappointment. For, if the verdict may be summarized in a sentence, the only visible result of Ottawa is that the Empire has, in part, been humbugged and, in part, so far as concerns Britain's power to pursue policies of fiscal sanity, hamstrung.

The Japanese Student of Today

The Living Age has the following note on the Japanese schoolboy of 1932:

Such individual acts of violence as the recent assassination of the Japanese Premier have less political importance than the growing radicalization of Japanese students. During the five or six years of the boom, graduates from the higher schools found jobs waiting for them with salaries that averaged two hundred yen a month. Japanese business encouraged young men to take part in Westernizing Japan, the larger firms calling weekly conferences and asking the opinion of their young employees. Now the situation is reversed, and large numbers of young men are turned out on the world with an elaborate education but no opportunity to earn a living. The result is that Japanese students are no longer favoured by the Government as future go-getters but are regarded as potential revolutionists.

The cleavage in view-point between the Government and the masses of middle-class students is revealed in the preliminary report of the quaintly named Commission of Inquiry into Students' ideas. After peering into university class rooms, the Commission has come to some vague but ominous conclusions. It does not feel that mere utilitarianism, in other words, training students for more varied kinds of work, will remedy matters—an obvious enough decision, as few jobs of any sort are to be had. Instead, it seeks a remedy in 'uplift' and idealism. It complains that students are not properly instructed in the Japanese system of government, that history is given no significance, and that the Japanese and Chinese classics are inadequately taught. In short, the Commission discovered that the student is not sufficiently imbued with patriotism.

The Japanese are supposed to belong to one great family that spreads in concentric circles of relationship from the Emperor. But it is easy to point out that a readiness for common action against a foreign enemy does not solve domestic conflicts. That kind of patriotism would not be enough, even if the students were thoroughly soaked in it, to do away with the class struggle. The report therefore devotes a great deal of space to Marxian tendencies. It speaks of the 'seeming theoretical perfection of Marxism' and says that students should, therefore, be trained to take a critical view of Marxism. The point is not stressed, however, as some cases have been known in which teachers who studied Marx in order to refute him were converted to Marxism themselves.

Other educational authorities, in a discussion some time ago of this root of what the Japanese refer to as 'dangerous thinking,' expressed their disbelief in

the efficiency of simply criticizing the Marxist system, for the present misery of the middle class has made many of its members feel that the security of communism would be preferable to the hazards of capitalism. To work actively for such an end is punishable by death in present-day Japan, where the Communist Party is out-lawed, although novels and essays written from a Marxian view-point are growing in number and popularity. In the light of these conditions, it appears that the real kernel of the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Students' Ideas lies in the suggestion that the school authorities co-operate with the police.

Religion and Eugenics

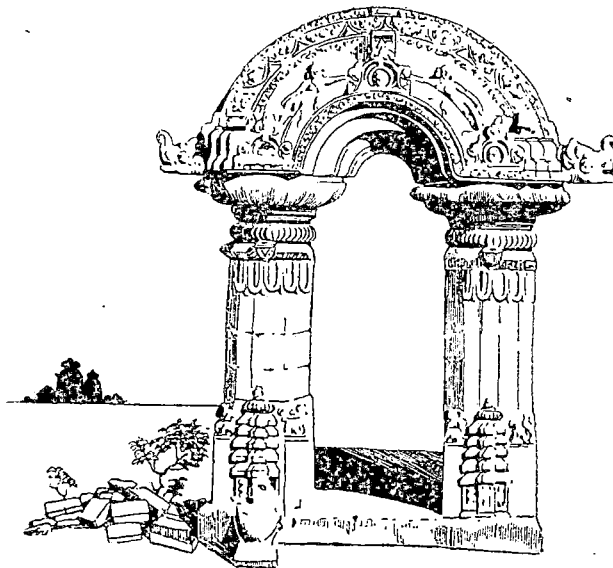
* Those communities among which religion gives sanction to marriage ought to pay attention to the following words of the Rev. Robert S. Miller in *The Christian Register* :

...the church has a responsibility for the improvement of the human stock because it is the institution that is very generally called upon to give its sanction to the relationship that issues in the birth of children. The ceremony of marriage has been and still is the prerogative of the church. Those who unite to establish the family relationship look to the church for its blessing. In view of this circumstance the church should be prepared to interpret the full meaning of marriage. The thought of marriage as an isolated social act must be corrected. No church discharges its full responsibility in this respect when the minister pronounces a man and woman husband and wife. Marriage is a sacred act not merely because it helps to give stability and steadfastness to the relations between husband and wife, nor even because it perpetuates a noble ideal of religion. Much of the

sacredness of marriage is derived from the fact that it deals with the creation of new life, with the inception and birth of those who are to be the future members of society. Marriage is biologically purposive and should be understood to be such by those who contemplate it. The trouble with much modern marriage is that it involves entirely too little intelligent study and preparation....Too many couples marry with no thought of any one except themselves. They are not concerned about the children who are likely to be the result of their union. Heredity and its principles are far from their thoughts largely because an agency is lacking to emphasize their importance. This is a part of intelligent preparation for marriage the church may very properly undertake. While marriage remains one of her solemn and special rites there is need for an apology if young couples are given churchly sanction in marriage when they are ignorant of what they are doing....

The very least that the church can do is to develop a social conscience that will revolt against any marriage that by reason of heredity threatens to undermine the physical and moral character of society. The day must surely come when no two persons who are disqualified to become parents shall look to the church for her blessing in marriage, unless sterilization is effected or contraceptive measures are adopted. A conscience on this delicate point needs to be created and the church as the teacher of the highest idealism is uniquely fitted for the task. On the other hand, the church must not fail to impress upon the socially adequate members of society their duty to contribute a full quota of children....

These observations apply to non-Christian communities also. They may substitute some appropriate expression for 'the church.'



INDIANS ABROAD

By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indians in British Guiana

Following is an extract from a letter addressed to the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore by Mr. F. Kawall of Georgetown, British Guiana:

"For your information I may state that in the year 1876 the law of compulsory education was enacted, but it was never put in force so far as East Indian children were concerned particularly on the sugar plantations where the major portion of East Indians reside. The result is that we find illiteracy amongst the Indian community. Illiterate parents did not realize the usefulness of education and so they did not trouble themselves much in the education of their children. The aftermath is as already stated illiteracy amongst the East Indian children, particularly the girls. This backwardness in this cosmopolitan community is very degrading. Our Indian community which is numerically stronger, is 130,540.

"Some day we are hoping still that Mother India will send to the colony lady teachers for education work. If the English and American people are sending missionaries to India to do uplift work why cannot India do the same on behalf of her own people in this colony? I make this public appeal that it is the duty of India to look after her children scattered in the world, particularly those in the British Empire. Is there no leader in India who can champion the cause of education in this colony? The time is far overdue. 94 years ago the first batch of Indian immigrants came here under the indenture system which was abolished fifteen years ago, but the question of the education of Indian children remains still in the background. Thanking you most sincerely for your kind assistance."

I hope this touching appeal by our countrymen in British Guiana will find due response from the Motherland. The real difficulty about British Guiana and other colonies in the West Indies is their vast distance from this country and, there being no regular steamer service between India and the West Indies, it is not an easy thing to keep in living touch with our compatriots in those countries. But the greatest difficulty of all is carelessness on the part of colonial Indians to keep us fully informed about their condition. Now, is it impossible for Mr. F. Kawall and his friends in British Guiana to prepare a statement giving facts and figures of Indian education in British Guiana? Our friends in Trinidad and Demerara can also do the same. We must have all the necessary

information before we can persuade teachers to go abroad in a missionary spirit. I would request Mr. F. Kawall to prepare a pamphlet giving general information about British Guiana with special reference to the Indian population there. It must be published as soon as possible and widely circulated. The British Guiana East Indian Association should send regular monthly letters to the Indian papers here. Let them also approach the Arya Samaj and other organizations to send some workers there but great care should be taken in the selection of the right type of men. No communalist should be invited. I should also warn our people in British Guiana against undue optimism in this connection. It will take some time before we can interest our workers here sufficiently to persuade them to take up this work of education in such distant places. But it is a noble work and there is sufficient idealism and spirit of adventure among our young men to take risks. Only they have to be approached in the right spirit.

Indian Abroad Directory, 1933

Mr. S. A. Waiz, Secretary the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, has been preparing a directory for Indians abroad for the year 1933. It will be the first publication of its kind and will serve a useful purpose indeed. The directory will contain accounts of the historical political, commercial, economic and social conditions of Indians living in the various parts of the world outside India. Among its chief features will be the names and addresses of leading Indian merchants, other Indian residents and Indian institutions, such as associations, societies, schools, etc.

Among the countries that the Directory will deal with are the following:

Asia:—Ceylon, British Malaya, Japan, China, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Siam, French Indo-China, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq, Turkey and Aden.

Africa:—Egypt, the Sudan, Abyssinia, Italian Somaliland, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Portuguese East Africa, Natal, the Transvaal, Cape Colony and Rhodesia.

Madagascar:—Reunion.

Mauritius:—Seychelles.

America:—Canada, the United States of

America, California, Panama, British Guiana and Brazil.

West Indies :—Trinidad, Jamaica, Surinam, (Dutch West Indies), Grenada and Tobago.

Australia :—New Zealand and Fiji.

Europe :—Great Britain, France, Germany and most probably other European countries as well.

It is confidently expected that the directory will be used for business purposes by merchants in the above-mentioned countries.

There can be no doubt that this directory will draw Indians overseas closer to each other and to the Motherland and that it will promote the expansion of Indian trade and culture. Mr. Waiz deserves the thanks of those who are interested in the cause of Indians overseas, who ought to help him by giving him all necessary information.

Strange Arguments of the Governor of Fiji

The following resolution was moved by an Indian member of the Legislative Council in Fiji :

That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor that he be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government :

"(a) That this Council adheres to the principle enunciated by the Majesty's Government as contained in the White Paper No. 3574 presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by command of His Majesty in June, 1930, that the establishment of a common electoral roll in all Colonies where there is a mixed population is an object to be aimed at and attained with an equal franchise open to all races : and

"(b) That with regard to the franchise for the Legislative Council of Fiji, this Council would welcome the introduction of a common electoral roll."

The speech that His Excellency the Governor made on this occasion lacked both the dignity and seriousness that one expects from an high official of his standing. Speaking about the restrictions and inequalities between the different races in those islands, the Governor said :

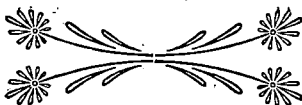
"I have been sincerely anxious to find out and to rectify legitimate grievances, and I hope that the members will come to me at any time and

tell me of anything that I can do to assist in this direction. But I must look to the other side of the account. The Fijian and the European are subject to inequalities also. The Fijian, for example, is under the Native Regulations. What would the Indians say if they were required communally to build houses, to turn out on the roads, to do this, that and the other tasks which are assigned to the Fijians.

Certainly Indians would have a good deal to say to that on their own behalf. And they do not like either that Fijians should be subjected to a kind of forced labour. The more sensible and the obvious course for the Fiji Governor would be to abolish the inequalities under which the Fijians suffer and not to throw the Fijian inequalities into the Indians' teeth. But this is not all. According to this Governor, the Europeans in Fiji also have their share of inequalities. He goes on to say :

Again, the Europeans. I have referred to an inequality in the marriage law. There are other inequalities. The Indian at will can get married under the European marriage law, but the European cannot get married under the Indian marriage law—an inequality. The Indian can get divorce on terms much more easy than those allowed to the European—again an inequality. The Indian may entice away a European's wife and go scot free. If a European entices away an Indian's wife, he is liable to six months imprisonment—another inequality.

We are sorry that in marital affairs the Europeans do not have as good a time of it in Fiji as they wish to. But there is not, to our thinking, any inequality between the European and the Indian in the facilities for enticing away each other's wives. We admit for argument's sake that a European would get six months' hard labour for running away with an Indian's wife while for the corresponding offence of running away with a European's wife an Indian would go scot free. But, then, there is the expense of keeping a White woman to take into account on the Indian side. Most Indians would consider that burden equivalent to transportation for life. So, if there is any inequality there that too is on the Indian side.



...really wanted to disarm, the she could be to give freedom she no desire for that, but whole world.
 ...determined to be free, and she wants independence from British control. India what America has got, freedom, the right to her own culture and civilization."

A New Indian Academy of Sciences

In the course of an article published in the well-known British scientific periodical *Nature* it is observed :

In the fog of political turmoil in which India has for so long been enshrouded, the remarkable scientific developments which have taken place in recent years have been somewhat overlooked. To those acquainted with the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the century, when scientific research was confined almost solely to the specialist Government departments, such as the Survey of India or the Geological Survey, and to the two veterans, who are still happily with us, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, the present conditions must appear remarkable.

The scientific renaissance of India dates from the reorganization of the universities about twenty years ago following on the report of the Curzon Commission. Prior to this the university colleges were little more than high schools, and even so late as 1910 it was possible to take a degree in physics without undergoing any laboratory instruction. With the introduction of honours courses and the consequential increase of staff, the value of scientific research was gradually recognized so that at the present time the output of original work from the Indian Universities compares not unfavourably with that of the West. An outcome of this development has been the formation of new specialist societies which may all be regarded as the offspring of the Indian analogue of the Royal Society, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which celebrated its centenary in 1913. This old society, full of vitality as it still is, has the disadvantage that its influence is confined practically to Calcutta and its environs. In 1914 the Indian Science Congress was founded, a peripatetic body modelled on the lines of the British Association. This body met with immediate success, as is testified by the large attendance at its meetings and the large number of scientific communications read before it. The Indian Science Congress does not, however, undertake the publication of these communications except in abstract, and a natural nationalist spirit, coupled with the long delay associated with publication in European and American journals, has resulted in the foundation of the Indian Chemical Society and of the Indian Journal of Physics.

Proceeding, *Nature* records :

The most recent development is the formation of the Academy of Sciences of the United Provinces, with its seat at Allahabad. A movement for the creation of an Academy was started by Prof. M. N. Saha in 1929, and advantage was taken of the meeting of the Indian Science Congress in

1930 in Allahabad to discuss the function of the proposed Academy. As a result of the interest and sympathy shown it was registered in December of that year. The first volume of its Bulletin has now been published, and this contains an account of the inaugural meeting held on March 1. The main objects of the Academy, of which Prof. Saha is the first president, are the encouragement of science in its various branches, more especially in the United Provinces, and the publication of the results of scientific research, either in its Bulletin or in the form of Transactions and Memoirs. The membership of the Academy, as in the case of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is divided into two classes, fellows elected for their scientific eminence, the number being limited to thirty, and ordinary members, of whom no special qualifications are required. The successful inauguration of this body is welcome evidence of the increasing value now attached to scientific research in India.

The first Bulletin contains twenty-seven original memoirs and it is divided into the following heads: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Industrial Chemistry, Zoology, Botany and General. Under the last heading there is an interesting paper by Sir C. V. Raman on 'Spin of Light.' With so distinguished and energetic a president and with such admirable secretaries as Prof. P. S. MacMahon and Prof. A. C. Banerji, the future success of the Academy seems assured, and there is little doubt that it will do much to stimulate the research spirit in the Universities of Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares.

We, too, hope that the Academy of sciences of the United Provinces, under the presidentship of Professor Dr. Megh Nad Saha, F. R. S. and with the collaboration of his distinguished co-workers will succeed in stimulating the research spirit in the Universities of Allahabad, Lucknow, Aligarh and Benares.

The Bose Research Institute

The observation of *Nature*, quoted above, that "the scientific renaissance of India dates from the reorganization of the universities about twenty years ago," is not strictly accurate. For, those who are acquainted with the scientific careers of Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray, "the two veterans," as *Nature* calls them, know that scientific research began to be successfully undertaken by them in the last century. And those among the Indian public who are interested in scientific research will be glad to learn that Sir P. C. Ray has not ceased to stimulate the scientific spirit of his students in the midst of his other multifarious labours and that Sir J. C. Bose, though past seventy, continues to carry on scientific research and to give guidance to

such work in the Bose Research Institute by his assistants and students, who are graduates and diploma-holders in science of their respective Universities and scientific institutes, Indian and British.

It is in fact pleasant and encouraging to note, from the two volumes of the *Transactions of the Bose Research Institute* for 1930-31 and 1931-32, edited by Sir J. C. Bose, that out of thirty-seven papers contained therein, six are by Professor Bose, two are by himself in collaboration with one or other of his students, and the remaining twenty-nine are by his students and staff.

The scope of the investigations in the Bose Research Institute has been greatly extended in various fields—in Bio-physics, in Bio-chemistry, in Electro-physics, as also in Zoology and in Anthropology. The work of the newly founded Department of Anthropology has a special importance, since India offers a unique opportunity for the systematic investigation of the biological problems relating to man. Here are to be found racial elements of diverse characters living side by side in various degrees of admixture. The most primitive races at the present time are rapidly disappearing in the struggle for existence; investigations have, therefore, been commenced for the determination of the basic relationships of the different groups of the Indian people, including the Aborigines. The results of the investigations are expected to supply definite materials for the pursuit of the more complicated problems affecting the biology of the people of India.

The publication of Lieut.-Col. K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu's monumental work on *Indian Medicinal Plants* ought to have been followed by the establishment of special laboratories and the inauguration of special clinics for testing the value of the medicinal plants described and illustrated therein. It is not known that this has been done anywhere in India. We are glad to note, however, that Prof. N C. Nag, M.A., F.I.C., and Mr. K. N. Bose, B. sc., of this Institute have already carried out the chemical examination of some Indian Medicinal Plants, and they will no doubt do more work along this line. As the need of the investigation of the radio-activity of some springs in India was pointed

out some years ago in our *Review* by Major B. D. Basu, it gives us pleasure to note that the 1931-32 volume of the *Bose Research Institute* contains a paper on "Investigation on Radio-activity at Hot Springs at Rajgir" by Prof. N C. Nag.

Veterinary Research in India

In a recent number of the *Indian Veterinary Journal* the Editor wrote:

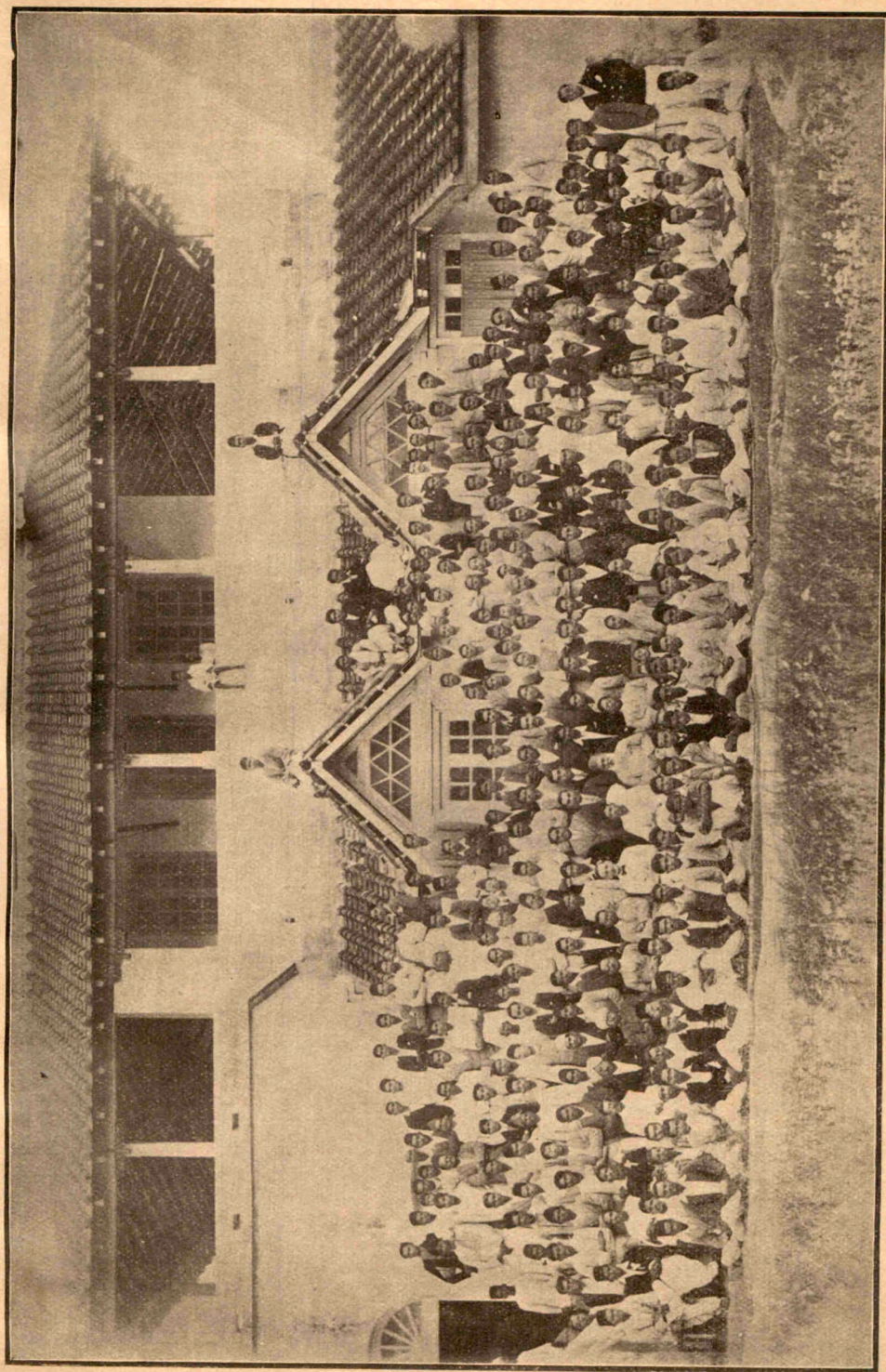
"At last the need for Veterinary Research seems to have dawned on the minds of those that guide the destinies of the Veterinary Departments of this country. In a tropical country like India, the field for original disease research in animals is enormous, but the steps taken to accomplish the object are not commensurate with the needs."



Captain S. C. A. Datta

This is much to be regretted. For the vast majority of the population of India depend on agriculture for their livelihood. And cattle are required in India for ploughing the fields, for providing manure, and as draught animals. They are also required for the supply of milk and milk products. Hence, research relating to cattle diseases is of the utmost importance. The Editor ended his note on the subject by saying:

"We have enough men who possess the brains for Research work and these are only waiting for



MORRIS COLLEGE SOCIAL GATHERING AT NAGPUR

Sitting in the front row at the centre is Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee

Government then think or imagine they were "dangerous."

Let us consider what may happen if the advisers of Government succeed in preventing the release of these gentlemen. If then their maladies ended fatally, which God forbid, what would happen? The official view in such a case may be either that there would be no risk in allowing these leaders to die in jail or outside soon after release at the eleventh hour, or that Government are strong enough to take the risk, should there be any. Both views are wrong. Time and again history has shown that the calculations of even the most powerful personages and groups of men were built on wrong assumptions, and not a few have been the occasions when it was demonstrated that the disembodied spirit, so to speak, was more powerful than the spirit within its tenement of clay.

Obscure Political Prisoners

It is only natural that the ill-health of famous leaders deprived of their personal liberty without or after trial should cause great anxiety among the public and lead to agitation in the press and on the public platform for their unconditional release or, failing that, the provision for them of the best practicable medical treatment. But it should not be lost sight of that there are many obscure or less famous political prisoners who have been suffering from fatal or serious diseases. Their lot is far harder. It is true, that, when war rages, casualties are highest and sufferings are greatest among privates and officers of lower rank. But neither the comparatively obscure political sufferers nor their relatives and friends can derive any consolation from this similarity. There may not be any remedy for their sufferings. But let them not be absent from their countrymen's thoughts.

Education at Nagpur

Last month the editor of this *Review* was invited to deliver the inaugural address at the annual social gathering of the students of Morris College at Nagpur. He had to speak there to several other audiences also. The impression produced on his mind by what he

heard and saw during his brief stay at Nagpur was that the students and their teachers there were on the whole animated by the right spirit.

Besides delivering the inaugural address, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee had to make a brief speech after the Morris College inter-caste dinner. He had to deliver an address in connection with the Tilak Vidyalyaya and another at the University Union. The Union reading room is provided with many of the leading American, British and Indian periodicals. Babu Ramananda spoke also at a meeting arranged by the Hindi Literary Club in the University Union hall. He was asked also to give a talk to the professors and students of the Science College. This College has a large building, with many class rooms and laboratories. Besides teaching, it carries on research also. And many papers, embodying original work in science, has been already contributed to scientific journals.

The editor also visited and spoke at the Chokhamela Kanya Pathshala and the Chokhamela Hostel for boys. Chokhamela was a famous saint of Maharashtra, sprung from what are known as the depressed classes. The former is a school for "depressed class" girls, conducted by some ladies and students. At the hostel, which is clean and well kept, the visitor offered a prayer and spoke a few words, at the request of Mr. Gavai, M. L. C., the secretary. The boys, all belonging to the depressed classes, sang *bhajans* (hymns) with devout feeling, and, led by Mr. Gavai, chanted the following formula of worship culled from the *Upanishads* :

सत्यम् ज्ञानमनन्तम् ब्रह्म । आनन्दरूपममृतम् यद्विभाति । शान्तं
शिवमद्वैतम् । शुद्धम् अपापविद्धम् ।

An Anti-untouchability Dinner at Nagpur

The report and address of welcome read at the Nagpur Morris College social gathering by its student secretary contained an appeal for wiping out the curse of untouchability. With reference to that appeal Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, though holding that intercaste dinners and similar demonstrations had their value, said that untouchability would not be a thing of the past until we all

in our daily lives, in our homes and outside, ceased to take caste into consideration—in fact forgot that there was such a thing as caste—in all our dealings. For instance, if in engaging our domestic helpers we ceased to enquire to what caste they belonged, that would be a proof that we had to that extent become untouchability-proof.

At the conclusion of the Morris College intercaste dinner, which was also partly inter-communal, Babu Ramananda Chatterjee made a brief speech at the request of the Principal. He observed that, as among Hindus there are the customary caste dinners as part of the funeral ceremonies of some departed fellow-casteman, so the intercaste dinner at which so many hundreds of ladies and gentlemen of different castes and creeds had sat together was like a dinner after the obsequies of Demon Untouchability. He hoped that nobody among the audience would invoke and worship that evil spirit again. Proceeding, the speaker observed that many people in India considered it a mark of high civilization and spirituality not to take food prepared by persons of a different caste, and some went so far as not to take food prepared even by very near relatives. But the real scientific fact is that among all primitive and uncivilized peoples taking food with outside groups was taboo and is taboo still among such peoples. In proof of this statement the speaker read the following extract from *Buddhist India* by Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, pp. 52-53 :

"We have learnt in recent years that among primitive peoples all over the world there exist restrictions as to the *connubium* (the right of intermarriage), and as to *commensality* (the right of eating together). Customs of endogamy and exogamy, that is, of choosing a husband or wife outside a limited circle of relationship, and inside a wider circle, were universal. A man, for instance, may not marry in his own family, he may marry within his own clan, he may not marry outside the clan. Among different tribes the limits drawn were subject to different customs, were not the same in detail. But the limits were always there. There were customs of eating together at sacred tribal feasts from which foreigners were excluded; customs of not eating together with persons outside certain limits of relationship, except under special circumstances; customs by which an outsider could, by eating with men of a tribe, acquire certain rights of relationship with that tribe. Here again the details differ. But the existence of such restrictions as to commensality was once universal."

Hence, the speaker observed, the absence of extensive commensality among us did not prove that we were *for that reason* a particularly holy people.

Constitution of an Oriya Province

This *Review* has all along supported the constitution of an administrative province of Orissa including all Oriya-speaking areas. The handicap of the Oriya-speaking people is peculiar. They live in four administrative provinces, but are not the principal constituent group among the population of any province. Therefore, their needs are not the main object of attention of any provincial government.

It is said, Mr. B. Das, M. L. A., has gone to England to interest the authorities in the question and obtain their sympathy and support. We wish him all success, but cannot pretend to hope that he will succeed. If the Oriya-speaking people were Muhammadans or were even now to embrace Muhammadanism, they could obtain the support of the Government, the Indian National Congress and the Unity Conference at Allahabad.

The Ottawa Agreement

Prominent Indian men of business have declared against the Ottawa Agreement.

Giving evidence before the Assembly Committee on the Ottawa Agreement, Srijut Nalini Ranjan Sarker said the Trade Agreement concluded at Ottawa did not commend itself to him either on the broad considerations of the requirements of our national economy or as a mere give and take deal between India and Great Britain. Not only did he fail to see much positive advantage to India from the ratification of the Pact, but he apprehended grave repercussions on our commercial relations with other countries, and also on the future trend of world trade.

Continuing he said: "Much has been said in certain quarters on the effect of the Ottawa Agreement as a precursor to world recovery. But to my mind, it will not only not contribute to the recovery of the world from the effects of the present depression, but it will, on the other hand, according to the views held by experts, accentuate the chaotic conditions of trade and commerce now prevailing in the world."

Mr. Sarker's position was made quite clear by what he said in conclusion.

"I am not opposed as a business deal to granting preference to some special British commodities as are not manufactured in India or cannot be manufactured in India in the near future, provided Britain agrees to grant preferences of approximately equal

real value to India and provided also it can be shown that in the case of India it will mean a sufficient net expansion of our trade and not a mere diversion of it. At the same time, I want that our tariff policy should be so framed that we must be free to negotiate similar agreement with other countries, if such agreement can bestow benefits upon our trade. The idea of all preferences to one country and none at all to any other is detrimental to our economic interest."

But how can imperialist Britain give a subject country like India, which is her milch cow, the desired economic freedom of negotiation with all foreign countries ?

Freedom of Speech in Council Chamber

A fundamental promise involved in the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme is that "there shall be freedom of speech in the Council Chamber." This has been at least literally true. We say "literally" because, the question having been raised some months ago in the Legislative Assembly as to whether if a newspaper reported the speech of any M. L. A. or M. L. C. which contained statements alleged to be legally objectionable, the paper would be liable to prosecution. No satisfactory assurance could be had from any Government spokesman that newspapers would enjoy safety under the circumstances if, of course, the reports were reasonably accurate and unbiassed. But it has been at least clear so long that members of legislatures could say within the Council Chamber whatever they thought fit to say within the time limit, provided what they said was neither irrelevant nor unparliamentary, though it might be dangerous to repeat *outside* the Chamber in print or orally what they had said. But recently in the course of the debate on the misnamed Public Security Bill in the Bengal Council Mr. Prentice, the Home Member, tried to deprive Mr. P. Banerji of the right of freedom of speech even within the Chamber. Mr. Banerji made a series of allegations against the police and the magistracy regarding their official conduct in the district of Midnapur, none of which, by the by, has appeared in the papers—for they are muzzled. The President rightly gave a ruling that "Mr. Banerji can make allegations against the punitive police stationed there." But the ruling was not of

much avail to Mr. Banerji, as he had reached his time-limit.

Mr. P. Banerji: Sir, May I submit one point to you ? It is this that I was interrupted during my speech for a pretty long time which ate away the time allotted to me. Through this process, many a valuable minute has been lost, and I submit to you, Sir, that I am entitled to a few more minutes.

Mr. President: I am afraid I cannot allow any more time.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, the President ought to have given him a little more time.

Though Mr. P. Banerji volunteered the statement, "I have got authentic information and I may add that I am prepared to prove my allegations," the President asked him, "Are you prepared to make yourself responsible for the allegations you are making ?" As members of the legislature are and should be presumed to be responsible men, we do not quite appreciate the President's question. Moreover, what would be the exact value of "freedom of speech within the Council Chamber," if members must give a definite undertaking to be legally responsible for allegations made against officials ? We do not mean that officials are fair game. But outside the Council Chamber, in the present state of the laws and ordinances regime, one cannot expose in speech or print the vagaries, tyranny and arbitrary actions of officials, if any. If even within the Council Chamber similar gagging—it may be partial gagging—were to be the order of the day, why not frankly declare, what is practically the fact, that officials can do what they like even without any mere verbal ineffective protest on the part of non-officials ? We think Maulvi Abul Kasem was right in saying what he did in this connection :

Maulvi Abul Kasem : On a point of order, Sir. Is it not a fact that a statement made on the floor of the House is privileged ? And any member can make on the floor of the House all sorts of allegations, and he is not amenable to any censure.

Sufferings of Midnapur

During the last few years the district of Midnapur in Bengal has been among the worst sufferers in India for political reasons. How they suffered and why, was made known in part by the report of the non-official

inquiry committee of which Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A., Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C. and other responsible persons were members, and which was read in part in the Assembly by Mr. K. C. Neogy and also published in part in this *Review*. Since then, so far as we know, there has been no official or non-official inquiry into what has been happening in that district. It is known that many villagers have left their hearths and homes in their native villages with their families for unknown destinations. Why they have done so, newspapers have not published, cannot publish. Rumour may circulate the causes, but Rumour cannot be implicitly depended upon.

Bengal's Contribution to Government of India's Revenues

The *Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee 1932*, published by the Government of Bengal, contains the following paragraph :

"5. The total revenues of the Government of India in the same year, 1921-22, amounted to Rs. 64,52,66,000, of which Bengal contributed no less than Rs. 23,11,98,000. Its unfortunate position, therefore, was due, not to the natural poverty of the province, but solely to the method of allocating the total revenues of India between the provinces and the Central Government. The difficulties of the Government of Bengal were enhanced by the fact that the sources of revenue assigned to it were inelastic and gave little prospect of expansion in the near future." P. 3.

The Government of India continues to take from Bengal very much more than it does from any other province.

It has been said that the revenues at the disposal of the Government of Bengal are comparatively small, because owing to the permanent settlement of land revenue in Bengal—land revenue being a Provincial source of income—its Government does not get as much money from it as it would have got if there were no Permanent Settlement. That contention may be allowed to remain undisputed for our present purpose.* It is

* Some people have an idea that, though the Permanent Settlement may have deprived the Bengal Government of a large amount of revenue, it has led to the accumulation of vast hoards in the hands of the zamindars or landlords. The sale by auction of hundreds of estates for very low prices for non-payment of revenue during the current year, shows the real economic condition of the landholders.

clear in any case that Bengal Administration is poverty-stricken. That, however, can scarcely be a valid reason for taking from Bengal very much more money than from any other single province or even from any two provinces combined—unless, of course, one justified the legalized spoliation of Bengal by a wrong adaptation of a Biblical maxim, the adaptation being that from those who have little left much should be taken away! The following table of what the Provinces paid to the Central Exchequer in 1928-29 will support our point.

Madras	Rs.	7,14,00,000
Bombay	"	5,84,00,000
United Provinces	"	7,17,00,000
Panjab	"	3,46,00,000
Bihar and Orissa	"	5,76,00,000
C. P. and Berar	"	2,25,00,000
Assam	"	1,27,00,000
Bengal	"	16,59,00,000

Bihar and Orissa also is made to contribute a disproportionately large sum to the revenues of the Government of India, as the state of the provincial revenues of that satrapy revealed in the table given in the following note will make very clear.

Budgets of Different provinces

"The following table," reproduced from page 4 of the *Report of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee 1932*, "shows the estimated receipts and expenditure of the provinces of India in 1931-32" :

The figures in columns 2, 3 and 4 are in thousands.

Provinces.	Estimated revenue.	Estimated Expenditure.	Total population, 1931.	Revenue per head.	Expend. per head.
	Rs.	Rs.			
Madras	182970	182212	46740	3.9	3.8
Bombay	152047	162839	21931	6.9	7.4
Bengal	105242	116882	50114	2.1	2.3
Panjab	118408	129112	23581	5.	5.4
U. P.	132650	133539	48409	2.7	2.7
B. & O.	57500	60105	37678	1.5	1.5
Burma	103569	110427	14667	7	7.5
C. P.	51215	50107	15508	3.3	3.2
Assam	26691	27068	8622	3	3.1

This table shows that of the Governments in the major provinces, those of Bengal and

Agricultural land in Bengal is at present almost a drug in the market.

of Bihar and Orissa have the smallest revenue at their disposal, and it is from these provinces that the Central Government takes away the excessive amounts shown in the previous note.

Retrenchment in Bengal

Though the administration of Bengal has had to be carried on for years with utterly inadequate revenues at the disposal of its Government, retrenchment was effected here previous to the present year *five* times. The *Report of the Retrenchment Committee* gives the years and the amounts retrenched. Government effected retrenchments amounting to Rs. 70,52,000 in 1921-22 and to Rs. 48,88,895 in 1922-23. The result of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee of 1922-23 was a saving of Rs. 37,50,000. Again in 1930-31 and 1931-32 further economies were effected to the extent of Rs. 44,28,000.

To Western peoples unaccustomed to voluntary or involuntary fasting, it might appear from the above narrative of "economies" effected five times in a province already artificially made impecunious by the Olympians, that the limit had been reached. But no. This year another Retrenchment Committee was appointed, and it has made suggestions which, if accepted *in toto*, will lead to an ultimate saving of Rs. 1,84,96,000 !

Verily, no country can beat India in fasting. And Bengal's fasting champion, Jatin Das, who died after 70 days' fast, perhaps symbolized thereby the fact that his native province could challenge any other region to beat her record of starvation !

The Bengal Government's latest Retrenchment Committee says : "Many of the recommendations which we make in the following chapters will, to some extent, impair the efficiency of the departments affected, . . ." Again : "Bengal must, therefore, look for relief to an equitable revision of the financial settlement."

Retrenchment in Different Departments in Bengal

The following table, compiled from the Bengal Retrenchment Committee's report,

p. 181, and the Report on the Administration of Bengal for 1930-31, p. 142, shows what "economies" have been suggested in what principal departments with their expenditure in 1930-31 :

Department or head	Expenditure in 1930-31	Savings suggested.
Land Revenue	4537000	272400
Excise	2180000	188900
Forest	1518000	271600
Registration	1995000	693400
Irrigation	1205000	458500
General Administration	12520000	1769500
Administration of Justice	10620000	697900
Jails	4438000	64500
Police	22089000	1112000
Education	12734000	914000
Medical	5284000	537400
Public Health	3727000	174400
Agriculture	2565000	696900
Industries	1219000	188200

The table shows that Government policy is not expected to be such in the near future as to make officials confident of "efficient" administration with substantial reductions in the number of policemen and jail staffs. But the "nation-building" departments, like education, agriculture, industries, etc., poorly equipped as they are, have been proposed to be rather severely axed.

There is neither time, nor space, for examining in the present number the suggestions for savings in all the principal departments. But we shall make some brief comments on some of the suggestions relating to the education department.

'Cuts in Bengal Universities'

Grants.

The Retrenchment Committee has recommended that the Government grants to the Calcutta and Dacca Universities be reduced by 5 per cent. This reduction cannot be supported. The number of students receiving education in the Bengal Universities and Colleges is much larger than that of students in the universities and colleges in any other province. But the Government expenditure on Bengal Universities and Colleges is not proportionately large.

Mr. Jatindra Nath Basu has very rightly written in his Supplementary Note to the Retrenchment Committee's report :

"The Committee had no information as to the aggregate expenditure on teaching work at the

universities and the average annual cost of the universities for each student, and the proportion of State contribution towards such cost.

"The Government should, in collaboration with the two universities, make enquiries as to the cost of university education per student and regulate expenditure on the basis of the figures ascertained on such enquiry."

Sanskrit College and Collegiate School

The Retrenchment Committee has suggested that all students of the Sanskrit College should attend lectures in the Presidency College in "modern" arts subjects, that is to say, in all subjects in which lectures are delivered in English and of which the text-books are written in English. This means that the Sanskrit College is to be reduced to a *Tol* or a purely Sanskrit seminary. This would be highly undesirable. This is not the place to narrate in full what Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar did to reconstruct the Sanskrit College. The members of the Retrenchment Committee, not one of whom was an educationalist, evidently do not know anything of the history of the Sanskrit College. Had they known it, they would not have made the suggestion they have done.

Their suggestion that the school attached to the Sanskrit College should be amalgamated with the Hindu and Hare Schools is still more preposterous and shows their ignorance of the special character of the teaching given in the Sanskrit Collegiate School. Here the boys learn more Sanskrit than is or can be taught in any other high school. By the time that they reach the senior classes of the school they finish one original Sanskrit grammar as also some classical poetical works in Sanskrit and are thus able to sit for the Sanskrit *Kavyatirtha* title examination. Thus this school stands for a combination of ancient Indian and modern English education to an extent which is not to be found in any other high school in Bengal, and in this way serves as a feeder to the Sanskrit College. Its amalgamation with any other school cannot be effected without frustrating these objects. We find that in his notes of dissent Mr. J. N. Basu has also raised a similar objection to this suggestion for amalgamation.

Linguistic and Cultural Minority Rights in Bengal

The Hindus are a minority in Bengal. The League of Nations Minority Guarantee Treaties safe-guard the linguistic, cultural and other rights of minorities. India is one of the States which, as members of the League, were parties to the conclusion of such treaties. Hence minorities in India have a right to have their linguistic and cultural education and advancement safe-guarded. The Government of Bengal should not, therefore, do anything which would have the appearance of deliberately discouraging or destroying Hindu education and culture. This point requires all the greater attention, as in the case of Muhammadan education and culture in Bengal nothing similar to the practical abolition of the Sanskrit Collegiate school and the Hindu School and to the practical destruction of an essential feature of the Sanskrit College has been suggested by the Retrenchment Committee.

Hindu, Hare and Sanskrit Collegiate Schools

The Bengal Retrenchment Committee have suggested the amalgamation of the Hindu, Hare and Sanskrit Collegiate Schools, with one headmaster for the three helped by two assistant headmasters. They perhaps do not know that these schools have between them more than 1100 students and have distinct characters and traditions of their own.

One great thing in school education is the *esprit de corps* of each school and the pride which each school feels in its own history and the long line of its own headmasters. Perhaps the retrenching gentlemen were not troubled by these non-material considerations.

Mr. J. N. Basu refers to some such things in his notes of dissent. Says he :

"I do not agree with my colleagues that the Hare School and the Hindu School should be amalgamated. Both the schools are old, and have a tradition and history of their own. The proposed amalgamation is something akin to the suggestion that Eton and Harrow should be amalgamated. The amalgamation is not likely to result in any appreciable saving in expenditure, as there will be practically no reduction of staff, having regard to the number of students.

"The schools owed their origin to endowments from generous donors. The step suggested should not be taken unless the approval of the successors of the original founders and of the public concerned is first obtained. It is likely that a portion of the endowments for the old Hindu School was diverted to the Presidency College, which was constituted out of the senior classes of the Hindu School. The question of the liability of Government to account for and render back the investment has not been investigated.

Muhammadan and Hindu Education in Bengal

Generally speaking all Government and aided institutions, except a very few, are meant for students of all religious communities. There are some institutions meant specially for Musalmans and some, very much smaller in number, for Hindus. It has been shown in this *Review* that the Government contribution to Muhammadan institutions is at least *fourteen* times as much as the Government contribution to the few Hindu institutions. Under the circumstances, no "economies" should be sought to be effected in relation to Hindu institutions like the Sanskrit College and its school and the Hindu School. And it would be outrageous, if more "economies" were effected in relation to these than in relation to Muhammadan institutions.

Bengal Inspectresses and Assistant Inspectresses of Schools

"There are at present two Inspectresses and 12 assistant inspectresses of schools. From the evidence we have received we are satisfied that the 12 posts of assistant inspectresses can be abolished without detriment to the cause of female education, provided they are replaced by an Assistant Directress for female education."

Thus the Retrenchment Committee of Bengal. Perhaps they have in view some would-be Assistant Directress who is a superwoman equal to 12 Assistant Inspectresses. They also think the inspection of primary schools for girls can be done by sub-inspectors of schools, who are men. But in paragraph 245 of their Report they have suggested that the present number of sub-inspectors, which is 243, should be reduced to about 100. So their suggestions come to this that the work to be done by the sub-inspecting staff should be substantially increased by adding girls'

primary schools to their charge, at the same time that the staff is reduced in number by more than half! A truly practicable and sapient recommendation! And yet they think that it will not cause any "detriment to the cause of female education." Lady graduates have too few careers in Bengal. We are not proposing here that careers should be created for them for the encouragement of female education, though that would be quite a just proposal. What we say is that the wholesale axing of the entire staff of Assistant Inspectresses would certainly directly injure the cause of female education and also indirectly do so by banging the door to one section of public service against them.

Mr. J. N. Basu's Suggestion for Advan- cing Muhammadan Education

Mr. J. N. Basu has written in his notes of dissent :

"The evidence shows that there is no need for these officers (namely, Assistant Director and five divisional Assistant Inspectors of Muhammadan Education). Most of the work done by them does not relate to Moslem education.

"In view of what happens in practice, the continuance of a separate Assistant Director and of separate Assistant Divisional Inspectors of Muhammadan Education is not called for in the interests of Moslem education. If it is proposed to utilize the money saved by the abolition of these posts, regular stipends may be paid to a large number of deserving Moslem students for the purpose of carrying on their studies. Such a course is likely to be of great help in advancing Moslem education."

Abolishing one Out of Two Training Colleges in Bengal

There are two colleges for training teachers in Bengal. The Retrenchment Committee suggests the temporary abolition of one of them and not giving new stipends to students attending a training college. We are entirely opposed to both these suggestions, and that for very valid reasons.

Training Colleges prepare teachers for secondary schools. The number of such schools in Bengal is far larger than in any other province, but the supply of trained teachers for them is utterly inadequate.

If we take into consideration the training facilities offered to the teaching profession in England and Wales in 1929-30 we shall find there are more than 1400 secondary schools with about 24000 teachers, of whom nearly 90.5 p. c. are trained. There are 109 Training Colleges for the teachers with a Parliamentary grant of about £1.4 million sterling out of a total cost of about £16 million sterling on higher education. The former in Indian money would amount to about Rs. 1 crore 80 lakhs. It would surely be a cruel irony of fate if Bengal, which has nearly 24000 teachers in secondary schools, had to close down one of the two Training Colleges which she has had for 24 years.

But let us take some figures relating to India.

Bengal has the largest secondary school system in India. The number of secondary schools in the province, according to the Annual Report for 1930-31, comes to 3051,—a number far in excess of that for the rest of British India. But the number of trained teachers, according to the last Quinquennial Report for 1922-27, appears to be 18.7 p. c. in Bengal,—a figure which is the lowest amongst all the provinces of India. Madras has 78.7 p. c., Delhi 70.0, Panjab 69.9, N.-W. Frontier Province 68.9, Bihar and Orissa 49.9, Assam 44.0, and Bombay 29.7.

If the number 18.7 p. c. be further analysed, it will be clear that it includes trained teachers of M. E. and M. V. schools of Bengal holding certificates of training from Normal Schools. The average number of trained teachers per High School comes to only 1.8. If the number of trained graduate teachers per High School be taken into consideration, the number comes down further to 4, i. e., 4 trained graduates per 10 High Schools. In the words of Mr. R. Littlehales, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, we may say,—

"The number of untrained teachers is, thus very high, where out of a total of 22 thousand men teachers in Bengal, over 18 thousand are untrained. On the other hand, in Madras out of about 9000 men teachers, 7000 are trained. These figures are remarkable. Secondary education in Bengal is very cheap: the average annual cost of educating a scholar is only Rs. 30, whereas in Madras it is Rs. 46, the general average for

all India being about Rs. 45. It is questionable whether a high level of instruction can be maintained unless a large proportion of teachers employed are trained."

To quote again from the same source :

"When we think that only 1 in 50 of the teachers are trained products, it is clear that the output in the Training colleges of Bengal is much too small,—little more than is required to fill in the places of those who retire."

In the Calcutta University Commission Report Sir Michael Sadler advocated the establishment of at least five training colleges in Bengal and two training departments forming parts of the two universities, with an annual output of 800 trained teachers. As the number of secondary schools in Bengal has since then increased by about one-third, at least 1100 teachers should now be trained in Bengal every year. How can this be done by one college, or even by two ?

The temporary closing of one college is not a wise suggestion. It would involve the waste of considerable sums already spent on it, and fresh expenditure of money, energy and time for years, when it is established again.

To our Foreign Subscribers

Foreign postal money orders are delivered to us through postal cheques without the Money Order Intimation and without full, or often, any name or address of the remitters. The cheque list gives us only the Calcutta or Bombay Foreign Money Order Number and the illegible name of the remitter. This causes immense inconvenience and great trouble to trace out the actual remitter, and sometimes some remittances remain uncredited to any subscriber's account.

Under these circumstances, we would advise our foreign subscribers and customers to make all payments in future by enclosing crossed British Postal Orders in their letters.

Government's Attitude towards Universities

In commenting on some recommendations of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee we have made some remarks on the amount of help the Bengal Government gives to the two Universities in Bengal. We have also reproduced the opinions of the Vice-Chancellor of

the Agra University on State-aid to universities. Dr. Ganganath Jha, the retiring Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, also has had something to say on the subject.

In the course of his Convocation address, delivered at the Allahabad University, Dr. Ganganath Jha, retiring Vice-Chancellor, said that an external obstacle that was proving "most dangerous" to the future development of the University, was the attitude of the Government. The speaker also said: "Our grants were fixed; we could not go beyond them. It is a suicidal policy to starve university education." Dr. Jha continued that the "putting of the screw upon us, had been sought to be justified on the ground that all the money that the Government could spare for education should now be diverted to the spread of primary education, which is essential for the political advancement of the country. The speaker opined public benefactions would come forward here also, but only in the remote future. Till that day dawns, it should be the duty and privilege of the State to foster and help advancement of higher learning. Dr. Jha asserted that a better handling of its resources and activities would enable the State to find money to do its duty by people in the domain of education.

If Government wholeheartedly went in for universal and free elementary education, that might be a sort of plausible excuse for starving the universities. But if university and elementary education both continued to lack enough nourishment, as at present, then the official argument for reducing or discontinuing State-aid to universities would be too dishonest for any Government to use.

Mr. Chintamani on State-Aid to Universities

In the course of his interesting, informing and instructive Convocation address at the Lucknow University Mr. C. Y. Chintamani asked and answered:

Is it true that the governments of other countries do less for university education than Government in India? I regret that I have been unable to get the more recent figures, but those which I have seen tell a different tale. In this respect England is far from being the best example by which to be guided, for on account of the backwardness of the British Government in appreciating the obligation of the State in this regard, both America and Germany, not to speak of other continental countries, have forged ahead of England and become competitors so formidable that she has lost her pride of place and been driven to rely upon tariffs and bargains with her dominions to retain a substantial part of her foreign trade. But in England, too, State grants to universities have been considerably augmented during this generation as the result of the combined efforts of influential individuals and powerful organizations, reinforced by the recommendations

of royal commissions and the advocacy of statesmen of eminence. The position in England was that she was nowhere before America in private munificence and nowhere before Germany in State-aid.

The speaker then proceeded to give some details.

While private effort during sixty years found less than £4,000,000 in England, universities and colleges in the United States received more than £40,000,000. In Germany the Government contribution to the cost of buildings of the single University of Strassburgh was about as much as was found by private efforts for buildings in Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bristol, Newcastle and Sheffield. The position in Germany as it was years ago is seen in the following figures:

I	
Ordinary total income of 11 Prussian Universities	£521,910
Contribution of Foundation Funds	33 p. c.
Contribution of State Funds	67 p. c.

II	
Ordinary total income of 10 non-Prussian universities (excluding Jena)	£417,133
Contribution of Foundation Funds	19 p. c.
Contribution of State Funds	81 p. c.

III	
Ordinary income of all the German universities (excluding Jena)	£939,043
Contribution of Foundation Funds	26 p. c.
Contribution of State Funds	74 p. c.

Mr. Chintamani went on to give the opinion of a distinguished English scientist.

Sir Norman Lockyer said in addressing the British Association that there were as many *professors and instructors* in the universities and colleges of the United States as there were *day students* in the universities and colleges in the United Kingdom. No wonder that he cried that in depending upon private endowments 'we are trusting to a broken reed.' 'We cannot depend upon private effort to put matters right,' was his deliberate opinion. If this is the opinion in wealthy Britain it must be superfluous to say that it is very much worse in our very poor country.

If the contrast between England and America is so striking, what of the position in India as contrasted with that of England? The latest figures show that the number of teachers in the universities of England is 3,027 and of students 36,781, and in the whole of Britain, 4,368 and 51,649, respectively. The number of teachers there is nearly equal to the number of students in these provinces, while the population of Britain is less than here.

Incidentally, it is instructive to notice that Sir Norman Lockyer described the reduction of fees as a 'crying need,' and he urged that they should not be more than one-fifth of the rates then existing. Which over-burdened Indian parent will not say Amen, to this pious wish?

Calcutta Drainage Outfall Crisis

The question of disposing of the sewage of Calcutta has been allowed to reach a crisis.

which no public authority responsible for the health of a million-and-a-half of people and the sanitation of a big city like Calcutta should have permitted to arise. It is twenty-eight years since the first note of warning was sounded regarding the inadequacy of the outfall channel into which the sewage of Calcutta is discharged, and nineteen years since the first committee on the subject was appointed. But strangely enough, in spite of committees and repeated warnings, nothing has been done till now to substitute a more vigorous channel for the present moribund one to receive the sewage. Meanwhile the city stands in imminent danger of being flooded by its own filth.

The root of this muddle seems to be the dilatoriness of the Government of Bengal and its notorious reluctance to co-operate with or help the present Calcutta Corporation. The Bidyadhari, the river which serves as an outfall to the drainage system of Calcutta, has been rapidly silting up for the last twenty years, till, to-day, at its head, it is no more than a shallow and stagnant pool of sewage. The situation was reported periodically by high irrigation officers. Yet no action was taken either by the Government or the Corporation to avert the catastrophe. It was only in 1924, when the Swarajists came to power that a Corporation Committee was appointed to investigate the condition of the Bidyadhari. But there was no eagerness on the Government's side to respond to the efforts of the Corporation. In 1929 Dr. B. N. Dey was appointed Special Officer to the Corporation and formulated practicable schemes both for internal drainage and the outfall. The internal drainage scheme, which came under the domestic jurisdiction of the Calcutta Corporation, was at first approved by the Government, but later on for some unaccountable reason the sanction was withheld. In the end, however, all objections to the internal drainage scheme were got over and the work began.

An internal drainage scheme is, however, inadequate, without a proper outfall, and in this matter the Corporation cannot proceed without Government sanction which has not been given. The essence of the Special Officer's scheme was that, since the present outfall (the Bidyadhari) had become a dead

river and its resuscitation was considered unpracticable by well-known experts, the only practicable course open was to discharge the sewage into the next living river, the Kulti. The Kulti is a vigorous tidal river, and even the most casual comparison shows that while the Bidyadhari has been steadily silting up, the Kulti on the contrary is deepening its channel. The Bengal Government, however, is not prepared to give its sanction to this scheme. After a lengthy correspondence, it appointed, on July 29, 1931, a committee of its own to examine the outfall problem. This committee signed its final report on May 15, 1932. The Works Standing Committee's observation on the report of this committee was that it did not offer a definite solution of the outfall problem while the Special Officer's remarks were still more emphatic. He wrote :

"A perusal of the final report of the Government Drainage Outfall Committee leaves the most casual reviewer in despair as to the outcome of any practical solution of Calcutta's outfall problems from the recommendations of the Committee.

"Beyond opposition to the Corporation Outfall Scheme and a highly imaginative conception of the birth of a new tidal river as cure-all, nothing tangible or workable has been offered by the committee either in its *ad interim* or final report. The high hopes of a solution to the outfall problem so often held out by the Government, thus remains as remote as ever of realization."

It is unnecessary to quote the whole of the Special Officer's review which is detailed and specific, but may not, on that account, be more acceptable to the Government. Meanwhile the Calcutta Corporation has taken another constructive and conciliatory step. On November 14, last, it passed a resolution whose last clause runs as follows :

(4) That in view of the urgency of a new outfall necessitated by the rapidly deteriorating condition of the present outfall Government may be urged, in the interests of public health, to allow the Corporation to proceed with the construction of the new works proposed in the new outfall scheme, which may be supplemented if found necessary by either of the additional works proposed by the members of the committee, *viz.*, settling tanks or outfall pumping."

The drainage problem of Calcutta is urgent and pressing. It cannot be solved by mere correspondence. The Corporation must act. If, on the one hand, a practicable scheme formulated by the Corporation is found unacceptable by the Government, and, on the

other, no scheme which the Corporation considers practicable and adequate formulated by the Government. There are only two courses open to the Corporation. It should either exercise its emergency powers under Section 252 of the Calcutta Municipal Act or avow its incapacity to do anything owing to reasons beyond its control. To do less would be betraying the trust which the rate-payers of Calcutta have put upon them and a grave injustice to the men in charge of the work, who have always been alive to the gravity of the drainage situation and have not been given any power to remedy it.

Ottawa Committee's Report to the Legislative Assembly

The Ottawa Committee submitted its report to the Legislative Assembly on the 8th November last. The majority declare that, so far as they are able to judge, it is definitely in India's interests to accept the Agreement; the only certain test is to experience actual results over an adequate period.

They recommend that the Government should prepare an annual report reviewing the effect of preferences as also including any representation made by Indian industries, of the effect on them of import preferences. They recommend a committee of fifteen members of the Legislature to consider the annual report on the working of the agreement showing the effect on agriculture and other interests and report to the Assembly. They further recommend that after three years' working of the Agreement the Government should place before the Indian Legislature a detailed report, and if the Legislature is satisfied that the continuance of the Agreement is not in the interests of India, the Government should undertake to give the required notice to terminate the Agreement.

The majority report discussing the commodities on which India will receive preference in the United Kingdom remarks that "the exclusion of India from the benefit of preferences given by the United Kingdom would cause her to lose at least a large portion of the market she now holds."

Sir Abdur Rahim, Mr. Sitarama Raju and Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda have appended a separate report. They declare themselves unable to accept the majority conclusion that "it is definitely to Indian's interest to accept the Agreement."

"The majority admit that they had no sufficient time to examine fully that part of the agreement which deals with preferences on imports into India, yet this is at least as important a part of the agreement as preferences on our exports and one which is causing uneasiness in commercial and industrial circles as well as in the general public

throughout the country. Our colleagues evidently attach no importance to the fact that such expert and business opinion as we received was adverse to the Ottawa scheme of tariffs. That also is the trend of most of the representations which were made to us individually by several industrial interests. One principal object of the Assembly in appointing this special committee was that we should ascertain the views of business men and experts and for our part we do not think it right to disregard such views."

The three dissentients point out in their separate report that

the scheme of preferential tariffs was not thought of by the Government of India as being required in the interest of India. Lord Curzon's Government rejected such tariff scheme. The Fiscal Commission disapproved of it. The fact of the matter was that in her present economic distress the Conservative Party in England being in a dominating position wished to recover her ground and create a larger market in India. The minority add: "The standpoint from which we have to look at the question is whether the scheme will benefit India at the same time. We would repudiate the suggestion that the scheme should not be accepted even if it is advantageous to India because at the same time it is advantageous to Britain."

Turning to questions of policy they observe that

the agreement is so all-embracing in its range affecting the entire economic structure of the country and raises questions of policy of such importance that they are surprised that Government should not have at any stage consulted commercial, industrial and agricultural interests on the value and effects of the proposed preferences. Even the Government delegation does not suggest that the proposals would relieve India to any extent from the effects of world depression. In fact they have scarcely applied themselves to this most important aspect of the question.

Quoting from the speeches of Sir George Schuster, they express the opinion that

Without a large balance of trade in our favour, India could not meet her obligations in foreign countries. It must be borne in mind that it would take considerable time for the Indian agriculturist to respond to any increased demand. In most provinces, the new land cannot be easily brought under cultivation and holdings are so fragmented that it is very difficult to apply schemes of scientific intensive cultivation. On the other hand, a well-organized and well-equipped industrial country like Britain can easily expand her products in response to additional demands. But the members signing the majority report do not pay any heed to the actual conditions of India as compared to those obtaining in Britain and proceed upon what we consider to be mere theoretical possibilities when they talk of capturing the British market or extending India's export trade to any large extent.

A substantial percentage of India's exports consists of commodities of which India has a monopoly or in respect of which she occupies a predominant

position in British markets relatively to foreign countries and in which India has no competitors in the Empire. With respect to these commodities preference has no value whatever and must be left out of account. Linking of rupee to sterling has led to the export of gold of the value of one hundred crores to Britain within the last eleven months. This will further cripple the purchasing power of India in respect of her trade with gold standard countries.

Sir Abdur Rahim and his two colleagues have examined many of the commodities on the export list, such as wheat, rice, cocoanut oil, linseed, coir, spices, coffee, tobacco, groundnut, tanned hides and skins, jute and tea, in view of what the majority report says on each of the items, and bring forward considerations which greatly weaken the conclusions of the majority. "The agricultural conditions in India are such that the prospect of expansion in any case is remote."

In the case of all raw products generally, the possibilities of expansion having regard to the actual conditions of Indian agriculture are more than doubtful and in any case the benefit of increase in trade for the most part is absorbed by the middlemen, exporting houses, shipping and insurance companies. The Assembly should order an enquiry before taking action on the Ottawa Committee's Report especially as the majority of the colleagues themselves admit that they have not been able to examine the agreement thoroughly with reference to its effects on preferences to India's imports from Britain.

The minority report concludes: "We attach no value to the recommendation of our colleagues providing for safe-guards in order to ensure the reconsideration of the position, because we know from the history of such matters how wholly ineffective they are in practice. Our colleagues have limited the operation of the so-called safe-guards until the new constitution comes into force on the assumption that the next Government of India Act will provide for a Government responsible to the Legislature. No one yet knows what the new constitution will really be like."

Among the majority of members of the Ottawa Committee, we do not find anybody who can be said to represent the interests of the producers of raw materials. The committee was also not properly representative of all the provinces of India.

On the whole we think the minority have correctly voiced Indian public opinion in this case, which we hold to be right.

Third Round Table Conference

The following is the provisional agenda of the third so-called Round Table Conference:

- (1) The report of the Franchise Committee the method of election and size of the Federal Chambers.
- (2) Relations between the Centre and the Units (legislative and administrative).
- (3) Special Powers and Responsibilities of Governor-General and Governors.
- (4) Financial safe-guards and Commercial safe-guards.
- (5) Defence (Finance and connected questions).
- (6) Federal Finance and the States Enquiry Committee Reports.
- (7) Fundamental Rights.
- (8) "Constituent powers" and powers of the Indian Legislatures *vis-a-vis* Parliament.
- (9) Form of the States' Instrument of Accession.

The agenda are sufficiently comprehensive; remains to be seen whether any agreements of value result from the discussions thereon.

Indians feel very little interest in it. The causes are well known.

Results of Non-existence of Separate Electorates and Reservation of Seats in Free Countries

In the centuries during which the constitutions of independent and free countries in Europe like Great Britain and France have gradually taken their present forms, there have been serious internal bloody conflicts between different religious communities there and the predominant groups have often subjected their opponents to fierce and unjust persecution and various kinds of unjust discrimination as regards educational facilities, laws of inheritance and the right to follow any professions and occupations of their choice. For example, in England the burning at the stake of persons holding religious opinion different from those of the community in power was at one time largely practised. Jews, Roman Catholics and Nonconformists suffered from serious disabilities, which have been gradually removed. A similar state of things existed in France and other old free countries also. In these countries religious and other class conflicts are not yet entirely things of the past. Yet at no time have there been in these countries any reservation of seats in their legislature for different religious communities, whether forming a majority or a minority of the population, nor any separate elections or separate religious constituencies. The absence of such devices there have not stood in the way of these countries remaining

powerful, prosperous, educated and enlightened. The peoples of these as a whole, and even their most backward communities, are better educated than the most progressive sections of Indians and live in greater comfort and enjoy much better health than the corresponding and even higher classes in India.

It is also to be borne in mind that in India different religious communities have never indulged in mutual burnings as in Europe, nor have there been such religious massacres here as the notorious massacres on St. Bartholomew's Day in France. Neither Hindus nor Musalmans, when in power, have so systematically discriminated against one another as some religious communities in Europe in the past.

In spite of these facts, Englishmen in India have instilled into the minds of some religious communities that without the "safe-guards" of reservations of seats and separate electorates, these communities would not be able to be prosperous, educated, healthy, etc. If that were a fact, why were these devices never adopted in Great Britain and Ireland, in France, in Germany, etc. If the peoples in those countries as a whole and the separate communities forming parts of them could do without them and yet be powerful, prosperous, enlightened, healthy, why are these devices considered necessary in India—devices which divide group from group, make national solidarity impossible, and create distrust and dissension where they do not exist? Every politically-minded nationalist in India knows the answer.

It may be objected that these devices may not have occurred to the ancient and later constitution-builders of Europe and hence the older countries of the West had to wade through much mutual conflict, suffering and bloodshed to their present more civilized condition, and that these devices are necessary to make more peaceful progress possible and smoother working of new constitutions practicable. Let us examine this objection.

The constitution of the United States of America, where there are various religious and racial groups and where racial and religious riots still occur, is a comparatively new production. But

these devices are absent in its constitution. That is also the case with the Canadian Constitution. The Japanese Constitution is of still later date, but that too is without these devices. And yet all these countries and the different communities living there are more prosperous, more educated and more long-lived.

Should any objector consider even the nineteenth century an age of uncivilization, we would invite his attention to the independent and free states re-constituted in Europe after the last great war in the present century. The people in every one of these countries and each of the groups constituting them have higher incomes, better education, better houses, longer lives, etc., than the people of India and the corresponding classes of Indians. Such a state of things has not been brought about there by the devices referred to above. These have not been adopted in any of these countries. Only some safe-guards relating to education, racial customs and culture, language, personal laws, and the like have been provided. These and these alone should be provided in India.

The last refuge of objectors may be the assertion that India is a peculiar country. It is true no country is exactly like any other country. India also is not exactly like any other country. It is not peculiar in any other sense. But perhaps this statement is not quite accurate. It is peculiar in this that, whereas in the constitutions of the older countries of Europe and in those of U. S. A., Japan and the new States of Europe only the interests of their own peoples had to be safe-guarded, in the constitution to be manufactured in London for India the political and economic interests of Britishers must be safe-guarded above all and first of all.

The Ordinance Bill

The Ordinance Bill is being made as drastic, elastic and comprehensive as human ingenuity can make it for the purpose of crushing any Indian movement for political and economic freedom, however peaceful. That is why after it had left the hands of its drafters and after the select committee

had made it a fitting weapon for the bureaucracy, when it is being considered in the Assembly clause by clause, new provisions are being inserted in it. For example, at this stage, the definition of public servant has been made to include persons employed in the military, naval or air services of the King Emperor. Opposition was unavailing. Non-official amendments are being given a short shrift. There is not the least doubt that the bill will come out as Law in a more terrible form than even its sponsors at first wanted to make it.

But in the long run India will not be crushed, though many provincial legislatures also are busy forging similar weapons, giving the whole of India the substance of "Martial Law and No D—d Nonsense."

Separation of Burma

The human arbiters of Burma's destiny had declared that the question of the separation of Burma would be decided according to the result of the elections to the Burma Legislative Council. In spite of the direct and indirect efforts of the Burma Government to support and secure the election of the pro-separation candidates, the anti-separationists have carried the day. The spokesman of the aforesaid arbiters, Sir Samuel Hoare, has, therefore, said that the Burmese must decide once for all whether they would enter the Federation of India: if they do, they would never be able to secede again even if they wanted to. As if Sir Samuel Hoare and men of his race and ilk are destined for ever to boss the show!

It has also been decided by the Burma Government that in the Burma Council the nominated members also would have the right to vote for or against the resolution relating to the separation of Burma from India. This is palpably unfair, but quite in keeping with the aid of British Imperialists that Burma must be separated and made the happy hunting-ground of British exploiters.

Bengal Hindu Sabha and Statutory Moslem Majority in Bengal

The Bengal Provincial Hindu Sabha, having at a meeting of the Executive Committee taken into consideration the text

of the agreement arrived at by the Unity Conference at Allahabad, their conclusions as follows:

1. That on principle the Provincial Sabhas are opposed to reservation of seats for the majority community in any Province but for the sake of communal peace and to help the work of the Unity Conference, the Sabha may waive their objection to 51 p.c. of the seats being reserved for the Moslems in Bengal, if and when Hindus and others forming the "general" constituency are given 44.7 per cent representation of the whole House and on the following further conditions which must be treated as conditions precedent:

(i) All reservation of seats for the majority community will cease automatically after ten years, irrespective of whether there is or is not adult franchise. The reservation for the minority community in Bengal will cease with the reservation of the minority communities in the other provinces after ten years.

(ii) The relevant safe-guards and provisions embodied in the Panjab Settlement of the Unity Conference are guaranteed to the Hindu Minority in Bengal.

(iii) The Mahomedans pledge themselves to work whole-heartedly with the Hindus in bringing about readjustment of the boundaries of the province so as to include all Bengalee-speaking areas in the provincial administration.

(iv) Pure and unadulterated joint electorate be accepted by the Mussalmans.

(v) That all appointments to the service be made by an impartial Public Service Commission to be constituted for the purpose.

2. That members of the Hindu Sabha who may attend the Unity Conference should take note of the above resolutions and regard them as a mandate.

These conclusions are substantially in harmony with the position taken up by the Bengal Hindu Sabha representatives at the Calcutta Conference of Bengal Hindus of all shades of opinion, presided over by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, before the Unity Conference met at Allahabad. The particularization and addition of some details are probably due to the attitude of some sections of Musalmans assembled at Delhi who repudiated the Unity Conference Committee settlement at Allahabad in toto and added some new demands to the famous 14 points; to the attempt of most Bengal Moslem M. L. C.'s to have a continuance of separate electorates for Moslems in Calcutta municipal elections, although, according to the Calcutta Municipal Act, the term for separate electorates has terminated this year, arranged by agreement with Moslems during Sir Surendranath Banerji's lifetime; and to